c
977.102
349gr
v.1,pt.1
1963884

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

GEN

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 02481 0647

4496

CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF CINCINNATI

AND

REPRESENTATIVE CITIZENS

BY

CHARLES THEODORE GREVE, A. B., LL. B.

"History is Philosophy Teaching by Examples."

v. 1, pt. 1

VOL. I.

PUBLISHED BY
BIOGRAPHICAL PUBLISHING COMPANY.
GEO. RICHMOND, PRES.; C. R. ARNOLD, SEC'Y AND TREAS.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.
1904.

PREFACE

The task of writing an account of so limited a portion of the earth as a single city does not in itself seem a very difficult one. Only those who have attempted it can appreciate the amount of labor such a task involves and the number of omissions and errors that must necessarily creep into such a work. These speak for themselves, and it is not necessary to call attention to them beyond expressing regret that they will be undoubtedly found in this volume as in others of its class.

The effort to present the subject of the history of Cincinnati to some extent in a chronological form rather than according to a topical arrangement has involved much more labor than the writer anticipated, and also has necessitated many repetitions and no doubt a number of apparent contradictions. The necessity of getting a work of this character and extent upon the press, thereby making impossible a complete revision, has also contributed to these repetitions and possible contradictions. As the work developed it became apparent that even a chronological arrangement must fall more or less under topical headings. The effort therefore to treat certain topics with relation to the different periods of time and with relation to the development of the city in other respects may not seem to have been entirely successful. It is thought, however, that this effort has resulted, in some measure at least, in giving a more comprehensive view of each period under discussion than could possibly be obtained by the treatment of the various phases of the city's development each by itself.

1963884

A history of a city should be neither a directory, a guide book, nor a chronological table, and yet it is hard to avoid giving to it some of the qualities of all these valuable methods of treatment. The interesting part of a city's development is of course the formative period. After a city has reached an undisputed position among the large municipalities of the country, its history, in the main, is similar to that of all other cities of its class. Cincinnati is no exception to this rule, and in its later years, with the exception of certain extraordinary events, it had the commonplace character that belongs to all successful undertakings well established upon a secure and firm foundation. For this reason much the larger portion of this work has been given to the earlier period of the city's development, and in the treatment of that period the suspicion may sometimes arise that the combination of directory and guide book is quite manifest. After all, however, it is the names and institutions of the early days that are of interest to those living in the place where their own institutions are legitimate descendants of the early ones and where the people that live about them and the streets and public places make familiar the names of

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

https://archive.org/details/centennialhistor11grev

the earlier city builders. For this reason an early city directory is perhaps a more interesting book with relation to the city of one's residence than any other form of account, however well written, about the same period. It is felt therefore that no excuse is necessary for the copious extracts from the contemporary works relating to the earlier days.

On the other hand, when a city has reached the position of being the tenth in the country, with a population looking to it as a center of business, social and intellectual life of not less than a half million people, the number of interests has become so varied and the institutions so numberless that it is impossible to give more than a mere suggestion of its many features. To attempt more than this would be attempting the compilation of a directory, which field in Cincinnati fortunately is already admirably filled.

It is impossible for the writer to enumerate all to whom he feels that thanks are due for assistance rendered and kindly interest taken in this work. First of all he feels under obligations to the publishers, who have shown most remarkable patience and an effort to do all that lies within their power to make the book a worthy one. The writer is also under obligations to the writers of the various special contributions, N. D. C. Hodges, John M. Nickles, E. W. Glover, Max B. May, Dr. Arch. I. Carson, Henry Z. Ezekiel and S. S. Bassler, and to the officials of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio and Mrs. Susan Lord, librarian, and also to those of the Cincinnati Public Library, who have placed the resources of those great institutions entirely at the disposal of the writer. The ordinary citizen of Cincinnati has no conception of the wealth of materials in both of these institutions and of the facilities that are offered by the officials to any person desiring to use them. The author also feels under obligations to James Wilson Bullock for the contribution of the picture representing Cincinnati at the beginning of the 19th century, which was painted at his request expressly for this work. Griffin T. Miller kindly loaned the photographs of the pictures of the city in the "thirties," whose originals hang upon the walls of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. All the other illustrations except those of modern date are from paintings or plates in the possession of that society. To enumerate specifically all who have been of assistance in the preparation of the work would make necessary the mention of almost the entire acquaintance of the writer.

The books to which the author is indebted constitute a library in themselves, and to give a list of them would be to print a bibliography of the city of Cincinnati, a work which would be indeed very valuable but which would be sufficiently large to constitute a volume in itself. Cincinnati has been fortunate in the number of writers who have thought her history and phases of her life worthy of record.

The writer is responsible only for the historical portion of the work. The biographical portion has been in charge of the publishers.

May, 1904 C. T. G.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHAPTER XIX.

CHAPTER XX.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHAPTER XXII.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CHAPTER XL.

CHAPTER XLI.

CHAPTER XLII.

CHAPTER XLIII.

CHAPTER XLIV.

CHAPTER XLV.

CHAPTER XLVI.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CHAPTER XLIX.

CHAPTER L.

CHAPTER LI.

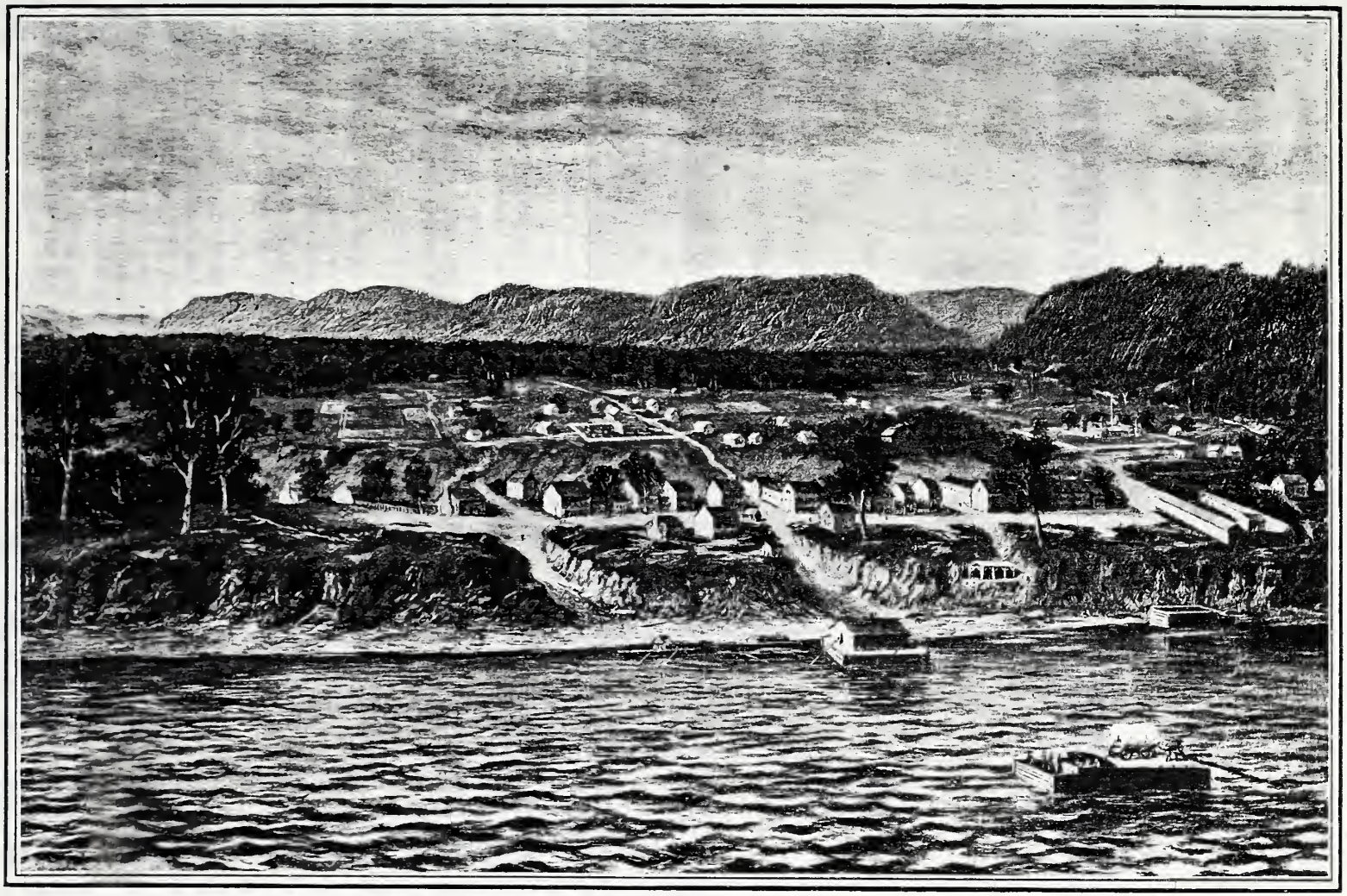
CHAPTER LII.

CHAPTER LIII.

APPENDIX A.

APPENDIX B.

3 1833 02481 0



CINCINNATI IN 1802.

(From a Painting, Copyright 1903, by Rud. Tschudi, Artist, Cincinnati, Ohio.)

Centennial History of Cincinnati

CHAPTER I.

CINCINNATI.

DESCRIPTION—ANNEXATIONS—THE GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF CINCINNATI.

DESCRIPTION.

Cincinnati, the chief city of the Ohio Valley, is situated on the north bank of the river Ohio in Hamilton County which is the extreme southwestern county of the State of Ohio. The city extends along the banks of the river covering about the middle third of the distance between the east and west limits of the county. It is midway by river between the cities of Pittsburg and Cairo, being approximately four hundred and eighty miles from the former and five hundred and fifty miles from the latter. It lies in latitude 39° 6′ 30″ north and in longitude 84° 24′ west.

With relation to other large cities, it may be said that it is approximately seven hundred and forty-four miles from New York, six hundred and ten miles from Washington and about three hundred miles from Chicago and St. Louis. In its own State the nearest large cities are Columbus about one hundred and ten miles north and Cleveland two hundred and fifty miles north.

The city lies almost directly opposite the mouth of the Licking River, which fact was apparently the determining point as to its original location. It is the center of a region, extending about two hundred miles in every direction, which for fertility and natural beauty of the simpler type is unsurpassed in the world. The Miami Valley of which it is the central point has been compared in fertility to the basin of the Nile and the accounts of the early settlers indicate that they believed that they had at last reached the land of promise.

The city proper, by which is meant that portion mainly occupied for business purposes, lies on two narrow plateaus which are surrounded on the northeast, north and northwest by high hills easy however of access by modern methods of transportation. On these hills are built the beautiful suburbs which have made the name of Cincinnati famous as a residential city throughout the world. The altitude above sea level of the business portion of the city averages about five hundred feet and the highest hills about are almost four hundred feet higher. The low water mark in the Ohio River is 432 feet above the sea and the altitude of Mount Harrison just north of Price Hill is 460 feet higher. The altitude of Mount Auburn at the corner of Wellington place and Auburn avenue, which is about midway between the eastern and western limits of the city and in the lower third of the line between the northern and southern limits of the city at that meridian point, is 459 feet above low water.

At the time of the settlement, the country was traversed by many small streams which found their way directly into the Ohio or into its two principal tributaries Mill creek and Deer creek

at the west and east end of the city respectively. These two last named streams are spoken of as possessing great beauty and to the former was given the poetic name of "Mahketewah." The beauty that inspired the immortal pen of William D. Gallagher to write the "Spotted Fawn," whose scene is "On Mahketewah's flowery marge," has long since disappeared, at least within the city limits, and the sentiments felt by the present observer are more properly expressed by Lewis Cist's "The Spotted Frog," in which the same scene is mentioned as "On muddy Millcreek's marshy marge." Here until 1870 were the western limits of the city.

Deer creek on whose banks occurred so much of the early life of the settlement has almost entirely disappeared forever and now through the Eggleston avenue sewer the waters which formerly purled through grassy banks are emptied into the Ohio.

At the time of the first settlement, Deer creek was the practical eastern limit of the community although this was outside the first location. The description given by Dr. Drake in the first work of any consequence relating to the city—"Notices concerning Cincinnati," which, published in 1810, is the rarest book in existence relating to the city,—applies in the main as well to-day as at the time it was written. Speaking of the original city he says:

"Its site is not equally elevated. A strip of land called the BOTTOM (most of which is inundated by extraordinary freshes, though the whole is elevated several feet above the ordinary high-water mark), commences at Deer creek, the eastern boundary of the town, and stretches down to the river, gradually becoming wider and lower. It slopes northwardly to the average distance of eight hundred feet, where it is terminated by a bank or glacis, denominated the HILL, which is generally of steep ascent, and from thirty to fifty feet in height. In addition to this there is a gentle acclivity for six or seven hundred feet further back, which is succeeded by a slight inclination of surface northwardly, for something more than half a mile, when the hills or real uplands commence.

"These benches of land extend northwestwardly (the upper one constantly widening) nearly two miles, and are lost in the intervale ground of Mill creek. The whole form an area of between two and three square miles—which, however, comprehends but little more than a moiety of the expansion which the valley of the Ohio has at this point. For on the southern side, both above and below the mouth of the Licking river, are extended, elevated bottoms.

"The hills surrounding this alluvial tract form an imperfectly rhomboidal figure. They are between three and four hundred feet high; but the angle under which they are seen, from a central situation, is only a few degrees. Those to the southwest and northwest, at such a station, make the greatest and nearly an equal angle; those to the southeast and southwest also make angles nearly equal. The Ohio enters at the eastern angle of this figure, and, after bending considerably to the south, passes out at the western. The Licking river enters through the southern, and Mill creek through the northern angle. Deer creek, an inconsiderable stream, enters through the northern side. The Ohio, both up and down, affords a limited view, and its valley forms no considerable inlet to the east and west winds. The valley of the Licking affords an entrance to the south wind, that of Mill creek to the north wind, and that of Deer creek (a partial one) to the northeast. The other winds blow over the hills that lie in their respective courses. The Ohio is five hundred and thirty-five yards wide from bank to bank, but at low-water is much narrower. No extensive bars exist, however, near the town. Licking river, which joins the Ohio opposite the town, is about eighty yards wide at its mouth. Mill creek is large enough for mills, and has wide alluvions, which, near its junction with the Ohio, are annually overflown. Its general course is from northeast to northwest, and it joins the Ohio at a right angle. Ascending from these valleys the aspects and characteristics of the surrounding country are various. * * * No barrens, prairies, or pine lands are to be found near the town."

The two plateaus as noted above were in the early days known by the names of Hill and Bottom. The Bottom lands at about the mouth of Deer creek were very narrow. This plateau lay at the top of an abrupt rise from fifty to sixty-five feet above the river as it stretched westwardly widening and lowering. Its average width is not over eight hundred feet. The Hill is from fifty to one hundred feet higher and runs back in all directions to the base of the surrounding hills on the north and east and sloping towards the west to the Mill creek bottoms which are annually subject to overflow.

In the early days of the town much controversy existed as to the manner of treating the descent from the Hill to the Bottoms, many

favoring a distinct terrace and others a gradual slope. The latter plan has been adopted so that to-day the city rises gradually in an easy incline from the river to about Third street and from there by a slightly more precipitate ascent to Fourth street. From Fourth street north the level is fairly maintained with a slight rise until the base of the hills are reached at the north and east. On the west the ground slopes gently toward the river. On the early maps this ridge of the second plateau was well defined. It began in out-lot 20 a little northeast of Hunt and Sycamore. It ran in a southeasterly direction to about where the Little Miami depot now stands and then southwestwardly, crossing Broadway about Pearl street and along the southern side of Third street as far west as Elm where it divided; the lower bank ran down in a southwesterly direction toward the river and the upper ridge ran almost west to a point a little beyond, where the present Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton depot is located by which time the Bottoms were reached. By the gradual grading of the streets in all directions these precipitate banks have disappeared altogether and are indicated by slight changes in the grades of ascent.

The principal business section of the city is still within the original lines of the settlement although the enormous manufacturing interests of Cincinnati are located in many instances at points many miles remote from this. In the heart of the city representing the original settlement, the streets are formed in accordance with the original plan which was modeled after that of the city of Philadelphia. They are at right angles to each other; the streets running from the river to the hills take the general direction from southeast to northwest; those crossing them run from southwest to northeast. The variation from the north, south, east and west lines is about sixteen degrees. All other parts of the city, excepting those parts which lie on the river banks or on Mill creek or which are affected by the slopes of the hills or the contour of the vicinity, are in the main cut by streets running with the points of the compass north and south and east and west.

Along the entire southern portion of the city runs the river Ohio in a very tortuous course, so much so that its most northerly point in the neighborhood of Pendleton is almost four miles north of its most southerly point at Riverside and over a mile north of the eastern boundary of the city at Columbia just east of Pendleton. So twisting is the river in its course that the line of vision extending from an eye of an observer, in the southwestern part of the city, in a northeasterly direction will cross the river four times. The frontage along the river extends for over ten miles. The average width is about two miles although at the western end at Riverside the north corporation line approaches within less than twelve hundred feet of the river and the north line of Cumminsville is over five miles from the river. The principal beauty of the situation is given by the hills which begin with Price Hill at the southwest near the river a little west of Mill creek and thence run in a northeasterly direction and then in an easterly direction until they almost reach the river again at Mount Adams. As a result of these hills, no other large city in the United States can afford such a variety of position and scenery. At the east they border the river at a distance of five hundred yards for four and one-half miles and then receding form an amphitheater about the original plateau, returning by the bold promontory to the river about three miles below, from which point they follow the windings of the river less than one thousand feet from the shore until they pass beyond the western corporation lines. The beauty of these hills attracted the attention of writers about the city from its very earliest days. In Drake's and Mansfield's "Cincinnati in 1826" they are spoken of as presenting "to the eye of the beholder one continued ridge, irregularly elevated, and of diversified configurations—always beautiful and picturesque," with their gentle and varying slopes covered in the main with native forest trees. The so-called improvements of recent years swept away the forest trees and cut into the banks of the hills so that from the city they show in many points rough surfaces of stone and clay but the view there described is open to any observer to-day.

"One of the views most worthy, perhaps, of attention, may be had at an early hour on one of the foggy mornings of August, or September. A spectator, under such circumstances, placed upon one of these hills, will find himself elevated quite above the dense vapours of the river: he will behold the sun rising free from all obscurity, while the plain below him is lost in one unbroken sheet of fog, presenting the appearance of an unruffled lake. As soon, however, as the rays of the sun fall less obliquely upon this expanse of vapour, it becomes rarefied, and assuming the appearance of fleecy clouds,

passes away to rarer regions, gradually disclosing the city, the river, the villages, the numerous steamboats, and all the countless objects of the valley." (Cincinnati in 1826, 26.)

The panorama thus disclosed including the river, the bridge, the Kentucky hills and the nestling villages at their foot and the city of Cincinnati itself cannot be surpassed by any view of the character on the continent. From the hills to the north an almost equally beautiful view can be had, lacking of course the river, but rich in the charm of fertile hill and valley. The view to the west from the northern edge of Clifton and up through the Mill creek valley is another that once seen will never be forgotten.

The river itself, flowing with gentle current about three miles an hour, is at this point (Cincinnati), about six hundred yards wide. At points below and beyond the city it is also of great beauty. This is particularly true of the upper Ohio. While it possesses no such scenery as that of the Palisades of the Hudson, its stretch from Wheeling to Cincinnati far surpasses in beauty the much more praised New York river.

It is subject to great variation in the stages of water. The highest recorded stage was that of February 14, 1844, when it reached the height of seventy-one feet and three-fourths of an inch above low-water mark. The stage of the river September 18, 1881, was one foot and eleven inches.

[The boundaries of Cincinnati are very irregular; this is by reason of the many annexations at different times explained hereafter. Its total area is 37.09 square miles. The boundary line begins on the river a little west of the section line between sections ten and sixteen of the third township of the first fractional range being the western line of the village of Riverside. It runs in an irregular line northeastwardly along the Anderson's Ferry road to the section line about two-thirds of a mile north of the river. The line then runs southeast, south and east and then northeast in a very broken course along the northern line of Riverside until it reaches the line running along the east tier of sections of the township at the southeast corner of section six. It then runs north to the south line of the sixth section; thence west along the section line to the middle of the south line of section twelve, thence north to the north line of section twelve, the north line of the township; thence east to the southeast corner of the second township in the second fractional range or Green township; thence north along the east line of section one to its northeast corner; thence west along the section line to the middle of the northern line of the section; thence south to Lick Run pike; thence by an irregular course in a general northwestwardly direction along Lick Run pike to Ross road and Werk road to about the central point of section fourteen; thence north to the north line of section fourteen; thence east along the section line to the corner of the section; thence in the northeastwardly and northerly direction skirting the line of Westwood to the north section line of section nine a little west of Wardall avenue. The line from this point runs east along the section line to the northeast corner of section three of Green township; thence south along the section line to the northeast corner of the second section, then east along the section line to Mill creek north of Fairmount; thence in a general northwestwardly direction along Mill creek and the west fork thereof past the Wesleyan Cemetery to the section line between sections twenty-eight and thirty-four of the third township; thence north along the section line past Badgeley road to a point about the middle of the eastern boundary of section thirty-five; thence east to the section line between sections twenty-nine and twenty-three and south on that section line to the southeast corner of section twenty-nine and thence east along the section line to the western boundary of Spring Grove. The line then runs in a southeasterly direction between Cumminsville and Spring Grove to the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton road and then runs northeast a little distance along the line of that road and then southeastwardly crossing Mill creek to the canal. It then follows the canal in the northeastwardly direction to about the central point of section sixteen to the southwest corner of St. John's Catholic Cemetery in St. Bernard. It skirts the southern line of this cemetery to Carthage pike and runs south along that pike to the section line between sections fifteen and sixteen being the northern boundary of Avondale. The line then turns east and runs along the section line to Reading road, forming the northern boundary of Avondale. It then by a curious loop runs northeastwardly along Reading road and Hopkins avenue to Woodburn avenue, and thence to Williams avenue and the section line. From this point it turns west and runs along the section line to the northeast corner of section

nine; thence south along the section line to Redway avenue, east on Redway avenue to Glen Lyon avenue and south a short distance thence east, south again and finally west until it reaches the section line at a point where Glenwood avenue continued would strike it. From this point it turns south to the southeast corner of section nine at the boundary between Avondale and Walnut Hills and south of Idlewild. Here the line turns east and runs along the section line straight to the Little Miami River bank at Red Bank, having on its south, Walnut Hills, Mount Lookout and Linwood and on its north Idlewild, Evanston, Hyde Park and Red Bank. The line runs along the west bank of the Little Miami River south to its junction with the south section line of section thirteen in the fourth township of the second fractional range. It turns then to the west, running along the section line to a point a little west of the southwest corner of section thirteen and then takes a turn directly northwestwardly to the Turkey Bottom road; thence it runs in the southwestwardly direction along Turkey Bottom road to Davis Lane at which point it turns and runs northwestwardly for a short distance then southwestwardly; thence northwestwardly and thence southwestwardly until it strikes the river at a point almost due west of the place where Turkey Bottom road struck Davis Lane. From this point to the beginning the Ohio River forms the boundary. (1902.)]

This extraordinary irregularity of outline is as has been stated caused by the different annexations as a result of the growing population of the neighborhood. After the settlement became assured the growth of population developed along certain well defined lines. The settlement spread along the Ohio River eastward until connection had been made by way of Pendleton with Columbia and westward along the base of the hills until Sedamsville at Bold Face creek and Riverside just beyond became important points. The line of Mill creek was another line of settlement and here at Ludlow's Station; afterwards Cumminsville, and Camp Washington and Fairmount gradually developed a large population. Another line of settlement was along the important roads leading between the hills out towards other communities. One of the most conspicuous of these was the Lebanon turnpike, now the Reading road, along which settlers chose land sites which developed into such settlements as that of Avondale. The Montgomery road known for a great part of its course as Gilbert avenue attracted many settlers and formed a nucleus of Walnut Hills and in recent years Idlewild, Evanston, Ivanhoe, Elsmere, Norwood and Pleasant Ridge, all of which will probably be incorporated in the city in a very short time.

At the head of Main street above Liberty there branched to the northwest the road to Hamilton which is at present known as McMicken avenue. Subsequently along the line of the road running to Carthage was established the settlement of Corryville, beyond Mount Auburn, the first hill suburb.

In this way without going into details it is apparent that the city first formed itself along the lines of least resistance, that is along the valleys and the roads. Afterwards the hills were settled, the principal ones of them being Price Hill, Fairmount, Clifton, Corryville, Mount Auburn, Avondale, Walnut Hills and Mount Adams. and on the east Tusculum and Mount Lookout.

Many of these suburban hills are occupied by residences of very great beauty, placed in the midst of large grounds improved to the highest degree of landscape art. The tendency to remove the residence portion of the city to the hills seems to be growing each year and as a result the basin or original plateau has been almost entirely surrendered to business uses and residences of the cheaper class. Many of the superb old mansions that were the glory of the early days in the history of the city still remain in the East and West ends but they have been given over to offices, hospitals, hotels and private institutions of all sorts. The central point of the business life of the city is in the neighborhood of Government square, Fountain square and Fourth street from Main to Race. All the traction lines from the surrounding parts of the country including those from Kentucky pass through this section. The principal structures are in this general neighborhood and it is here that the activity of the city it most easily observed. The appearances in this respect are somewhat deceptive however, for the immense manufacturing establishments which constitute so much of the wealth and importance of the city are scattered in all directions along the river, in the East and West ends, through the Mill creek valley and even upon the neighboring hills and in the suburbs beyond them not yet incorporated in the city. It is true of Cincinnati as of course it is of all large cities that one who has been a resident of it for a lifetime may pass years of his life in active business in the city and be utterly unconscious of many

of the principal streams of activity going on about him. It is only when an observer makes an effort to get a comprehensive view of the life of such a city that he begins to realize even in a small way the breadth of that life and its multifariousness. In Cincinnati almost every department of human activity is represented and well represented. Its professional life will compare favorably with that of any city. It has contributed in the past and contributes to-day some of the leading men of authority to the professions of law, medicine and of the church. Its educational system including the public schools and private institutions, the high schools and the university afford opportunities to the poorest of its inhabitants which make it unnecessary for any to seek elsewhere for an education of the highest type, nor are these opportunities confined to a general education alone but they extend to specialization in law, medicine and theology. The artistic and musical side are no less represented. Cincinnati's musical festivals and her schools and colleges of music have given her a position preeminent among the countries of America in things pertaining to music. Her art school and art museum afford opportunities for development in this line unsurpassed on the continent.

The business life of the community is no less a matter of proper civic pride. Cincinnati has ever maintained the highest degree of credit in the business world and her merchants stand among those of the highest repute for business integrity and enterprise within the bounds of reasonable conservatism. She has had her business failures but throughout the whole period of her life the general tendency has been towards a higher and broader development in the line of material prosperity. Her manufacturing and commercial interests are enormous to a degree far in excess of the average in cities of the same size. The Queen City of the West on the banks of the beautiful river in her garlands dressed is a bee-hive of industry in which there are few drones. From the point of view of other large cities both in this country and in Europe, Cincinnati has no poor; it is not meant to imply by this that there is not a great demand for charitable work and a great response to that demand. In every city of a half-million inhabitants the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest is easily observed and many fall by the wayside but there is no considerable proportion of the idle or pauper class to be found in Cincinnati and there never has been.

The city more to-day than ever justifies the prophecy made years ago by Judge Hoadly that it would be "a city fair to the sight, with a healthy public spirit, and high intelligence, sound to the core; a city with pure water to drink, pure air to breathe, spacious public grounds, wide avenues; a city not merely of much traffic, but of delightful homes; a city of manufactures, wherein is made every product of art,—the needle-gun, the steam-engine, the man of learning, the woman of accomplishments; a city of resort for the money-profits of its dealings, and the mental and spiritual profit of its culture,—the Edinburgh of a new Scotland, the Boston of a new New England, the Paris of a new France."

ANNEXATIONS.

At the time of the incorporation of the city in 1819 the boundaries were Liberty street and a line continuing that street to the river, the river on the east and south and Mill creek on the west which included an area of three square miles. On April 14, 1849, there was added to this territory the tract bounded on the south by Liberty street and on the east by Hunt street and the Lebanon turnpike or Reading road and on the west by Millcreek extending as far north as McMillan street; this territory included two and one-fourth square miles. It included within its limits what was called the Northern Liberties, lying immediately north of the old city limits and just west above the Hamilton road, now McMicken avenue.

On the plan of Cincinnati prefixed to the Directory of 1819 are shown within this section a few small lots lying mainly to the east and west of Vine street as continued beyond Liberty to the point where that street connects with the Hamilton road, now McMicken avenue, and another line of lots lying along the west side of the Hamilton road south of its junction with Vine street. Parallel with Vine was New street now Brenten and cutting through New street were Green street, then running northwestwardly, and North street, now West Elder. To the east of Vine were marked Poplar now Huber and Elder street running east and west, and north and south Pleasant street now Hamer. To the southwest of Hamilton road and running parallel was Back street now continued to Walnut, where Moore street joins the two just south of McMicken avenue.

The plat of the Northern Liberties was dated

March 31, 1837, but this section had been known long before this as a subdivision of Mill creek township. In a plat prefixed to the Directory of 1834, were shown two more short streets, Hughes running north and south and Williams now Schiller, parallel to Liberty street, lying east of Main street and the Dayton road west of Sycamore street and north of Liberty. The upper waters of the west branch of Deer creek were shown as going through this tract. In those days the Dayton road ran from the head of Main at the corporation line (Liberty street) to the northeast, making an angle of about 67 degrees with Hamilton road now McMicken avenue.

Included in this same territory was the section or village lying north of the original town site and to the west of Vine known as Mohawk. It was at this point then a striving village along the Hamilton road at the base of Mount Auburn where Mrs. Trollope first set up her household in 1829. She describes it "a little village about a mile and a half from the town, close to the foot of the hills formerly mentioned as the northern boundary of it." There was no plat of this section placed on record and its exact limits were very indefinite. The name is preserved to this day in Mohawk bridge and Mohawk street.

Brighton included that part of the present city reaching from Mill creek to Freeman avenue at the junction of Central avenue. It was here that the stock yards were formerly maintained, and here for many years was the old Brighton House, a popular hotel with stock raisers, and a favorite suburban resort. Ernst Station afterwards Brighton Station and Fairmount were within this suburb.

Texas was in the northwestern part of the city, while Bucktown, still in a general way called by that name, lay east of Broadway in the Deer creek bottoms.

In the following year by an act of Legislature passed March 22, 1850, there was annexed the territory in section seven of the third township of the second fractional range, bounded on the west by Reading road, on the south by Liberty street, on the east by the west line of Fulton and on the north by McMillan street, including three-fourths of a square mile. This became by ordinance the Eleventh Ward, March 29, 1850. The act gives the new boundaries of the city as follows:

Commencing at the northeast corner of said section No. 7, thence west along the north line of sections No. 7, 13, 19 and 25 in said third township to Mill creek thence down Mill creek with its meanders to the Ohio River; thence eastwardly up the Ohio River with the southern boundary of the State of Ohio to the east corner of fractional section No. 12 in the first fractional range; thence west with the south line of the town of Fulton to the southwest corner thereof; thence northeastwardly with the west line of said town of Fulton to the place of beginning.

In 1854 another strip including a square mile and then called the Seventeenth Ward was added by ordinance. This extended along the Ohio River north and east from the line of Liberty street to the village of Pendleton and was known as the village of Fulton. A preliminary ordinance submitting the matter of annexation to the voters of the city and to those of the incorporated village of Fulton, which included almost all of Fulton township, was passed by the Council on August 23, 1854, and in October following both the municipalities voted in favor of the plan. The terms of annexations were formally approved on December 27th. Fulton was almost entirely made up of a single long street extending eastward between the hills and the river and formed the connecting link between the old city and Columbia, the two earliest settlements, being on the direct line of travel between these two points. A large number of people settled there at an early time. The principal occupation of the people at that time was boat building and it was at the Fulton landing that the explosion of the "Moselle" occurred in 1835.

The year 1869 was noted for extensive annexations. The first included the territory three and one-eighth square miles in area, known as Storrs township extending from Mill creek on the east to the river on the south and Liberty street on the north and west to the section line. In this tract were included the villages of Sedamsville along the river bank and Price Hill along the hills. A small part of the township was in the village of Riverside which was not included.

Sedamsville took its name from Cornelius R. Sedam, who was colonel of the Continental army from New Jersey, who fought at Princeton, Monmouth and Germantown. He came to Losantiville with Major Doughty at the time of the building of Fort Washington. Afterwards he took part in the St. Clair campaign and was wounded in the fight. Shortly afterwards he purchased a large tract of land about the mouth of Bold Face creek, in sections 34 and 35, where

he built his house in 1795. He was a justice of peace for Storrs township from 1759 until the time of his death in 1824, when his son, Henry F. Sedam, was appointed to succeed him. His son held the office until 1869. Both father and son engaged largely in trading down the river to New Orleans in flat-boats. Probably no two men who ever lived in Hamilton County have been the subject of so many anecdotes and reminiscences as the two Sedams. The date of the ordinance authorizing the annexation of Storrs township was September 10, 1869.

In the same year by ordinance of November 12th came the annexation of a two and one-half square mile tract in Spencer township, bounded on the north by Linwood road and Observatory avenue, on the east line by section line 26, the village of Columbia and by Crawfish creek to the Ohio River and on the south by the Ohio River and including the village of Pendleton to the former western line of the former village of Fulton and on the west by said line and the east line of the village of Woodburn. The following year, on March 5, 1870, there was annexed the villages of Walnut Hills, Mount Auburn and Clintonville, including Corryville, and Vernon village, constituting two wards.

The ordinance of annexation was passed September 10, 1869, and received the vote of the people on October 12th of the same year. In the same year, 1870, on September 21st was added a large strip of territory to the west, five and one-eighth square miles in area, known as the election precincts of Camp Washington, Lick Run and Mill creek township, including Mount Harrison, Barrsville, Fairmount, West Fairmount, St. Peters, Lick Run, Clifton Heights and Camp Washington west from Clifton avenue and from Mill creek and north from McMillan street to the Liberty street line.

The territory added by this ordinance was incorporated into the city under the designation of the Eighteenth Ward which was the old election precinct of Camp Washington and the Twenty-first Ward the former election precinct of Lick Run and the tract in the Spencer township as a part of the twenty-fourth ward. The exact boundaries of these additions are set forth in the ordinance authorizing these annexations. (Coppock and Hertenstein, 16; 17; 18.)

This same year an effort was made to annex Clifton, Avondale, Woodburn, Columbia, Cumminsville, Spring Grove, Winton Place, St. Bernard and Riverside.

The annexation was carried at the election by the people but the enabling act was declared unconstitutional by the courts.

The village of Columbia including the oldest settlement in the Miami country, in area one and one-eighth square miles, was added to Cincinnati on December 13, 1872. Cumminsville the original seat of the Ludlow family was annexed March 12, 1873. This tract including two and three-eighths square miles became known as the Twenty-fifth Ward and so continued until the date that the new code of 1902 became effective. In the same year, March 29, 1873, the village of Woodburn was added to the city; this included one square mile; this was added to the First Ward. The Zoological Garden and contiguous territory including one-fourth of a square mile were added to Cincinnati December 7, 1888.

The Legislature passed an act April 13, 1893, authorizing the annexation to the city of the villages of Avondale, Riverside, Clifton, Linwood and Westwood and their school districts. This annexation was approved of by the voters of the city and villages and the terms thereof were determined by a Board of Annexation Commissioners, consisting of Judge C. D. Robertson, W. B. Melish and L. C. Robinson. The annexation went into effect, December 31, 1895, at midnight and added eleven square miles to the territory of Cincinnati.

On April 28th, 1902, there was added section six and the east half of section twelve of the third township in the first fractional range, being one and sixty-nine hundredths square miles lying west of Price Hill.

The original area of the city at the time of its incorporation was but three square miles. Its present area as a result of the annexations above mentioned is 37.09 square miles.

THE GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY OF CINCINNATI.

By John M. Nickles.

The geological history of that part of the earth's crust which underlies Cincinnati and vicinity is comparatively simple. The strata which form the framework of Cincinnati's hills consist of alternations of limestone layers and clay shales. The mineral composition and the structure of these strata show that they were formed in a wide sea stretching from the Appalachian highland westward, as far, perhaps, as the backbone of the Cordilleras. This sea swarmed with animal life. The remains of these animals, falling upon the floor of the sea, formed the layers

of limestone. At times the currents swept along their waters surcharged with fine sediment brought from distant shores. This, settling slowly down, formed the clayey shales, in which the remains of the creatures of long by-gone ages are often beautifully preserved.

From the great thickness of stratified deposits formed in this Mississippian sea, of which the present Gulf of Mexico is a much reduced vestige, we may infer that the sea bottom was slowly settling down. After this sinking had continued long enough to permit the accumulation of strata two thousand or more feet in thickness, a contraction in the earth's crust produced a gentle fold which brought above the surface of the sea a long, rather narrow island extending north and south. This uplift has been called in geological history the Cincinnati anticline, as the strata dip gently away from the crest of this island eastward and westward.

The uplift probably took place about the close of Silurian times and involved formations belonging to the Silurian period, the Ordovician (or Lower Silurian) period and underlying formations. The formations now exposed about Cincinnati belong to the Trenton and Cincinnati stages of the Ordovician period. Over these were originally, without much doubt, the Clinton and Niagara stages of the Silurian period, but in the many millions of years which have elapsed since the anticline was formed, these Silurian formations and a large part of the Cincinnati formation have been croded away.

The rocks of the Cincinnati period comprise three stages, the Utica, Lorraine and Richmond. All of the Richmond and part of the Lorraine have been eroded away from Cincinnati and vicinity. A small part of the Trenton period, about fifty feet vertically, is exposed in the south bank of the Ohio River from West Covington to Ludlow. A much greater exposure vertically is found between New Richmond and Point Pleasant, Ohio, about twenty miles east of Cincinnati, as the axis of the anticline passes here in its north and south trend. The Trenton contains with its shale much good building stone. In the early days of Cincinnati stone was quarried from the south bank of the Ohio. The name "Low River Quarries" still survives. A large amount of stone was also formerly quarried from the Trenton in the vicinity of Point Pleasant.

The lower parts of the hills around the city expose the Utica. This formation consists mainly of shale. Some of the limestone layers would make building stone suitable for cellar work, etc., but nowhere can it be profitably quarried. The thickness around Cincinnati is about two hundred and sixty feet.

Overlying the Utica and forming the upper part of the Cincinnati hills is the Lorraine, which has altogether a thickness of about three hundred feet, but at Cincinnati only the lower two hundred feet are shown. All above has been carried away. It is in these beds that the quarries have been opened which have supplied foundation work for the residences of Cincinnati's citizens. Several of the churches and other quasi-public buildings show that the stone can also be very tastily employed for architectural purposes. Formerly a large amount of lime was burned from this stone, but of late years better grades brought into the city have displaced the home-made article except for cellar work.

The Richmond is exposed in a belt from fifteen to twenty-five miles wide, surrounding Cincinnati in a semicircle through Indiana and Ohio at a distance from the city of from thirty to sixty miles.

All the formations about Cincinnati are very prolific in fossils. From the earliest times when the "blue limestone" began to be quarried by the early settlers, Cincinnati has been noted as one of the finest fossil collecting grounds in the world. A host of collectors have brought to light a wealth of animal remains. Over eight hundred species have been described from the Cincinnati period, and two or three hundred more are known that await description. Judging from the large number of before unknown forms discovered within the past two decades, it may be safely predicted that many more wait for the keen eyes of diligent collectors. Several very large collections, notably those of C. B. Dyer, U. P. James, and E. O. Ulrich, have been gathered, but to the shame of Cincinnati be it said that she has never given the proper encouragement to scientific labors, and so these large collections, which can never be duplicated, have been allowed to slip away to the large scientific institutions of the East.

Among the many who have helped to unearth the fossil treasures and make these riches known to the world may be mentioned Dr. John Locke, who reported upon Southwestern Ohio for the First Ohio Geological Survey in 1836-7, S. T. Carley, Robert Buchanan, U. P. James, R. B. Moore, R. M. Byrnes, H. H. Hill, C. B. Dyer, S. A. Miller, Geo. W. Harper, A. G.

Wetherby, E. O. Ulrich, R. S. Bassler, and C. L. Faber.

After the Cincinnati anticline had brought to the surface the new born island, it became the prey of the elements which are unceasingly at work tearing down the land surface and transporting the debris to the seas. Many millions of years have elapsed since rain, frost and running water began their work on this new surface. These elements work very slowly, but in the long ages that have elapsed since they began their work, they have brought about great changes in the appearance of the land. Originally the surface was almost level, but soon drainage channels were established which were cut deeper and deeper. We do not know how much the surface of this old island has been worn down, but probably on an average it has lost between three hundred and four hundred feet vertically.

It is a very interesting study to trace the old drainage channels through which this great mass of rock and shale was carried seaward in the form of mud. Only a beginning has been made. It would seem that it ought not to be difficult, and it would not be, had it not been for a most surprising event in geological history. This was the advance from the north in comparatively recent times—geologically speaking—of a great, thick sheet of ice, an immense glacier, which covered over the surface of the land, filled up the hollows, planed off some of the eminences and swept around others, blocked the rivers and often compelled them to carve out for themselves new channels. When the ice sheet melted away, it left undisturbed over hill and hollow an immense amount of wastage in the form of gravel, sand, silt, bowlders and till. The valleys around Cincinnati quite generally show this glacial debris and some is found even on some of the hill tops.

By this ice invasion, which had its southern limit only a short distance south of Cincinnati, the drainage of this region was profoundly modified. The ancient drainage was obliterated, though it has here and there left its traces. The Ohio, at least as far down as Lawrenceburg, Indiana, is a young river, occupying mainly the channels of several very old streams; in some places, as at Cincinnati, it has carved out for itself a new channel.

An examination of the surface features about Cincinnati shows that the older portion of the city occupies a somewhat semi-circular, depressed area, surrounded by hills except on the south where it is bounded by the Ohio River. Covington and Newport occupy a similar, smaller half-basin intersected by the Licking River and semi-circled by hills. The hills surrounding this basin are comparatively steep, though their surface now is not what it was when the city was first settled. Then the slopes of the hills were densely wooded. Only here and there did the small streams cut through to the bed rock. The growth of the city caused many quarries to be opened into the hillsides, and later, when the city spread out over the hills, many cuts and fills were made for streets and residence sites. All in all, great changes were thus made, yet the general features are about as they were when the floods caused by the melting of the ice sheet as it finally retreated had done their work.

What are called hills are not really hills, but only the escarpments of a rolling table land in which the Cincinnati-Covington-Newport basin has been hollowed out to a depth of about 300 feet below the general level of the country.

The western part of the basin is occupied by the broad Mill creek valley which continues north, then northeast. Several miles west of the Mill creek is a high ridge running from the Ohio River north through Westwood and Cheviot. From this ridge several spurs extend eastward. The one at the south is quite wide. It is occupied by Price Hill. That between Fairmount and North Fairmount is comparatively narrow. The Fairmount valley, drained by Lick run, now changed into a sewer, and the North Fairmount valley, and their side valleys, illustrate finely the amphitheatres which occur at a certain stage in normal erosion. So also does the valley of the West Fork, west of Cumminsville. In fact most of the small valleys about Cincinnati are of this shape. It is easily seen that from Mill creek west was a table land, which, as the result of erosion, has become a series of ridges and valleys.

The high land on the north of the basin forms a watershed from which several short streams in rainy weather flow down into the basin or, rather, did before they were deflected into sewers. Ravine street and Vine street occupy two such small water courses. Deer creek, in the valley between Mount Auburn and Eden Park, was another. The high ridge has been utilized in part for McMillan street. The north side of this watershed, occupied by Burnet Woods, Clifton, Avondale, Idlewild and Hyde Park, sends its drainage streams off to the north and northwest and eventually their waters find their way

into Mill creek. Walnut Hills occupies the broad eastern end of this high ridge.

The present topography of the Cincinnati region presents some instructive features which serve as clues to the ancient drainage. These are some of them: the very wide valley of the Mill creek with such an insignificant stream flowing in it; the valley of the Little Miami River for several miles above its mouth much wider than that of the Ohio from this point down; a broad low valley extending from the Little Miami at Red Bank westward to the Mill creek, in which are situated the suburbs Madisonville, Norwood and Bond Hill.

The explanation of these peculiarities is that in pre-glacial times, a stream, known as Old Limestone, heading somewhere in the vicinity of Maysville, Kentucky, and Manchester, Ohio, and occupying what is now the channel of the Ohio from Maysville down, flowed for several miles through the channel of the Little Miami northwardly, then westwardly through the low valley just mentioned, to the neighborhood of St. Bernard. At that point it was joined by the Licking River which flowed northwardly through the lower part of the valley of the Mill creek. With its volume much augmented by the water of the Licking, Old Limestone continued on up the Mill creek valley to Hamilton, Ohio. Upon its course from this point different views are entertained, but the weight of evidence favors the view that the river continued its course through a now abandoned channel from Hamilton southwestward into the valley of the White Water near Harrison, Ohio; thence, through the lower part of the White Water to its junction with the Great Miami River not far from Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

Walnut Hills was directly connected with the highlands in Campbell County, Kentucky, lying east of Newport, Kentucky. Price Hill was continuous with the hills of Kentucky lying to the south. When the ice sheet advanced from the north, it blocked up Old Limestone, the stream flowing north in Mill creek valley to Hamilton, damming its waters into a lake until they rose high enough to cut across the lowest parts, or cols, of the old ridges at Walnut Hills and Sedamsville, thus beginning the present course of the Ohio at Cincinnati. During the time which has elapsed since this event the Ohio has cut down these gaps to their present level. The steep slopes of the hills abutting on the Ohio in the First Ward of Cincinnati and the Twentieth Ward, Sedamsville and Riverside, are noteworthy and in very great contrast with the gentle slopes of hills carved out of the same kind of rocks which have been subject to normal erosion during long geological ages.

CHAPTER II.

PREHISTORIC INHABITANTS.

Ancient Remains—Mound Builders.

The first white man that came to the site of Losantiville could hardly have failed to notice the indications of the numerous presence at this point of an earlier people. The Indian as he has been known within historic times left little or no trace of his occupancy of any part of the land, but on the small table lands that constituted the site of Losantiville were structures which were unmistakably the remains of a different race and one whose name, character, history and antiquity are left to mere conjecture. In the excitement of the chase and the dangers that encompassed the pioneers who first must have seen these remains, their presence aroused little or no attention. But after the settlement had located itself there were men who not only became inquisitive as to the peculiar structures but made a record of them. The earliest of these records of any importance is that contained in Dr. Drake's invaluable "Picture of Cincinnati," published in 1815. As a scientific observer, Dr. Drake unquestionably stands at the head of the early residents of the city and his record is so accurate and at the same time so well expressed that it is best presented in his own words.

"No objects in the State of Ohio seem to have more forcibly arrested the attention of travelers, nor employed a greater number of pens, than its antiquities. It is to be regretted, however, that so hastily and superficially have they been examined by strangers, and so generally neglected by ourselves, that the materials for a full description have not yet been collected. The former have too often contented themselves by copying from each other; and the latter have commonly substituted wonder for examination. In the United States, there is indeed no redundance of time or money; but even in this young and parsimonious State, it is not uncommon to see appropriations of both, to objects of greater expense and lesser interest, than a survey of these curious relics. In the reflection, that I shall add one more to these crude and partial accounts, there is not much either to exalt pride or gratify ambition; but as a description of any part of the State of Ohio that did not embrace these vestiges of former population, would by many be considered palpably defective in its plan, the present chapter cannot be omitted. Its imperfections, however, will not only fit it for being compared with the treatises that are already extant on the same subject, but make it better correspond with the articles among which it will appear.

"Before proceeding to examine the remains which are termed ancient, it may be advantageous to distinguish them, if possible, from those which are evidently modern. In several places are to be found the sites of Indian villages, which are indicated by hearths of flat stones; by ashes, charcoal and calcined earth; and by vast quanties of the broken bones of those animals on which the inhabitants subsisted. About the same spots, but not confined to them, are found various articles fabricated of clay, coal, grit, flint, granite and other hard stones; and which from their form are denominated hatchets, axes, chisels, arrow heads, pipes or ornaments. Fragments of earthern ware, also, are picked up, which exhibits in its composition, pounded mussel and other river shells; and on its surface, many ornamental lines, either straight and parallel, or curved; al-

ways formed by indentation or incision. None of it appears to have been glazed; but most of the fragments have, it is obvious, been subjected to a strong heat. All which I have seen were parts of vessels, and are unquestionably a manufacture of the same species with that carried on by some of the Southern tribes of Louisiana at the present time. The remaining works of a modern date are stone and sometimes earthen tumuli, which are distinguishable from the ancient by their diminutive size, and from being disconnected with any extensive fortifications, or other remains. I have seen three of these Indian graves examined. They were situated on the top of a high ridge, in Kentucky, where none of the common vestiges of ancient population exist. Two of them were composed of stone, the other of earth. In the latter the dead bodies had been laid on the surface of the ground, and were surrounded by ashes, calcined loam and fragments of charred wood. They were covered with flat limestones, surrounded by others set edgewise. Over the whole had been erected a circular mound of little convexity, being nearly 36 feet in diameter, and not more than three in height. The others had nearly the same internal construction; but their framers chose to bring up stone from the creeks 200 feet below rather than erect a mound of earth; and when we take into consideration the tools which they must have used for the latter purpose, their preference of the former cannot excite much surprise.

"Having premised these remarks, we are better prepared to understand what relates to the works which are more ancient. Among these there is not a single edifice, nor any ruins which prove the existence, in former ages, of a building composed of imperishable materials. No fragment of a column; no bricks; nor a single hewn stone large enough to have been incorporated into a wall, has been discovered. The fabrics of wood must have long since mouldered away; and the only relics which remain to inflame curiosity and excite speculation, are composed of earth, with which rude and undressed masses of stone have been sometimes combined. These vestiges consist of mounds, excavations, and embankments or walls, of various forms and dimensions. Cincinnati affords specimens of each. They are extensive and complicated, but not conspicuous, and have therefore attracted less attention than the relics at some other places. Their relative position may be seen by a reference to the frontispiece. The principal wall or embankment encloses an entire block of lots and some fractions. It is a very broad ellipsis; one diameter extending 800 feet east from Race street; and the other about 660 feet south from Fifth street. But its figure is not mathematically exact. On the east side it had an opening nearly 90 feet in width. It is composed of loam, and exhibits, upon being excavated, quite a homogeneous appearance. Its height is scarcely three feet, upon a base of more than thirty. There is no ditch on either side. Within the wall the surface of the ground is somewhat uneven or waving; but nothing is found that indicates manual labor. On each side of the gateway or opening, exterior and contiguous to the wall, there is a broad elevation or parapet, of an indeterminate figure. From one of these may be traced a bank, not more than twelve inches in height, on a foundation nine times as great. It extends southerly about 150 feet, till it reaches within one or two rods of the border of the upper plain or *Hill,* when it turns to the east, and terminates in a mound at the junction of Main and Third streets, distant nearly 500 feet. From the parapet of the opposite side, no wall of this kind can be traced; but immediately north of it, and at a short distance, are two other shapeless and insulated elevations more than six feet in height, which, it seems probable, could not have been formed on an alluvial plain, but by the hands of man. Upwards of 400 yards east of this, between Broadway and Sycamore streets, there is another bank, of nearly the same dimensions with the one last described. It can be traced from Sixth to the vicinity of Third street; and is evidently the segment of a very large circle, the centre of which would lie within or immediately south of that already described. From near the southern end of this segment, to the river, a low embankment, it is said, could formerly be traced; and was found to correspond in height, direction and extent, with another, more than half a mile distant, in the western part of the town; but neither of these are now visible. In Fifth street, east of all that have been described, there is a circular bank enclosing a space 60 feet in diameter. It was formed by throwing up the earth from the inside. It is not more than a foot in height, but 12 or 15 in horizontal extent. In the northern part of the town, between Vine and Elm streets, at the distance of 400 yards from the ellipsis first described, there are a couple of convex banks, 760 feet long, and less than two feet high, connected at each end. They are exactly parallel and 46

feet asunder, measuring from their centres, for two thirds of their distance; after which they converge to 40. In the southern of these banks, about the point where their inclination to each other commences, there was an opening 30 feet wide. The direction of these elevations, as ascertained by the compass, does not vary two degrees from a true east and west line. The site of our town exhibits many other inequalities of surface, which are no doubt artificial; but they are too much reduced, and their configuration is too obscure to admit of their being described. It is worthy of notice that the plains on the opposite side of the river have not a single vestige of this kind.

"Of excavations, we have but one. It is situated more than half a mile north of the figure first described, and is not perceptibly connected with any other works. Its depth is about 12 feet; its diameter, measuring from the top of the circular bank formed by throwing out the earth, is nearly 50. Popular speculation could not fail to make it a half filled *well;* but no examination has yet been undertaken.

"The mounds or pyramids found on this plain were four in number. The largest stands directly west of the central enclosure so often referred to, at the distance of 500 yards. Its present height is 27 feet, and about eight feet were cut off by General Wayne, in 1794, to prepare it for the reception of a centinel. It is a regular ellipsis, whose diameters are to each other nearly as two to one. The longer runs 17 degrees east of north. Its circumference, at the base, is 440 feet. The earth for 30 or 40 yards around it, is perceptibly lower than the other parts of the plain, and the stratum of loam is thinner; from which it appears to have been formed by scooping up the surface; which opinion is confirmed by its internal structure. It has been penetrated nearly to the centre, and found to consist of loam gradually passing into soil, with rotten wood. The fruits of this examination were only a few scattering and decayed human bones, a branch of deer's horn, and a piece of earthern ware, containing mussel shell. At the distance of 500 feet from this pyramid, in the direction of north eight degrees east there is another about nine feet high, of a circular figure, and nearly flat on the top. This has been penetrated to the centre of its base, without affording anything but some fragments of human skeletons, and a handful of copper beads, which had been strung on a cord of lint.

"Northeast of the last, at the distance of a few hundred yards, is another of the same figure, but not more than three feet in height; which upon being partially opened, has been found to contain a quantity of unfinished spear and arrow heads, of flint.

"The mound at the intersection of Third and Main streets has attracted most attention, and is the only one that had any connection with the lines which have been described. It was about eight feet high, one hundred and twenty long, and sixty broad; of an oval figure, with its diameters lying nearly in the direction of the cardinal points. It has been almost obliterated by the graduation of Main street; and its construction is, therefore, well known. Whatever it contained was deposited at a small distance beneath the stratum of loam which is common to the town. The first artificial layer was of gravel, considerably raised in the middle; the next, composed of large pebbles, was convex and of an uniform thickness; the last consisted of loam and soil. These strata were entire, and must have been formed after the deposits in the tumulus were completed. Of the articles taken from thence, many have been lost; but the following catalogue embraces the most curious:

"1. Pieces of jasper, rock crystal, granite and some other stones—cylindrical at the extremities, and swelled in the middle; with an annular groove near one end.

"2. A circular piece of cannel coal, with a large opening in the centre, as if for an axis; and a deep groove in the circumference, suitable for a band. It has a number of small perforations, disposed in four equidistant lines, which run from the circumference towards the centre.

"3. A smaller article of the same shape, with eight lines of perforations; but composed of argillaceous earth, well polished.

"4. A bone, ornamented with several carved lines, supposed to be hieroglyphical.

"5. A sculptural representation of the head and beak of a rapacious bird, perhaps an eagle.

"6. A mass of lead ore (*galena*) lumps of which have been found in some other tumuli.

"7. A quantity of isinglass (*mica membranacea*) plates of which have been discovered in and about other mounds.

"8. A small ovate piece of sheet copper, with two perforations.

"9. A larger oblong piece of the same metal, with longitudinal grooves and ridges.

"These articles are described in the fourth and fifth volumes of the American Philosophical Transactions, by Governor Sargent and Judge

Turner; and were supposed, by Professor Barton, to have been designed in part for ornament, and in part for superstitious ceremonies. In addition to these, I have since discovered in the same mound:

"10. A number of beads, or sections of small hollow cylinders, apparently of bone or shell.

"11. The teeth of a carnivorous animal, probably those of the bear.

"12. Several large marine shells, belonging perhaps to the genus *buccinum;* cut in such manner as to serve for domestic utensils, and nearly converted into the [so in original].

"14. Several copper articles, each consisting of two sets of circular concavo-convex plates; the interior one of each set connected with the other by a hollow axis, around which had been wound a quantity of lint; the whole encompassed with the bones of a man's hand. Several other articles, resembling this, have been dug up in other parts of the town. They all appear to consist of pure copper, covered with the green carbonate of that metal. After removing this incrustation of rust from two pieces, their specific gravities were found to be 7.545 and 7.857. Their hardness is about that of the sheet copper of commerce. They are not engraved or embellished with characters of any kind.

"15. Human bones. These were of different sizes; sometimes enclosed in rude coffins of stone, but oftener lying blended with the earth —generally surrounded by a portion of ashes and charcoal. The quantity of these bones, altho' much greater than that taken from the other mounds of the town, was small in proportion to what was expected—the whole tumulus not having contained perhaps more than 20 or 30 skeletons. With a view of comparing these bones with those of the present Indian tribes, I endeavored to collect and preserve them; but they were generally in such a state of decay that nothing more could be inferred, than a sameness in the height of the two races. At length I was so fortunate as to procure the skull, nearly entire, of a middle aged man; and have compared it with that of a Wyandot Indian—presented to me by John Johnston, Esq. The facial angle of the ancient, which may be termed the fossil skull, is 74°—that of the Wyandot 76°—and in their length and breadth there is but little difference. On placing and examining them, however, in the manner directed by Blumenbach, it is seen that a section made through the forehead and the occiput would exhibit in the fossil skull almost a regular oval; in the Wyandot, the figure of an egg cut lengthwise, after being flattened at its smaller end. The face of the Indian head, moreover, is shorter and broader than that of the fossil; the upper jaw projects less, and the cheek bones are more distant, broad and prominent. Those of the fossil skull, are, however, of greater height than the cheek bones of most European faces. But what little reliance is to be placed on a single comparison, appears from this—that the upper part of another skull found in this tumulus exhibits the same horizontal section with the Wyandot, except that the forehead is remarkably convex, instead of being flatted. The fossil teeth, which I have seen, were generally sound, and had nothing peculiar in their figure.

"No earthen vases were found in the Main street tumulus but a small one, composed in part of pulverized mussel shells, was lately dug up and broken to pieces, about 500 feet from that mound. Other vessels have been discovered in similar situations in the country. A comparison of these, as to form, composition and ornament, with the vases made in later times or by distant nations, might lead to interesting results; but the bigotry of Spain in the 16th century seems not to have been more destructive to the historical paintings of Mexico, than the indifference, negligence or idle curiosity of many of our citizens are to these interesting relics."

Dr. Drake also gives some account of the ancient works of Piqua, on the western side of the Great Miami and with those lower down on the same river near the mouth of Hole's creek. He speaks briefly of the fortifications near Hamilton and the old stone fort so called, above the confluence of the Great Miami and the Ohio. General Lytle furnished him with information concerning the fortifications near Milford and those further up the Little Miami, near Deerfield and Lebanon, are noted and some particular information is given about a mound near Chillicothe. His general observations are not without interest. He concluded that the lakes and the Gulf of Mexico are the northern and southern boundary of the region containing these works, and that they extend from the Alleghanies to the Pacific. They are found in the greatest magnitude and grandeur in the southern provinces of Mexico. Another circumstance is that they are generally found in the valleys of the great streams but on the second and third banks counting from the rivers. The forests, he maintains, exhibit no appearance of more recent growth than the forests in the neighbor-

hood. He concludes that they were obviously built for purposes of defense, although as to some of the valley remains he concludes there are grounds for a different opinion, citing the fact that General Wayne did not believe they were for that purpose. He finally seems to reach the conclusion that the upland works were for defense and those in the valleys for residence purposes. All the mounds were burying places. He speaks of the two theories relating to the builders. One is that they were a nation which had been expelled from this part of the continent and had become extinct, and the other that they were the ancestors of the existing Indian tribes who had degenerated from their earlier higher grade of civilization. He seems to incline to the latter view.

Another description of interest is that given by Judge Burnet, one of the most prominent of our earlier citizens and in some respects our most valuable authority upon the early history of this neighborhood. Judge Burnet, in his "Letters to Delafield," speaks as follows:

"When I first came here the town had advanced but very little from a state of nature. The surface of the site, on which it stands, was undisturbed, except where some rough houses and humble cabins had been erected, to shelter its inhabitants. The works referred to were in a perfect state of preservation, though depressed in height, by the natural causes which had operated on them for ages. Within the limits of the town, as originally laid out, there were two large circles, one near the eastern boundary, and the other in a western direction, near the centre of the plat. The former, though sufficiently distinct to be traced, was not as elevated, or as perfect as the other. It was about the same diameter, and was uniform in its curvity. The circle near the centre passed through the block which I owned, south of Fourth, and between Vine and Race streets. It was an exact circle, about six hundred feet in diameter. The earth which composed it had been gradually washed down, till its base had spread about twenty-five feet, and its apex was reduced to about eight or ten feet above the plane of its base. On the north side, near Fifth street, there was an aperture, ten or twelve feet wide, and there might have been another, which has escaped my memory. The arc within my enclosure, subtended by a chord of about three hundred feet, was preserved with care, while it was in my possession. On that part of it, I am confident, there was no break, or opening. These works were entirely on the upper level of the town-plat, and did not approach the break of the hill nearer than four hundred feet. About one hundred and fifty rods west of the circle last spoken of stood a beautiful mound, thirty-five or forty feet high, constructed with great exactness, and standing on a base unusually small, compared with its height. When the army under the command of General Wayne was encamped at this place, in 1792-3, he had a sentry-box on its top, which commanded an entire view of the plain. In the neighborhood of this structure two or three smaller ones were standing, which were found to contain human bones, as is the fact with regard to most of them. Besides these, there was another of a medium size, compared with the others, standing on the brow of the hill, about midway between the circles and in advance of them, in the direction of the river, about three or four hundred feet. By digging down, and grading Main street, this structure was entirely removed many years ago. While that process was going on, many articles which it contained were found, some, if not all of which, were probably deposited there, after the country had been visited by Europeans. Among them were marine shells, pieces of hard earthen-ware, a small ivory image, finely wrought, of the Virgin Mary, holding an infant in her arms, which had been much mutilated; also a small metallic instrument, complex in its construction, much corroded and decayed, and supposed by some to have been intended to ascertain the weight of small substances. The skeleton of a man was also found, under its apex, a few feet below the surface, contained in what might be called a coffin, composed of flat stones, so placed on all sides as to protect the body from the pressure of the earth. Other discoveries were made which my memory does not retain, with sufficient accuracy, to enable me to describe them. * * *" (Trans. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc., Vol. I, Part 2, p. 35.)

In 1874 ancient graves were discovered by Dr. H. H. Hill, on Brighton Hill, at the west end of the city. This had been the site of a former mound which had been washed away by the rain. The bodies were discovered within a circular spot, about forty feet in diameter, but the bones were so decomposed as to fall to dust almost immediately; it is thought that Indians were buried here as well as mound builders. Many other articles were found at this place including teeth, tusks of animals and implements, the bone and mica together with stone hammers,

pipes, arrow-heads, spear heads and awls of copper and bone. Another so-called ancient remain was what has been designated the "dug-hole" which was about one-half mile north of the ellipse described. This is the well, referred to by Dr. Drake.

The ancient works were marked on a number of the earlier maps of the city. They are plainly shown on the "Plan of Cincinnati" which is prefixed to Drake's "Statistical View of 1815" as well as on the maps prefixed to the first and second directories of the city, published in 1819 and 1825. A large ellipsis is shown as surrounding completely the block between Fourth, Fifth, Race and Vine and includes more than the western half of the block to the east, which also takes in parts of the blocks to the north and south. The large mound west of the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut on the site of the present Johnston Building was clearly shown. Another large mound is shown west of the southwest corner of Fourth and Walnut, which extended from the middle of Fourth street half way down to Third, occupying the western half of in-lots 162 and 163. It is connected by a single enbankment by another large mound at the northeast corner of Third and Main. It is easy with either of these maps to follow Drake's description.

The large mound near the corner of Fifth and Mound was removed in November, 1841, for the purpose of extending Mound street and grading an alley. Just below the surface near the center of the mound was found a part of a human skull and two bones of about seven inches in length. Under the skull was a bed of charcoal, ashes and earth and in it a remarkable stone with markings in curves and scrolls upon it. This since has been called the "Cincinnati tablet" and was the occasion of much discussion in the course of which it was denounced by no less an authority than Charles Whittlesey as a fraud. Subsequently, however, Robert Clarke of this city published a pamphlet in vindication of the stone, as a result of which the Cincinnati tablet has been accepted as a genuine relic of the mound builders' period. Mr. Whittlesey himself admitted that he had been convinced of the authenticity of the tablet by Mr. Clarke's pamphlet. It is described and commented upon in Squier and Davis' "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley:"

"The material is fine grained, compact sandstone of a light brown color. It measures five inches in length, three in breadth at the ends, and two and six-tenths at the middle, and is about half an inch in thickness. The sculptured face varies very slightly from a perfect plane. The figures are cut in low relief (the lines being not more than one-twentieth of an inch in depth), and occupy a rectangular space of four inches and two-tenths long by two and one-tenth wide. The sides of the stone, it will be observed, are slightly concave. Light lines are drawn across the face near the ends, at right angles, and exterior to these are notches, twenty-five at one end and twenty-four at the other. The back of the stone has three deep longitudinal grooves and several depressions evidently caused by rubbing—probably produced by sharpening the instrument used in the sculpture.

"Without discussing the singular resemblance which the relic bears to the Egyptian cartouch, it will be sufficient to direct attention to the reduplication of the figures, those upon one side corresponding with those upon the other, and the two central ones being also alike. It will be observed that there are but three scrolls or figures—four of one description and two of the others. Probably no serious discussion of the question whether or not these figures are hieroglyphical, is needed. They more resemble the stalk and flowers of a plant than anything else in nature. What significance, if any, may attach to the peculiar markings or graduations at the end it is not undertaken to say. The sum of the products of the longer and shorter lines (twenty-four by seven and twenty-five by eight) is three hundred and sixty-eight, three more than the number of days in the year; from which circumstance the suggestion has been advanced that the tablet had an astronomical origin and constituted some sort of a calendar.

"We may perhaps find the key to its purposes in a very humble, but not therefore less interesting class of southern remains. Both in Mexico and in the mounds of Mississippi have been found stamps of burnt clay, the faces of which are covered with figures, fanciful or imitative, all in low relief, like the face of a stereotype plate. These were used in impressing ornaments upon the clothes or prepared skins of the people possessing them. They exhibit the concavity of the sides to be observed in the relic in question—intended, doubtless, for greater convenience in holding and using it—as also a similar reduplication of the ornamental figures, all betraying a common purpose. This explanation is offered hypothetically as being entirely con-

sistent with the general character of the mound remains, which, taken together, do not warrant us in looking for anything that might not well pertain to a very simple, not to say rude, people."

In addition to the remains of the mound builders already described as found on the site of Cincinnati, there were traces of a period of vegetation prior to the time of the settlement. As to these the best account is given by Judge Burnet in his letter of October, 1837, to Mr. Delafield:

"You have made a particular request for information, relative to the stumps which were found in my well. I have seen in print several exaggerated statements, professing to describe their appearance, and the situation in which they were found. One writer has said, that they had evidently been cut, by a metallic instrument—that the marks of an axe were visible, and that chips, in a state of perfect preservation, were found on, and near them. Another has stated, that the rust of iron was seen on the stumps; and a third has affirmed, that an axe was found near them. Neither of these statements is true. The facts are simply these, that in sinking a well, in 1802, within the circular work above described, at the depth of ninety-three feet, I found two stumps, one about a foot, and the other eighteen inches in diameter, standing in the position in which they grew. Their roots were perfectly sound, and extended from them, horizontally, on every side. Their tops were so decayed and mouldered, that no opinion could be formed as to the process by which the trunks had been severed. The surface of the earth, at the place where they were found, is one hundred and twelve feet above the present low water mark of the Ohio, according to the level of Joseph Gest, city surveyor. They could not have been brought there by a current of water, because their upright position, and the regular, horizontal extension of their roots, proves that they must have grown on the spot, where they were found. There is another fact connected with this matter, worthy of notice. Prior to the time of digging the well, I had never seen a mulberry tree, growing on, or near, the premises, though they were found in the neighboring forests, yet, the next season, they sprang up wherever the excavated earth had been spread, in such numbers, as made it necessary to destroy them and they continued thus to shoot up for several years, though not one made its appearance on any other part of the lot. This fact induced me to conclude that the stumps, or at least one of them, was of the mulberry kind. * * *

"It may throw some light on this subject, to state, that when the town was laid out, the appearance of the forest indicated that the surface of the earth had undergone no material change, probably, in five hundred years; as it exhibited the remains of trees, which had matured, decayed, and fallen, by the side of others still flourishing and giving evidence that they had been growing some centuries. The stump which was supposed to be a mulberry must have been in the situation in which it was found (ninety-three feet below the surface), for an equal period of time, and yet, when the earth about its roots was spread on the surface, where no mulberry tree existed, young mulberries immediately sprung up in great numbers. * * *

"In connection with these facts, it may be proper to state another, of the same character. Mr. Daniel Symmes, when sinking a well, in the eastern part of the town, found a log, quite sound, at the depth of twenty-four feet below the surface. This was also on the upper level, or bench of the town. At the place where this fossil was found, the surface of the ground is much lower than it is at the well first mentioned, being only eighty-one feet above low-water mark in the Ohio. Similar discoveries have been made, in various parts of the city, at greater distances from the river, furnishing proof that the entire plain, from the Ohio to the hills, is a deposit, covering what was formerly the surface of the earth."

As to the character or identity of the people who built these structures, we have little or no information that is of any value. Every observer has made his conjecture and supported that conjecture by what he was pleased to regard as evidence taken from his own observations, but without any disrespect to the great amount of work that has been spent upon the subject, it can be said that little information of any exact character has been obtained. Not the least interesting theory connects itself with the claim of the Irish to have preceded the Norse in Iceland and afterwards discovered America in the 10th century. It is claimed that the mound builders of the Ohio Valley were connected with the race which sprang from these early Irish explorers. Another theory places this European immigration as early as twelve hundred years before Christ. Again the Welsh are alleged to have discovered America in the twelfth century

and one of the evidences of this discovery is the supposed resemblance of the Ohio Valley mounds to some of those in Wales. This possibility is spoken about by Filson in his "Kentucky," and David Jones in his wandering among the tribes west of the Ohio, in 1772, was impressed with the correspondence of Indian words with his native Welsh. A man Griffith claimed to have been taken in 1764 to a tribe that spoke Welsh.

Naturally the old theory that the Indians were descendants of the Jews had as a precedent condition the idea that the mounds were built by these wandering tribes before their degeneracy. The early explorers were unable to get any information about the mound builders from the people whom they encountered. De Soto, in 1540, was assured by the Indians that they had built the mounds, but no credence is given to this statement. Kalm, the Swede, notes the mounds that he observed in 1749, and Carver saw them at Lake Pippin in 1768. David Jones mentions those in Ohio, in 1772, and Adair speaks of them in his book on the American Indians, in 1775. Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia," published in 1782, speaks of them as barrows "all over the country," obviously intended as burying places. On a map of the Northwest Territory, published by John Fitch, in 1785, it is stated that "this country has once been settled by a people more expert in the art of war than the present inhabitants. Regular fortifications and some of these incredibly large are frequently to be found. Also many graves and towers like pyramids of earth." The reference is to the site of Wisconsin.

Franklin conjectures that the works of Marietta might have been built by De Soto, to which view Noah Webster assented. Professor Barton had first credited the Toltecs with building them; these he thought to be descendants of the Danes. Maj. Jonathan Heart, Loskiel, Bartram and Volney, all mention the ancient mounds in their records and journals. In 1794, Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Northwest Territory, reported the exploration of the mounds at Cincinnati in a letter to Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, with accompanying drawings and "some account of certain Articles, which were taken out of an ancient Tumulus, or Grave, in the Western Country," as follows:

"CINCINNATI, N. W. TERRITORY,
"Sep. 8th, 1794.

"I have the pleasure, my dear Sir, to transmit you a drawing of some matters more extraordinary than have heretofore come under my observation, in all the researches into the antiquities of this country. The multiplicity of my avocations leaves not leisure for more than rough delineations; and you must be contented to receive them in this style. I possess all the originals, and intend by some safe conveyance presenting them to the Philosophical Society, should they believe them of importance enough for a deposit of my disposition to promote the purpose of their institution. The drawing, perhaps, is too imperfect to stand the test of criticism, and it might not be prudent to hazard it to their view. Your judgment, however, should govern.

"It may be proper to add that the body with which this collection was interred was found lying in nearly a horizontal position, about five feet from the surface of the earth, with the head towards the setting sun, and at the S. W. side thereof, or about fifteen feet from, an extensive artificial mound of earth, raised probably for the purpose of a burial ground, upon the margin of the second bank of the Ohio River (suddenly rising fifty feet above the first) and now elevated, in the extreme, eight feet from the general level of the same, with a gradual slope in the various directions, and a base of about 120 feet by sixty. One of the main streets of the town passes through the western part of this grave, and in the frequent repairs of the acclivity, human bones have often been found. You have, I think, been heretofore told by me, and perhaps received a sketch, of very extensive ancient fortifications at Cincinnati, not regular as those at Muskingum, but very worthy of notice. I should not omit to mention to you, that upon this mound are the stumps of oak-trees, seven feet diameter; and within seven feet, one of small size —— years of age. Many, in its vicinity, that might have been of more duration, are removed by the opening of this road, or street. In addition to the matters of which you have the drawing, were several utensils, or ornaments, lost or mislaid. If hereafter they come to my view, you shall receive information."

The letter is accompanied by some admirably executed drawings of the articles found, most of which have already been described by Dr. Drake. This letter, with drawings, is printed in the fourth volume of the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, before which it was read May 20, 1796.

The Delaware Indians convinced Heckewelder of their connection with the fortifications, but the missionary is thought to have been imposed

upon. DeWitt Clinton evolved some theories connecting the Scandinavians with the mounds. Caleb Atwater of Ohio, after considerable investigation expressed the belief that the mound builders were of Asiatic origin and that they subsequently migrated to Mexico and Peru.

The investigations of Squier and Davis, which resulted in the opening of two hundred mounds and the exploration of one hundred earth work enclosures, about the middle of the last century, gave the largest amount of knowledge yet obtained concerning this subject. Their results were published by the Smithsonian Institution. Haven, in 1856, reviewed the whole matter arguing against the theory of the mound builders being a more advanced race and advocating their identity with the Indians, and again in 1877, he held that it might yet be proved that the Indians and mound builders were one in race. This it will be remembered was the theory of Dr. Drake in the early part of the century. The discovery of a considerable number of mound builders' skulls, which in earlier years had been held by some craniologists to favor the theory of a vanished race, has led to more critical study and now the Bureau of Ethnology seems to incline to the theory of the Indian origin of these mounds and their builders. In the fourth report of the bureau, it is said that over two thousand mounds had been opened and thirty-eight thousand relics gathered, but nothing has been found to afford any clue to the language used by the mound builders. The conclusions reached were first that the mounds were as diversified as the Indian tribes, but yield no signs of a superior race. Their builders and the Indians are claimed to be the same, and the accounts by earlier visitors to the Indians found here are confirmed by the disclosures of the mounds; in fact certain kinds of mounds in certain localities are the work of tribes now known.

Cyrus Thomas, the principal advocate of this view, maintained that the enclosures of Northern Ohio were built by the Iroquois Huron tribes, but that the animal mounds, so called, are more ancient than the simpler ones. Strongly in favor of the Red Indian theory was Judge Manning F. Force, for so many years prominent in the life of Cincinnati. In 1874, he read before the Literary Club a paper which with other papers maintained that the race of builders were in the main similar to the modern Indians and flourished about one thousand years ago. Some of them he thought still survived in the Gulf States in the sixteenth century and their developments he places on the plane of the Pueblos, above that of the Algonquins and below that of the Aztecs.

Lucien Carr maintained that the early records show that nothing was found in the mounds that was not described as pertaining to the Indians known to the first travelers. On the other hand Squier and Davis seem to favor the disappeared race theory, although Squier finally concluded that the New York mounds were the work of the Iroquois.

Professor Putnam, who in connection with C. L. Metz made most of the explorations in this neighborhood, seems to believe that many Indian tribes built mounds and earth works but does not accept the proposition that all were built by these tribes as proved. The subject is no nearer conclusion than in the earliest days of discussion. The old idea of relying upon the age of trees as indicating antiquity is not at present considered of much force. The subject has furnished unlimited opportunity for discussion to the literati of this neighborhood as well as to travelers, as it was in Ohio that the first interest was aroused and the principal explorations made. Cutler described the mounds at Marietta in 1789, and Barton describes one at Cincinnati in 1799. Sargent's letter of 1794 has been quoted.

General Harrison regarded this as a subject particularly worthy of his pen, and in his address to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati, in 1837, he made the following remarks about the works:

"When I first saw the upper plain on which that city stands, it was literally covered with low lines of embankments. I had the honor to attend General Wayne two years afterwards, in an excursion to examine them. We were employed the greater part of a day, in August, 1793, in doing so. The number and variety of figures in which these lines were drawn, was almost endless, and, as I have said, almost covered the plain—many so faint, indeed, as scarcely to be followed, and often for a considerable distance entirely obliterated; but, by careful examination, and following the direction, they could again be found. Now, if these lines were ever the height of the others made by the same people (and they must have been to have answered any valuable purpose), or unless their erection was many years anterior to the others, there must have been some other cause than the attrition of rain (for it is a dead level) to bring

them down to their then state. That cause I take to have been continued cultivation; and, as the people who erected them would not themselves destroy works which had cost them so much labor, the solution of the question can only be found in the long occupancy and the cultivation of another people, and the probability is that that people were the conquerors of the original possessors. In the question of the fate of the former, and the cause of no recent vestige of settlements being found on the Ohio, I can offer only a conjecture, but one that appears to me to be far from improbable."

He seemed to think that the mound builders might have been driven off by the great flood, "not because of the actual suffering, but from the suggestions of superstition; an occurrence so unusual being construed into a warning from Heaven to seek a residence upon the smaller streams."

One of the best known writers on pre-historic man and on Indian life generally is L. H. Morgan. He felt certain that the mound builders could not be classed with any known Indian stock and that the nearest region from which they could have been derived is New Mexico. This was a natural sequence of his favorite theory of communal life which pervades all his writings. This was to the effect that the communal mode of living accorded with the usages of aboriginal hospitality as well as with their tenure of land. The large structures called palaces by some which were found in Mexico and Central America were regarded by him as joint tenement houses. The earth work structures accredited to the mound builders naturally appeared to him in the same light and led him to connect their builders with the ancient civilization of Mexico. This is all the more easy for him as he scouted the idea of the very high grade of Mexican civilization as reported by the Spanish writers and described by H. H. Bancroft. This theory is discussed by Robert Clarke in the pamphlet already referred to. The central work, the ellipse so often referred to, was held to correspond with the "pueblo" or village. The fact that it was on the upper plain, three hundred and fifty feet from its edge and that it could be screened from view of the river by a grove of trees gave it a measure of security.

"The embankment, three feet high (possibly originally higher), with a base of thirty feet, afforded sufficient foundation for their buildings, occupying the circumference of the ellipse, facing inward, presenting a solid timber wall on the outside, with no entrance but by the gateway on the east, which may have been protected by a palisade of round timbers, with proper openings for ingress and egress, and by some structures of the nature of blockhouses on the higher embankments attached externally at each side of the entrance. From the lower of these blockhouses, it will be remembered, ran the low embankment, one foot high, with nine feet base, southward nearly to the edge of the declivity, and then east to the mound on the corner of Third and Main streets. This may have been occupied by a high timber palisade, or a covered way leading to the mound, which was so situated as to command a full view of the Licking River, which enters the Ohio on the opposite shore, and was doubtless an important approach, which it was necessary should be watched. If I am right in supposing that the embankment, of the same dimensions as the last, noticed east of Sycamore, running from Sixth street to near Third street, turned there and joined the other embankment at the mound, and was built upon in the same manner, we would thus have the whole front so defended that it would have to be forced or flanked by an enemy coming from the direction of the Licking River.

"East of this high hill, Mount Adams, overlooking the Ohio, and giving a clear view up the river for miles, would be a natural outpost on which it would not be necessary to erect a mound structure. I have never heard of any remains having been found on this hill.

"To the west, the hill next the river was so distant, and from its position did not command an extensive enough view of the river to serve as an outlook; so a position was selected near the edge of the plain, about five hundred yards west of the closed end of the village, and a large mound thirty-five feet high was erected, from which could be had an extensive view of the Kentucky shore and of the Ohio River to the bend below the mouth of Mill creek. The Brighton Hill mound would give an extensive view of the whole of Mill creek valley, the whole, as before mentioned, being part of an extensive series of signal stations.

"The minor mounds and other works on the upper plain may have been connected with the supervision and care of their agricultural operations on the rich land between the village and the northern hills.

"Thus we have a village judiciously located on a fine, fertile plain, and well guarded by the

nature of the location and the artificial works erected on a carefully arranged plan."

Probably the final conclusion in this matter is best expressed by our own well known citizen, Judge Force, as follows: "The mystery which enveloped the builders of these and similar works is now largely dispelled and it is generally accepted that they were tribes of Indians differing little from the sedentary and fortified tribes which inhabited the country of the St. Lawrence and the lakes in the time of Cartier and Champlain, or from the tribes which now inhabit the pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona."

The matter of the age of the earth works has been as complete a mystery as the race or characteristics of the builders. Mr. Winsor epitomizes three matters of evidence which are usually considered. The first is that very few of the earth works are found on the last of the terraces to be reclaimed from the streams. The second is the condition of the skeletons found which must be considered with relation to the kind of earth with which they were buried. The third is the age of the trees found upon them. Upon this last consideration but little dependence can be placed. The trees may have been planted a long time subsequent to the building of the mounds or after they had been abandoned or they might have been planted immediately upon their completion. As already stated the old idea of measuring the age of trees by rings is an exploded one although Mr. Winsor says that in the temperate zone the best authorities place dependence upon it.

With these statements of the remains found on the site of Cincinnati and with the various views entertained about their origin, the subject can be left to the consideration of the reader with the comforting assurance that the field of inquiry on this subject is still open, that after all nothing has been settled with regard to it and that the opinion of one is about equal in value to the opinion of another. The subject, too, has additional charm in the way of affording unlimited opportunity for conjecture for the reason that any settlement of the matter is probably beyond human wisdom.

1963884

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIANS.

1963884

INDIAN TRIBES—INDIAN CHIEFTAINS—TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS.

INDIAN TRIBES.

When the first explorers entered the West, towards the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, they found that the greater part of the Ohio region was the hunting ground of the Iroquois Indians, known at that time as the Five Nations. This family of Indians stood foremost among the American savages in the exploits of war and in cultivation, if such a word can be employed in such a connection. At one time or another they were the conquerors of half the continent and included within their sovereignty the choicest hunting grounds, covering the most fertile valleys and the densest forests in the region between the mountains and the Mississippi. In the nature of things the hunting grounds of the Indians were not usually located near their home land. Although much attention was devoted by some of the tribes to agriculture, their principal means of subsistence were the game of the forest and plain and the fish of the rivers. The neighborhood of their villages was naturally the first place to be hunted out and this made it necessary for hunting parties to look for game at greater distances from home. As a result it became usual for the stronger nations to hold large tracts of forests as their special demesne. The division of these tracts among the tribes was well recognized and although it might be possible to pass from one end to the other of any one of them without coming across an inhabited spot or meeting either friend or foe, the right of property in these particular sections was well understood by the Indians. As one race became predominant over its neighbors, its hunting grounds extended and any one who entered upon them did so at the peril of his life.

The Indians that occupied the Western and Middle States two hundred years ago belonged chiefly to two great families, the Iroquois and the Algonquins. In the Ohio Valley, while the influence of the first named nation was very great and its title to the land a matter of much subsequent discussion, the natives with whom the settlers in the main came into contact, belonged to the Algonquin family. The Iroquois at one time or another extended their conquests from Canada to the Carolinas and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and although not present in large numbers in the Ohio Valley, their quasi-sovereignty was to some extent recognized by all the other tribes. They are supposed in some measure to owe their triumphs to their home within the central part of the State of New York, where the great rivers and the lakes large and small, offered opportunities for roving throughout the lands adjacent to them. They consisted of five tribes or nations, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas, to whom, in 1714, were joined the Tuscaroras, after which the Five Nations became known as the Six Nations. Each of these tribes had a separate organization with their sachems and chiefs, but all matters of foreign policy were deliberated upon and decided in the general assembly in a great council house in the Onondaga Valley. By reason of their clannish system, as a result of which the same clan had branches in all of the families of the confederacy, they formed a very united body and their system of descent through the female line, constantly

transferring the power of the sachem to the collateral branches of his family, prevented any one family from obtaining too great a power or influence among them. In the Algonquin family, the descent was through the male line.

The Five Nations from time to time swept the country, practically exterminating their enemies. Their process of extermination was complete. A large number of their captives were destroyed by the most horrible torture at the stake, and the remaining ones were distributed among the different tribes of the conquerors, husbands and wives and parents and children being entirely separated so that the family identity was completely lost. In this way the losses of the conquerors in battle were repaired and the unsuccessful opposing nation was wiped out of existence.

No more terrible story has ever been written than that of the destruction by the Iroquois of the Hurons and the Tobacco Nation, among whom were so many of the Jesuit missionaries, who suffered martyrdom at this time. The Hurons (Iroquois) occupied the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, but before the middle of the seventeenth century they were wiped out of existence as a nation and ceased to exist. Some took refuge among the French in Canada, others fled to the north beyond Lake Superior, from which place they were afterwards, about 1680, driven to Detroit, where along the southwestern shore of Lake Erie and along the banks of the Maumee, they were known to the later settlers under the name of the Wyandots. These Indians, the survivors of the Hurons and of the so-called Tobacco Nation, took an active part on the side of the French in the French and Indian War, and they were among the most formidable enemies of the English in the Indian war under Pontiac.

To the south of Lake Erie dwelt two other members of the Iroquois family. The Andastes were along the valley of the lower Susquehanna, and the Eries or Cats were on the borders of the lake which still retains their name. As soon as the war with the Hurons was over, the Five Nations picked a quarrel with the Eries, who at that time had a treaty of peace with them. A deputation of their principal men had been sent to the great Seneca town to confirm this treaty, but in the quarrel one of the Senecas was killed. In the mêlée that followed, the thirty deputies were slain. This precipitated hostilities in the course of which the Eries captured a famous Onondaga chief. As he was about to be burnt he was successful in convincing his captors that the policy of conciliation was a wise one and they resolved to turn him over to the sister of one of the murdered deputies, to take the place of her lost brother. Under the Indian law this gave her the privilege either to adopt him or burn him, and it was thought that she, although absent, would upon her return immediately accept him as a meniber of her family; to the surprise of all, however, she demanded revenge and insisted upon his being burnt. With his last breath he warned his tormentors that they were not destroying him alone but the whole Erie nation. As a result of this execution the whole Iroquois confederacy was aroused and the Five Nations, to a number of twelve hundred warriors, took the field.

They advanced over the lake in canoes and drove the Eries into the forests of the West, where the defenders built themselves a fortification of trees. The demand of the Iroquois that they should surrender was received with derision and their assault with poisoned arrows. In the second attack the bark canoes were carried over their heads like shields and upon arriving at the palisades they were planted upright and used as scaling ladders. The fury of the assault was such as to throw the Eries into a panic and when the day was ended the Erie nation had ceased to exist. The victors were obliged to spend two months in the Erie region, burying their own dead and nursing the wounded.

The Iroquois then turned their arms against the sole remaining enemy of their own race, the Andastes. This nation was inferior in number to their three previous antagonists. They were able, however, to postpone their destruction for a much longer time. The war at first was a series of skirmishes, in which the Mohawks took the principal part on the part of the Iroquois. In 1662, however, the Five Nations as a body took up the quarrel, and eight hundred warriors set out to inflict a decisive blow upon their enemies. When they came to the Andastes town they found it was fortified by a double palisade with bastions and was set with several small pieces of cannon which they had received from their neighboring Swedish friends. An assault was out of the question and treachery was tried. Their envoys, however, were tortured to death by fire in the sight of their countrymen and the assailants retired in confusion. Added to this disappointment came the ravages of smallpox, which swept over the Seneca nation with ter-

rible results. The repeated skirmishes, although terminating in many instances in favor of the Andastes, were so weakening their numbers that in 1675 they were reduced to less than three hundred fighting men and became the easy victims of the Senecas. This victory left the Iroquois the undisputed masters of the surrounding country. They had clearly established a Roman peace and the neighboring Algonquin tribes were allowed to exist upon condition of the payment of yearly tributes of wampum. As a result of these many wars, the force of the Five Nations in 1660, we are told, had been reduced to twenty-two hundred warriors, of whom not more than twelve hundred were of the true Iroquois stock, while the rest were made up of the prisoners adopted from the conquered tribes of Hurons, Neutrals and Eries and other nations that had been practically extinguished.

At Onondaga seven different nations were represented, and among the Senecas no less than eleven. In 1714 and 1715, however, a kindred nation of Tuscaroras came from the south and joined the Five Nations, being admitted as the sixth member of the confederacy.

For a time the lands to the south and west of the lakes were practically unoccupied except as the hunting grounds of the all conquering Iroquois. From time to time great hunting parties launched their canoes upon the head waters of the rivers, coming with the flood tides of the spring and fall, and others came by way of the lakes. They scattered through the forest and went up and down the rivers of the Kanawha, Muskingum, Scioto, Kentucky, the Miamis and the Wabash. There were none to oppose them and after their departure, silence and desolation marked the places of their camp fires and temporary villages. As the more easterly lands were given over to settlements to the French and English, the Iroquois found that their attention was more frequently called to Quebec and to Albany, the lands of the North and West and of the far West, and gradually other nations drifted in to the abandoned hunting grounds north of the Ohio River.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the country now known as Ohio was distributed in a way among the following nations. That part about the Muskingum and along the upper Ohio and Allegheny was occupied by the Mingoes, who were wanderers and outlaws of the Five Nations, chiefly Senecas and Cayugas. The Wyandots who had seated themselves about Detroit had sent large bodies along the Sandusky River and as far as the Scioto, and at the time of the tour of Christopher Gist (1750), their chief village was on the Tuscarawas, near its junction with the Walhonding. Near the Ohio and along the Muskingum and Scioto were the Shawanees with their chief town at both sides of the Ohio at the mouth of the Scioto. To the west, extending from the Wabash to the two Miamis, were certain tribes of the Miamis, known as Twightwees (Tawightis) and the Piankeshaws and Weas (Ouiatanons). Their principal fort and town at the time of Gist's visit was Pickawillany. Among the Mingoes and Shawanees and Wyandots were scattered the Delawares.

Shortly after Gist's tour, the Wyandots withdrew entirely from Muskingum, leaving the territory to the Delawares and the Shawanees. In the same way they spread into the upper valley of the Scioto and to the plains between its head waters and those of the Little Miami. The Delayares, as they were called by the English, the Lenni-Lenape, or original men, as they were called by themselves, were said by tradition to be the parent stock of the Algonquin tribe. At all solemn councils they were called by the title of grandfather, and they called the other Algonquins, children, grandchildren, nephews or younger brothers. The Wyandots and the Five Nations, however, they called uncles, who in turn called them cousins. The legendary history of these Indians is probably the most romantic that relates to the Indian tribes. They are supposed at one time to have lived west of the Mississippi, and it is this nation which with the Iroquois are supposed to have driven out the mound builders whose mounds and forts still remain in the valleys of the different Ohio rivers. After this conquest, the Iroquois went to the North, so tradition states, and the Lenni-Lenape settled in the valley of the Delaware from which they took their name. Here they settled down to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, and when William Penn held his council with their sachems, they had degenerated, from the Indian standpoint, to a state of vassalage to the Five Nations. They were then called "Women" and were not allowed the use of arms. When they came to sell their lands to the Dutch, the Iroquois repudiated the transaction, insisting that they had no rights in the land, and they were forced to leave their fields and fall back into the Allegheny forest, from which they finally drifted to the upper Muskingum, where they settled about 1740. During the old French War, they became more

vigorous and while the Six Nations fought for the English they took up the cause of the French. They fought later against armies of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne, and finally after the battles of Fallen Timbers and Tippecanoe, they were driven with the rest of the tribes to the westward.

"On the Kansas River and its tributaries, the remnant of the once powerful Lenni-Lenape range to-day over a territory of a million acres, still dreaming, it is said, of a time when they will again assume their historic position at the head of the Indian family. A great mass of tradition lives with them of their Eastern conquest, the homes on the Delaware, Allegheny and Muskingum, where the poet had Evangeline visit them in her search for Gabriel. And still the massacre of Gnadenhütten is told to wondering children in Delaware wigwams, which dot the Ozark Mountains, as they once dotted the Alleghany valleys." (Hulbert.)

Adjacent to the Delawares lived the Shawanees, Shawanoes or Shawanese, Chouanons of the French, the Bedouins of the American Indians. "The Shawanese were the only American Indians who had even so much as a tradition of having come to this continent from across the ocean. Like that of the savage Wyandots, the history of the Shawanese before they settled down on the swift Scioto is a cheerless tale. Too proud to join one of the great Southern confederacies, if indeed the opportunity was ever extended to them, they sifted northward through the forests from Florida until they settled between the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers. Here the earliest geographers found them and classified them as the connecting branch between the Algonquins of New England and the far Northwest, so different were they from their Southern neighbors. They remained but a short time by the Cumberland, for the Iroquois swept down upon them with a fury never exceeded by the Cherokees or the Mobilians and the fugitives scattered like leaves eastward towards the Alleghanies. By permission of the government of Pennsylvania, seventy families, perhaps three hundred souls, settled down upon the Susquehanna at the beginning of the eighteenth century. By 1730, the number of Indian warriors in Pennsylvania was placed at seven hundred, one-half of whom were said to be Shawanese; this would indicate a total population of perhaps fifteen hundred Shawanese. With the approach of the settlements of the white man and the opening of the bloody French and Indian War, they left the Susquehanna and pushed straight westward to the Scioto River valley, beyond the Ohio. The Shawanese have well been called the 'Bedouins of the American Indians.' The main body of the nation migrated from Florida to the Cumberland and Susquehanna and Scioto rivers. Fragmentary portions of the nation wandered elsewhere. Cadwallader Cobden said in 1745, that one tribe of the Shawanese had gone quite down to New Spain.' When La Salle wished guides from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of Mexico in 1684, Shawanese were supplied him, it being as remarkable that there were Shawanese so far North (though they may have been prisoners among the Iroquois) as it was that they were acquainted with the Gulf of Mexico. In the Black Forest, the Shawanese gained another and well earned reputation—of being the fiercest and most uncompromising Indian nation with which the white man ever dealt. They were for the half century while the Black Forest was their home and the Wyandots their allies, ever first for war and last for peace. Under their two terrible well known chieftains, Cornstalk and Tecumseh, they were allied both with the French and with the British in the vain attempt to hold back the tide of civilization from the river valleys of the Central West. Missionary work among them proved a failure. They make treaties but to break them. Not an acre of all the land which lay south of them, Kentucky, but was drenched by blood they spilt. Incited by such hell-hounds as the Girty boys, there was no limit to which the Shawanese could not be pushed and for it all they had been trained by instinct and tradition through numberless years of desperate ill fortune." (Hulbert.)

It was these three nations, the Shawanees, Delawares and Wyandots with their center of population on the Scioto, Muskigum and Sandusky Rivers respectively, and the fierce Miamis with whom the early settlers of Ohio had to cope and their wars were the longest and most successful ever waged by the red race in the history of the continent. They defied the white man for half a century, "triumphing terribly at Braddock's defeat and St. Clair's, the greatest victories over the white man ever achieved by the red."

The Miamis or Twightwees, who formerly lived on the Maumee and Wabash, as well as the Illinois, were never subjugated by the Five Nations, although their numerous wars weakened them very seriously. They were very fierce in battle and very much given to wandering among

the prairies and forests, but they paid some attention to agriculture and the building of permanent dwellings, and at seasons of the year their whole population gathered for merry making and celebrations within their villages. The principal village of the Miamis, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Pickawillany, was visited by many pioneers and is described in the accounts of the expedition of Celoron and Gist.

In theory the tribes just described had been admitted to this region with the consent of the Five Nations, who by right of conquest claimed the entire control of this territory. The victories of the Iroquois already related were supposed to have made them masters over all the country north of the Ohio and as far west as the Mississippi. This matter became important in the subsequent claims which the different European powers put forward as to the country out of which Ohio was formed. The steady growth of French feeling and French population in this region finally attracted the attention of the English cabinet and it became necessary to invent some sort of a theory upon which England could lay claim to this land. By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the Five Nations had been recognized by France as subjects of Great Britain, and of course all their lands were supposed therefore to belong to that country. Sir William Johnson and Governor Pownall therefore shrewdly advanced the proposition of the conquest by the Five Nations of the Western lands referred to, which proposition if correct would naturally vest the title of these lands in England. This proposition was not however conceded by the Indians, not even by the Mingoes, who were the off-shoot of the Five Nations. It was claimed by the tribes that the land was theirs not by permission of the Five Nations, whose conquest was disputed. The two distinguished Englishmen already referred to, as well as Dr. Franklin and others, regarded the rights of the Five Nations to all the hunting grounds of the Ohio Valley "as thoroughly established by their conquest in subdueing the Shawanees, Delawares, Twightwees, Miamis and Illinois, as they stood possessed thereof at the peace of Ryswick in 1697." On the other hand such authorities as General Harrison and Dr. Drake and many others disputed entirely such a proposition, and General Harrison subsequently gave us his conclusion, after reviewing the proof, that without any reasonable doubt "the pretensions of the Five Nations to a conquest of the country from the Scioto to the Mississippi are entirely groundless."

General Harrison supposed that the Miamis had been in immemorial possession, from the Wabash to the Scioto where he found them, and it was upon this supposition that he based his theory. It seems to be the fact, however, that there had been a conquest extending to the Mississippi, but at the end of the seventeenth century a combination of the Miamis, Shawanees and other nations of the Northwest incited by La Salle and his lieutenant, Tonti, had driven the Iroquois back to their original lands. La Salle had been permitted by his allies to build a fort on the Illinois, in the winter of 1682 and 1683, and the Indians had used this as a rallying place. This aroused the indignation of the Iroquois and during the absence of La Salle in France in March, 1684, the Iroquois attacked the fort and besieged it for six days. They were unsuccessful, however, although they made three assaults, and finally withdrew, carrying with them a large number of prisoners. They were pursued by the Miamis and their confederates, the Illinois, and most of the prisoners were regained. This was the first serious rebuff that the Iroquois received and they never again went so far west. The Miamis and the Shawanees and other tribes gradually worked their way eastward until peace was made at the great convention of Indians at Montreal in 1701. From this time as a matter of fact the Five Nations lost their control of the country west of the Muskingum and their claim of title by conquest and the claim of the English depending upon it were mere fictions. The Miamis in the meantime had moved into Ohio and settled at the points where they were subsequently found by Celoron.

INDIAN CHIEFTAINS.

The most famous chief of the Miamis was Little Turtle (Me-che-cun-na-qua). He had been educated in a Jesuit school in Canada and was remarkable for his mental vigor and great common sense as well as for his skill and bravery as a military leader. He commanded the Indians at the time of the expeditions of Generals Harmar and St. Clair in 1790 and 1791 and was also present in the fight at Fallen Timbers at the time of the Wayne expedition in 1794 but was not in command. He is supposed to have urged the Indians not to go into action at this time but to accept the proposition for peace. "We have beaten the enemy twice; we cannot expect always to do this. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The day and the

night are alike to him. I advise peace." He was among the chiefs that signed the treaty at Greenville and took a most prominent part in the proceedings, which he opened on behalf of the Indians. His text was to the effect that the treaty of Fort Harmar was not a valid treaty as it had been made by some of the younger men of the tribes who were irresponsible. He resented the carving out of the Indian territory by the English and Americans without any consideration for the Indians and gave the former boundaries of his tribe as follows: "The prints of my ancestors' houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion. * * * It is well known by all my brothers present, that my forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head waters of Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; and from thence to Chicago on Lake Michigan. * * * I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami Nation where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell, or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me." (Burnet's Notes, p. 222.)

The French explorers found that this statement was practically correct as traces of the Miami were found on the territory mentioned and not elsewhere. They had probably been at one time identified with the Illinois, the enemies of the Iroquois from time immemorial. Those that were in Ohio were divided into three tribes,—the Miamis who occupied the neighborhood of the Maumee or Omi, the Piankeshaws between the Wabash and the Miami rivers and the Twightwees still farther to the south along the head waters of the Miamis. It was a tribe of the Twightwees sometimes called the Pickawillanies, who established a village on the Great Miami in 1748, which was visited by Celoron and Gist and where was the first English fort and station established in this neighborhood.

Any one who follows the discussion at the great council at Greenville cannot fail to be impressed by the eloquence of the Indians particularly by that of Little Turtle, who certainly as far as the mere presentation of facts was concerned was fully the equal of Wayne. He finally with the other chiefs signed the treaty and is said to have adhered to it ever after. He visited President Washington at Philadelphia in 1797 where he was made much of. Kosciuszko then visiting the United States admired him very much and presented him with a pair of handsome pistols which he told him to use in defense of his country. He met Volney the celebrated French philosopher and became quite intimate with him. Volney in conversation with him concerning the origin of the Indians suggested that they had come from the Tartars in Asia, to which Little Turtle responded, "Why may not the Tartars of Asia have come from the Indians in America?" Volney constructed a vocabulary of the Indian tongue from the information received from his Indian friend.

E. D. Mansfield the well known chronicler of the pioneer times saw him at his father's house in 1805 or 1806. His father Col. Jared Mansfield then the surveyor-general was living at the time in the large two story dwelling, the best looking and largest house then in the purchase built by Colonel Ludlow at Ludlow's Station. One of the wings was used as the surveyor-general's office. Colonel Mansfield at that time had charge of the running of the lines provided for in the treaty at Greenville. His son narrates the visit of Little Turtle as follows:

"One day a dark man with swarthy countenance riding a very fine horse dismounted at our house and went into my father's office. I wanted to go in and see him but for some reason was not allowed to. After some time * * * I saw him come out, mount his horse and ride rapidly away. I was struck by the man and asked my mother, 'Who is that ma?' She said it was 'Little Turtle,' the great Indian chief. * * * This most acute and sagacious of Indian statesmen was it is said even a polished gentleman. He had wit, humor and intelligence. He was an extensive traveler and had visited all parts of the country and became acquainted with the most distinguished men. * * *

"As he rode away from the house in the declining sun, I might without any violent stretch of imagination have seemed to see the last great spirit of the Indian race leaving the land of his fathers looking for the last time upon the beautiful valleys of the Miamis and bidding farewell to each hill and wood and stream forever." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 22.)

Little Turtle died at Fort Wayne, Indiana, strangely enough of the gout, on July 14, 1812.

Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, the celebrated chief of the Mohawks, was born on the banks of the Ohio in 1742. His father was a full blooded Mohawk of the Wolf tribe, and his grandfather one of the five sachems who attended the court of Queen Anne in 1710. Sir William Johnson

VIEW FROM NEWPORT BARRACKS IN THE "THIRTIES."

whose relations with his sister Molly Brant, the brown Lady Johnson, are too well known to need rehearsal here, took a great interest in him and sent him in 1761 to the school at Hanover, New Hampshire, under the charge of Eleazer Wheelock, which subsequently became Dartmouth College. While here he translated portions of the New Testament into the Mohawk language, and at a later time he translated the Book of Common Prayer into the same tongue.

He was present at the battle of Lake George in 1755, although but thirteen years of age, and was with Johnson in the Niagara campaign in 1759. He also took part in Pontiac's War in 1763, and in 1774, when upon the death of Sir William Johnson his son Guy became the Indian superintendent, Brant was made his secretary. At the opening of the War of the Revolution he was in England and volunteered his services to assist in quelling the rebellion. He received a colonel's commission and took an active part in numberless fierce raids against the colonists, and was said to have been at the massacre at Cherry Valley. This statement was disputed afterwards by his son who claimed to have proved that he was not present at this time. After the war he endeavored to form a confederacy of Indians to prevent what he regarded as a spoliation of the Indian lands, but in this he was unsuccessful and finally he threw his influence on the side of a permanent peace.

In his later years he became a consistent believer in the Christian religion and collected funds for the purpose of building a church on the Indian reserve on the Grand River in Canada. This was the first church erected in Upper Canada. He died on his estate at the old Brant mansion, Wellington Square, Canada, November 24, 1807, and rests under a handsome mausoleum near the church which was built by the inhabitants of the vicinity in 1850. On the slab that surmounts it is the inscription "In commemoration of the chief and of his son John," who became prominent as the principal chief of the Six Nations after the death of his father and died a member of the Canadian Parliament. A monument to the memory of Brant, the main feature of which is a statue of heroic size, was erected in Brantford, Canada, in 1886. Thirteen bronze cannons were given for the statue by the Canadian government. "As a warrior he was cautious, sagacious and brave; as a diplomat and courtier, adroit and accomplished; and as a friend chivalrous and faithful. His humanity toward a captive or a fallen foe is too well established to admit of doubt, nor has the purity of his private morals ever been questioned." The foregoing statement is written by William L. Stone, his biographer, and is not to be accepted entirely without question. Brant's children and descendants became quite prominent people in Canada.

Two Indians with whom the whites came much into contact in the early days of the settlements in Ohio were Bohengeehalus and Captain Pipe, both war chiefs of the Delawares. Bohengeehalus or Pacanchichiles was esteemed as one of the greatest warriors among the Indians. He took part in the treaty at Fort Finney and at Greenville in 1795, and in the later years of his life was constant in his friendship for the Americans. His name is signed to the treaty at Fort Finney, —Bohonghelass. Judge Burnet describes a visit to his home made during the early years of his law practice in the Northwest Territory at which time the visitors were entertained by a game of football:

"He selected two young men to get a purse of trinkets made up, to be the reward of the successful party. That matter was soon accomplished, and the whole village, male and female, in their best attire, were on the lawn; which was a beautiful plain of four or five acres, in the center of the village, thickly set in blue grass. At each of the opposite extremes of this lawn, two stakes were set up, about six feet apart.

"The men played against the women; and to countervail the superiority of their strength, it was a rule of the game, that they were not to touch the ball with their hands on the penalty of forfeiting the purse; while the females had the privilege of using their hands as well as their feet; they were allowed to pick up the ball and run and throw it as far as their strength and activity would permit. When a squaw succeeded in getting the ball, the men were allowed to seize, whirl her round, and if necessary, throw her on the grass for the purpose of disengaging the ball, taking care not to touch it except with their feet.

"The contending parties arranged themselves in the center of the lawn—the men on one side and the women on the other—each party facing the goal of their opponents. The side which succeeded in driving the ball through the stakes, at the goal of their adversaries, were proclaimed victors, and received the purse, to be divided among them.

"All things being ready, the old chief came on the lawn, and saying something in the Indian

language not understood by his guests, threw up the ball between the lines of the combatants and retired; when the contest began. The parties were pretty fairly matched as to numbers, having about a hundred on a side, and for a long time the game appeared to be doubtful. The young squaws were the most active of their party, and most frequently caught the ball; when it was amusing to see the struggle between them and the young men, which generally terminated in the prostration of the squaw upon the grass, before the ball could be forced from her hand.

"The contest continued about an hour, with great animation and various prospects of success; but was finally decided in favor of the fair sex, by the herculean strength of a mammoth squaw, who got the ball and held it, in spite of the efforts of the men to shake it from the grasp of her uplifted hand, till she approached the goal, near enough to throw it through the stakes.

"When the contending parties had retired from the strife, it was pleasant to see the exultation expressed in the faces of the victors, whose joy was manifestly increased by the circumstance that the victory was won in the presence of white men, whom they supposed to be highly distinguished and honored in their nation."

This was at the Ottawa town on the Auglaize, and probably took place in the last year or so of the century. We shall hear more of this Indian chief when the story of the settlement is told.

After the battle of Fallen Timbers the story is told that Bohengeehalus, who was disgusted with the conduct of the English in refusing to take part in behalf of the Indians, proceeded to ascend the river for the purpose of entering into a treaty of peace with the victors. The officer of the day at the British fort hailed them and stated that Major Campbell, the commandant, wished to speak with him. The Indian's reply was "in that case let him come to me." He was told that he would not be permitted to pass the fort unless he complied with the request. "What shall prevent me?" was the quick response. The officer thereupon pointed at the guns which were trained upon the river. "I fear not your cannon," replied the Indian. "After suffering the Americans to insult your flag without daring to fire upon them, you must not expect to frighten Bohengeehalus." (The visit of this chieftain to Ludlow's Station and also another visit to Fort Washington are described elsewhere.)

Captain Pipe was a celebrated rascal in his early days who found it to his interest to reform in later life. He was the leader of the war party of the Delawares, but was more remarkable for his intriguing than for his fighting. He first came into prominence in opposition to the Moravians and his town on the Walhonding became the center of the disaffected Delawares. It is largely due to his influence that the suspicions of the British were directed against the Moravians, and he it was who brought the missionaries before the commandant at Detroit. He acted with great duplicity in this matter, but strangely enough although in command at the time of the burning of Crawford he succeeded in impressing the Americans with his friendly intentions. He was present on the Muskingum at the time of the arrival of the first party at Marietta and welcomed the newcomers. General Harmar speaks of him as a "manly old fellow and much more of a gentleman than the generality of these frontier people." He took an active part in the conference at Fort Finney, and also in that of Fort Harmar, and in his later years was conspicuous for his friendship for the whites. He seems to have discovered that whatever satisfaction might be obtained from slaughtering them could not be compared with the pleasure of swindling them in trade.

Other Indians who were conspicuous for their acquaintance with the whites in their early days were Blue Jacket, a Shawanee, Cornstalk, "one of the best Indians ever born in the Ohio Valley," White Eyes, Mesass, a Chippewa, and Tarkee the Crane, a Wyandot.

White Eyes is said frequently to have come near Fort Washington and viewed it from the neighboring hills. The wife of Colonel Strong, who was an officer at the fort, told Mr. Mansfield "that she had often met and conversed with White Eyes and other Indian chiefs. White Eyes told her he had often watched what was going on at the fort from what has since been the site of the old Cincinnati Observatory. On the brow of the hill, Mount Adams, there was then a very large oak tree which I have myself seen. It was in the branches of this tree that White Eyes concealed himself, looked down upon the fort and saw all that was going on." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 21.)

Tecumseh belongs of right in any list of great men among the Indian tribes. Tecumseh or Tecumthe was a chief of the Shawanees, born near the city of Piquatown about 1768. His first experience in war was said to have been at the age of twenty in a fight with the Kentucky troops; he ran at the first fire. He afterwards took an active part and showed great courage in a cam-

paign which ended with the treaty of Greenville. About 1805 he started upon the scheme of confederating the Western Indians together for the purpose of exterminating the white people. His brother the Prophet, Ellskwatawa, born in 1775, had acted as chief of about one thousand warriors of various tribes located near the confluence of the Tippecanoe with the Wabash. His administration was a complete failure, but Tecumseh at this time took the reins of government, acting however in the name of his brother the Prophet. Tecumseh and his brother visited the tribes from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico arguing and discussing the right of the Indians to the lands. He was warned to desist by Gen. William Henry Harrison, then the Governor of the Northwest Territory, and in August, 1810, near Vincennes, in company with four hundred fully armed warriors, he had a quiet talk or conference with the governor. He was prolific in promises, but proceeded with his schemes. He made an address to the Creek nation gathered to the number of five thousand in Alabama, and told them that as an evidence of his might upon his return to Detroit he would stamp upon the ground and shake down every house in their country. Strangely enough about the time he should arrive at Detroit, came the earthquake of December, 1812, which convinced the affrighted Creeks of the truth of his statement. He had announced to them that the time to begin the war would be shown by the appearance of the arm of Tecumseh stretching across the heavens like fire. The appearance of the comet which had been foretold to him by the British completed his argument. He was not present at the battle of Tippecanoe but his brother the Prophet superintended that battle from a safe distance. In the war of 1812 he commanded the Indian allies of the English and was finally made a brigadier-general in the royal army. He was killed at the battle of the Thames October 5, 1813, where he fought desperately, feeling from the beginning that he must fall. The manner of his death is not known to any degree of certainty although Col. Richard Malcolm Johnson had claimed for himself the distinction of having slain Tecumseh; this however is upon insufficient evidence. A Canadian historian attributes to Tecumseh the preservation of Canada to the English. The Prophet continued to reside in Canada until 1826 when accompanied by a son of Tecumseh and others he settled beyond the Mississippi. The time of his death is unknown.

The great chief of the Seneca Indians was Cornplanter, or Garyan-wah-gah, who was born at Conewaugus on the Genesee River in 1732. He was a half-breed, the son of John O'Bail, an Indian trader. He took part with the French strangely enough in the war against the English and was present at Braddock's defeat. Throughout the Revolutionary period he was an inveterate foe of the Americans and spread destruction over the frontier settlements of New York and Northern Pennsylvania. After the war was over he manifested a sincere friendship for the Americans and together with Red Jacket was active in counseling and protecting them. He became an earnest promoter of temperance among his people and was the first temperance lecturer of the United States. He in his later years cultivated a farm on the Allegheny River. He died at the Seneca reservation in Pennsylvania on February 17, 1836.

Red Jacket was also a Seneca of the Wolf tribe. He was born near Geneva in 1751. His name was given to him because of a brilliantly embroidered scarlet jacket which had been presented to him by an English officer shortly after the Revolution as the reward for his fleetness of foot. His Indian name was Sagoyewatha. His great influence with his people came from his eloquent tongue as his activity on the war-path was never remarkable. Brant said that he was a coward and gave him the name of cow killer and considered him not always honest. He took an active part at the treaty of Fort Stanwix where he established his fame as an orator. Throughout his whole career Red Jacket remained a thorough Indian. His hostility to Christianity never ceased and he regarded a missionary as the most serious enemy of his race. He not only depised the white people but their dress and language and everything that belonged to them. He was tall and dignified in appearance with fine eyes and majestic demeanor. In 1792 at the conclusion of the treaty between the United States and the Six Nations, Washington presented Red Jacket with a medal of solid silver, seven inches in length and five inches in breadth. On the reverse was engraved the arms of the United States and on the obverse a device showing Red Jacket receiving the pipe of peace from Washington. This medal he prized very highly and with the scarlet jacket wore it until the time of his death.

In 1810 he gave valuable information to the Indian agents of the plots of Tecumseh and the Prophet and in the war that followed he kept the Senecas on the side of the Americans. In his later years he became a confirmed drunkard and

sank into mental imbecility and was finally deposed by twenty-six of the leading men of his nation. He died in Seneca village, January 30, 1830. His remains were removed to Forest Lawn Cemetery near Buffalo in 1884. He has been called the last of the Senecas and has been celebrated in prose and verse by many writers and portrayed by at least four artists. His life was written by William L. Stone who speaks of him as follows: "Red Jacket's character was singularly contradictory. Lacking firmness of nerve, he nevertheless possessed remarkable tenacity of purpose and great moral courage, and his intellectual powers were of a very high order. He was a statesman of sagacity and an orator of surpassing eloquence, yet he was capable of descending to the lowest cunning of the demagogue. But he was still a patriot, and loved his nation and his race, whose extinction he clearly foresaw, and continued to labor with all his energies to put off the evil day."

John Logan was a chief of the Cayugas and bore the Indian name Tahgahjute; his English name was taken from that of the secretary of William Penn. Logan was brought up in friendly and familiar intercourse with the whites with whom he became very popular. He was finally chosen by the Mingoes as their chief. In 1770 he removed to the Ohio where he became much addicted to drinking. Four years later came the massacre of his family which resulted in the celebrated speech of Logan which is still regarded as one of the best examples of Indian eloquence. In revenge for this outrage upon his people he took the war-path in person and for several months committed fearful barbarities upon the whites. He himself took thirty scalps during the war. After the war was over he became very intemperate and in a fit of drunkenness knocked his wife down; supposing he had killed her he fled. He was followed by a troop of Indians who overtook him on the southern shore of Lake Erie. Mistaking their friendly purposes for a desire to avenge the death of his wife, he attacked them and was killed by a nephew in self defense at a point near Sandusky in 1780.

Pontiac the chief of the Ottawas was born on the Ottawa River in 1720. He was a son of an Ojibwa woman and became the chief of the three tribes, Ottawas, Ojibwas and Pottawattamies. His celebrated conspiracy is described at length at a later part of this volume. It was probably the most elaborately prepared and skilfully managed conspiracy of wide extent ever entered into against the whites by the Indians. Pontiac was killed in 1769 in Cahokia, Illinois, by another Indian who had been bribed for the purpose.

TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS.

The treaties which the English entered into with the Indians which became of importance in later years in the contests for the possession of the Western lands may be here briefly enumerated. It must be remembered that throughout the whole course of negotiations the Iroquois conquest of the Western tribes was taken for granted and that the Five Nations did not hesitate to sell nor the English to buy the title held by so vague a right.

Whatever may be the justice of the claim it seems clearly established that this confederacy pretended to own the whole country now embraced in Kentucky and Virginia north of the Cherokee claim and all of what was subsequently the Northwest Territory except a small portion in Ohio and Indiana and Southwestern Illinois belonging to the powerful Miami confederacy.

It was in the year 1609 that Champlain made the fatal mistake of introducing the knowledge of gunpowder to the Iroquois in an attack in which he accompanied the Hurons against their ancient enemies. The French people never overcame the feeling of resentment felt by the Iroquois at what they considered their unjustifiable part in this battle and at all times thereafter the natural sympathies of this great confederacy were with the English.

As early as 1684 Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, is said to have held a treaty with the Five Nations at Albany at which time they placed themselves under the protection of the British nation. They also made a deed of sale to the British government of a vast tract south and east of the Illinois River and extending across Lake Huron to Canada. The cession of 1701 is described later.

Again in September, 1726, the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas entered into a treaty with the English at the same place by which they confirmed this cession and also granted a strip of land sixty miles wide along the southern bank of Lake Ontario including the post at Oswego and extending to the modern Cleveland on Lake Erie. These lands were conveyed in trust to England "to be protected and defended by his Majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs." It would be a matter of curious interest although of little practical importance to know

what the unfortunate Indians supposed this language to mean. There never was any question that the English assumed that the best way to protect these lands for the use of those for whom they held them in trust was to use them for the benefit of the trustee.

Another treaty was made between the Six Nations and the colonists at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744. At this conference all the confederated tribes were represented except the Mohawks and there were commissioners from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The conference lasted from June 22 to July 4. The celebrated interpreter Conrad Weiser acted for the English and the no less celebrated Madame Montour for the Indians. By this an indefinite extent of land west of the Alleghanies was ceded to the English as well as the right to build a great wagon road from Pennsylvania through Lancaster and York to the Potomac at William's Ferry then up the Valley of Virginia to Winchester from which it was to follow an old Indian trail still farther south. In 1748 at the same place the Twightwees for the first time entered into an alliance with the English.

Another treaty was made at Logs Town a trading post seventeen or eighteen miles below the forks of the Ohio near the modern town of Economy. According to arrangement, Christopher Gist, Captain Trent and George Croghan and other representatives of the Ohio Company met the Indians at this point on June 9, 1752. The Indians most prominent here were the Shawanees and Mingoes and the purpose of the conference was to get these tribes to confirm the cession made at Lancaster. At first, although they recognized the treaty of Lancaster and the authority of the Six Nations to make it, they denied any knowledge of the Western lands being conveyed to the English by that deed and refused to have anything to do with the treaty of 1744. "However," said the savages, "as the French have already struck the Twightwees we should be pleased to have your assistance and protection;" they therefore asked that the English build a fort at the forks of the Ohio. The reference was to Langlade's attack on Pickawillany. The influence of Croghan and Montour, a son of the famous Madam Montour and a chief among the Six Nations, finally induced the Indians to sign a deed confirming the Lancaster treaty in its full extent and consenting to a settlement southeast of the Ohio.

In the following year William Fairfax had a conference at Winchester, Va., with representatives of some of the Indian tribes. The treaty was concluded but such was the feeling of the Indians that Fairfax did not dare to mention either the Lancaster or the Logs Town treaty.

The conference held at Carlisle, in September, 1753, between representatives of the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawanees, Twightwees and Wyandots on the one hand and the commissioners of Pennsylvania including Benjamin Franklin was more satisfactory. In reply to the Indians' complaint that their friendship for the English had brought upon them the enmity of the French, the English agreed to fortify trading stations at the forks at Logs Town and at the mouth of the Kanawha. A speech of one of the Indian chiefs at this time is worth quoting: "Your Traders," says he, "bring scarce anything but Rum and Flour. They bring little Powder and Lead, or other valuable Goods. The Rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such Quantities by regulating the Traders. We never understood the trade was to be for Whisky and Flour. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the Indian Country; but that, if the Indians will have any, they may go among the Inhabitants and deal with them for it. When these Whisky Traders come, they bring thirty or forty Cags, and put them down before us, and make us drink, and get all the Skins that should go to pay the Debts we have contracted for Goods bought of the fair Traders, and by this Means we not only ruin ourselves, but them too. These wicked Whisky Sellers, when they have got the Indians in Liquor, make them sell the very Clothes from their Backs. In short, if this Practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it." (Western Annals, p. 149.)

By the treaty of Easton with the Pennsylvania Delawares in the autumn of 1756, an agreement was reached that settlers should not pass the mountains. The spaces beyond the Alleghanies were to be kept sacred for the hunting grounds of the red men and no one should occupy them except with the permission of the tribes themselves. At this very time three millions of acres of this land had been sold to different companies.

At Fort Pitt in 1760 leave was obtained to build posts within the Indian country, each post to have enough ground about it to raise corn and vegetables for the use of the garrison.

After the siege of Detroit was raised in 1764, a treaty was made at the council held there in which took part the Ottawas, Ojibwas, Potta-

wattamies, Miamis, Sacs and Wyandots, which was simply a treaty of peace and to relinquish the title to the English post and the territory around them for the distance of a cannon shot and recognize the sovereignty of the English.

The celebrated peace made by Bouquet with the tribes along the Muskingum, the Delawares, the Senecas and Shawanees was in 1764.

In the spring of the following year in accordance with the promise made to Bouquet, the tribes of the West entered into a treaty with Sir William Johnson at the German Flats, New York. The Indians at this time desired to fix the Western boundary at the Allegheny River but Johnson pleaded lack of authority and the controversy remained unsettled.

The treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 was probably the first to fix boundaries of any definiteness. It is described at length in another chapter.

The treaty of Lochavar made two years after the Stanwix treaty recognized a title in the Southern Indians to certain lands covered by the grant made by the Northern Indians but this did not serve to bother the settlers whose conscience was quieted by the alleged Iroquois title.

The treaty of Camp Charlotte in 1774 practically concluded Dunmore's War.

The treaty of the Watauga branch of the Holston River in March, 1775, was with the Cherokee Indians and transferred certain lands south of the Ohio to the Transylvania Company. This included about half of the modern State of Kentucky and part of Tennessee lying near the southerly bend of the Cumberland. It was bounded by the Kentucky, Holston, Cumberland and Ohio rivers and included a territory of about eighteen millions of acres.

A conference with the Western Indians attended by the Delawares, Senecas and Shawanees was held at Pittsburg in October, 1775. The Indians were divided in their views with relation to the dissension of the Americans and English and at this time one of their chieftains, Captain White Eyes ever a friend of the Americans, asserted the independence of the Delawares and denied the claim of the Iroquois to rule his people. The English faction was led by the celebrated Captain Pipe.

The Delawares however headed by White Eyes, Pipe and Kill-Buck formed a treaty of peace at Fort Pitt in September, 1778, with the Virginians.

At Fort Stanwix in 1784, the Six Nations under the leadership of Cornplanter and Red Jacket met Richard Butler, Oliver Wolcott and Arthur Lee. This was the first recognition by the Indians of the new republic. Despite the reluctance of the Indian chiefs, the treaty was signed which virtually extinguished the Indian title to the lands lying north and west of the Ohio both in Pennsylvania and in New York.

The pretension of the Six Nations to sell these lands over which they in fact had no control for years angered the Western tribes and it became necessary to quiet them. This was done in the treaties made at Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney. At Fort McIntosh near the mouth of Beaver creek, thirty miles below Fort Pitt the American commissioners, George Rogers Clark, Samuel H. Parsons and Isaac Lane met representatives of the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas. By the treaty which was agreed upon, January 1, 1785, a section was reserved for the Indians in the northwestern part of Ohio and all the lands east and south and west of the lines bounding this section were acknowledged by the Indians of the conference to belong to the United States.

The Shawanees on the Scioto had kept aloof from the treaty at Fort McIntosh and for their benefit a conference was held at Fort Finney at the mouth of the Great Miami. The commissioners here were Gen. George Rogers Clark, Gen. Richard Butler and Gen. Samuel H. Parsons. On January 31, 1786, a treaty was concluded here by which the Shawanees agreed to practically the same terms as those incorporated in the treaty at Fort McIntosh. The Shawanees agreed to confine themselves in the territory between the Great Miami and the Wabash. From this time until the actual settlement in the Ohio country the Indians avoided making any further treaties.

St. Clair in the summer of 1788 made an effort to negotiate a treaty and finally succeeded in gathering the warrior chieftains at Fort Harmar in September. Negotiations were delayed by the slowness by which the representatives of the tribes came in. Among the Six Nations Brant and McKee used all their influence to prevent a conference; however St. Clair succeeded in January, 1789, in negotiating two treaties. The first was with the Six Nations, except the Mohawks who had withdrawn with Brant to Detroit, and confirmed the cessions made at Fort Stanwix in 1784. The other was with the Wyandots and other Western tribes and confined the grants at Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney in 1785. These treaties of Fort Harmar were the most important to the settlers as they

assured to them the lands just opened by the grants from Congress northwest of the Ohio. It was the delay in the negotiations at Fort Harmar that on the one hand kept Symmes so long at Limestone and that on the other occupied the attention of the Indians so that there was comparatively little annoyance from them at the time of the landings at Columbia, Yeatman's Cove and North Bend.

On September 27, 1792, Rufus Putnam having reached Vincennes, met thirty-one chiefs including the various tribes of Miamis and Illinois Indians and concluded a treaty of peace which however the Senate refused to ratify because of its guaranty to the Indians of their lands.

The treaty of Greenville in 1795 came as the conclusion of Wayne's campaign and practically reaffirmed the former treaties of Fort Harmar.

The treaties after Greenville were quite numerous and as a result little by little all claim of the Indians to any of the land now in the State of Ohio was surrendered.

The Miamis, by the Greenville treaty and a treaty later in 1809, ceded their lands between the Wabash and the Ohio State line. They did not join the alliance proposed by Tecumseh but did finally enlist against the Americans in the War of 1812 and attacked a detachment of General Harrison's army commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. They were defeated and sued for peace in a final treaty which was concluded with them September 8, 1815, by which time their numbers had very much decreased as a result of their wars and their drunkenness.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY. CARTIER TO PONTIAC.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS—ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE—KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN HORSESHOE—CELORON DE BIENVILLE—CHRISTOPHER GIST—GEORGE WASHINGTON—THE ENGLISH SUPREMACY—PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY.

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS.

The history of any particular place or people is an integral part of the history of the world. The course of human events is one connected whole, and at no point in the development of the race can the narrator content himself with saying that here begins the history of the particular epoch he is about to describe. This is particularly true in the case of the history of the American people or any community of that people made up as it is of settlers from all parts of the world driven from their homes by various reasons of expediency differing in almost every individual case. Separated as were the original settlements both by time and distance, distinct as were their forms of government and modes of life and manner of thought, they soon touched at many points and finally merged into a united whole sharing in the resultant body the different tendencies that characterize the constituent parts and showing new peculiarities as developed by local conditions of the differing environment.

In the case of a city such as Cincinnati it is a very simple matter for the chronicler to state that it was first settled in 1788, received its present name in 1790, was created a township in 1791, was incorporated as a village in 1802, and became a city in 1819, from which time it has continued to flourish in population, business wealth and culture until the present day. Such a bare recital of chronological details would have the sole merit of accuracy which is the great desideratum of modern historical work but it would be of but little value or interest. From such details one would learn nothing of the condition and causes that led to the settlement of the city, the influences that surrounded its early life and molded its subsequent character, nor any adequate explanation of its present high position in the world of business, art and letters. To understand properly the history of the foundation and development of such a city it is necessary to consider somewhat the events that preceded,—not only those belonging geographically to its immediate vicinity but many that both in point of time and locality seem at first sight a trifle remote.

The early history of the site of Cincinnati and its neighborhood is intimately connected with the history of the great struggle for colonial possession that so involved three great nations of Europe. France was the first great explorer and trader, England a century later began her policy of colonization while Spain ever jealously viewed the great waterways. To quote from a recent writer, Charles Moore:

"France discovered and occupied the Northwest; but England included that region between the infinite parallels bounding on the north and the south the colonies of Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. It was not until a full century after France had established her trade from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi that the English Colonies, as their

"population increased, began to plan the occupation of the valley of the Ohio. Virginia having crossed the Alleghanies, came into collision with France and was driven back. England took up the quarrel on behalf of her colonial rights; and at the end of the French and Indian War, New France—the picturesque, romantic, extravagant, squalid New France—disappeared from the map of North America. Next, England undertook to keep her own subjects from settling and civilizing the Northwest; and for the annihilation of the British posts, the occupants of that country entered into the most far-reaching and distinctive Indian conspiracy known to this land. No sooner were the savages subdued than the War of the Revolution led to the conquest of the Northwest by Virginia, and during eight years petty warfare was carried on by the Indians and British against the Americans. Maryland conditioned her entrance into the Confederation of the States upon the cession to the general government of the claims of the individual colonies to the Northwestern lands, and the makers of the treaty of 1783 succeeded in drawing the boundary lines of the new nation through the middle of the Great Lakes and of the Mississippi. Then the Congress of the Confederation gave to this first territorial expansion of the nation a charter of freedom and progress never before equalled among men; and under this Ordinance of 1787, New England men and ideas became the dominating force from the Ohio to Lake Erie. The advent of the settlers brought about Indian wars, fought by the United States against savages fed, clothed and armed by England that nation having, for the purposes of its fur trade, made excuse to retain the Northwestern posts. Under the provisions of the treaty of 1795, however, the posts were surrendered, and Great Britain retired across the border, there to nurse grievances that were to find vent in the War of 1812.

"We have been accustomed to regard the Northwest as a wilderness that grew into civilization by some vital force within itself. Such however was far from being the case. The name of Michilimackinac was a familiar word in the cabinets of European monarchs before it was known to the people dwelling along the Atlantic; the foundation of Detroit was decreed in the councils of France and the relations of the Jesuit missions in the Northwest were eagerly read even by the polite society of Paris. England, however, was comparatively ignorant of the Western Country; but Spain was not without ambition to control its waterways. In our own land, the makers of the Republic were also the makers of the Northwest. In its defense Washington first learned the art of war; Franklin realized its possibilities, and interested himself in its development; Patrick Henry planned with George Rogers Clark for its conquest; John Jay and Franklin and John Adams drew about it the lines of the United States; Thomas Jefferson bestowed upon it the inestimable boon of freedom; Washington's chief of engineers led its first settlers, and Mad Anthony Wayne subdued its savage inhabitants, and received the surrender of its frontier posts.

"Many races united to people and to build up the Northwest; and many interests were in conflict. The story is one of warfare, of cruelty and of barbarism." (The Northwest under Three Flags, pp. 19-21.)

It would be impossible, and it is not desirable in a work of this character to give any detailed account of the events epitomized in the foregoing extract. A brief résumé of some of the significant features of the early explorations is important however in order to make clear the proper relations of things.

The French exploration and occupation can be dismissed with little discussion for, important as was the part of France in the development of the Northwest as a whole, Cincinnati to a less degree than almost any other of the older cities of the West was affected directly by French contact.

Strangely enough Lake Erie and the Ohio River as well as the land that intervened were of all the Western country the last explored and the least known to the French. In 1534 Cartier had advanced up the St. Lawrence to within sight of Anticosti and in the following year he ascended to the sites of Quebec and Montreal, then flourishing Indian villages. He returned again in 1541 the year that the Mississippi was discovered by the Spaniards under De Soto. It was not however until 1608 that Champlain began the settlement of Quebec and in the following year he entered the lake that bears his name and in an encounter with the Iroquois gave that tribe its first experience with gunpowder, thereby winning the everlasting enmity of that powerful confederacy for the French. Two years

later (1611) he began the building of Place Royale, the modern city of Montreal. The absurd lies of an ambitious adventurer, Vignau, directed the course of French exploration by way of the Ottawa River rather than the St. Lawrence and as a result Georgian Bay a part of Lake Huron was the first of the great lakes to become known to the adventurous Champlain who skirted its shores and visited the seat of the Hurons in 1615. From this point he crossed to Lake Ontario and after sailing to the opposite shore, struck inland until he reached Oneida Lake in the heart of the Iroquois country. He wintered with the Hurons finally returning by way of Lake Huron and the Ottawa.

Brulé detaching himself from Champlain's party descended the Susquehanna to the sea. This "dauntless woodsman and pioneer of pioneers" the first white man to pass beyond Lake Huron returned from a long journey in 1629 with some copper from Lake Superior which he described as very large and emptying into Lake Huron by a fall (Sault Ste. Marie).

In 1634 Jean Nicolet started from Quebec carrying with him a gorgeous "robe of Chinese damask embroidered with birds and flowers" as an ambassador from Champlain to a "strange people without hair or beard who came from the West" whom he might not unnaturally (according to Parkman) have supposed to be Chinese or Japanese. They were in fact the Winnebagoes living near the head of Green Bay, and to reach them he passed over the waters of Lake Michigan. When he neared the town "he put on his robe of damask, and advanced to meet the expectant crowd with a pistol in each hand. The squaws and children fled, screaming that it was a manito, or spirit, armed with thunder and lightning; but the chiefs and warriors regaled him with so bountiful a hospitality that a hundred and twenty beavers were devoured at a single feast." He ascended the Fox River and turned back when he had almost reached the "Father of Waters" which he supposed from the Indian tales to be the ocean and not the Mississippi. Seven years later Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues skirted the northern shores of Lake Huron and preached to the Indians at the outlet of Lake Superior. Then the terrible Iroquois war, which furnishes the text of so many of Parkman's eloquent pages, stopped all exploration for a time and it was not until 1654 that Radisson and Groseilliers, fur traders and brothers-in-law, made the circuit of Lake Huron, passing through the Straits of Mackinac, and wintered near Green Bay. Radisson declares that they reached the Forked River,—so called "because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which, we believe runs toward Mexico" which Parkman thinks points to the Mississippi and its great confluent the Missouri. This statement is doubted however.

In this same year Father LeMoyne visited Onondaga the seat of the council fire of the Iroquois and was well received and the next year established a mission there under the charge of the Jesuit Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon.

ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE.

An exploring trip that is of the greatest interest is that of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle. As it is claimed for him that he discovered the Ohio River in 1669 and descended it as far as the rapids at Louisville and possibly to a point beyond its confluence with the Mississippi, he is (if this claim be true) probably the first white man whose eyes ever fell upon the land where now the city of Cincinnati stands. Rufus King seems to discredit this story (Ohio, p. 38) but Parkman gives it as well worthy of belief. Mr. Winsor reviews the discussion at length. (Nar. & Crit. Hist., Vol. 4, pp. 206-207 et seq.)

Parkman bases his belief upon an anonymous paper purporting to be a history of LaSalle taken from the lips of the great explorer himself. LaSalle who had obtained a grant just above Montreal was visited by some Senecas who told him of a river called the Ohio (or beautiful river) which rose in their country and flowed into the sea at a point distant an eight or nine months' journey. This LaSalle took to be the Western passage to China and he soon started on an expedition with two priests Dollier and Galinée, accompanied by twenty-one others with seven canoes. After thirty-five days they reached Irondequoit Bay on the south side of Lake Ontario. At a Seneca village not far distant they were overwhelmed by the native hospitality, being fed upon the flesh of dogs and boiled maize seasoned with oil made from nuts and sunflower seeds. Here too they witnessed the killing by torture at the stake of a prisoner, a young Indian. They could get no guides, but were told that if they persevered in their attempt to go to the Ohio, the Indians there would surely kill them. Leaving the Senecas they coasted the south shore of the lake, passing within the sound of Niagara's roar and reached a friendly Indian

village a few miles north of the present town of Hamilton. They were about to set out with a Shawanee guide who was to take them to the Ohio in six weeks when they heard of the presence of another Frenchman in a neighboring village. This proved to be Joliet, who had just passed over the waters of Lake Erie and who persuaded the priests to abandon the Ohio trip for one to the upper lakes. (Lake Erie appears on Sanson's map of 1656.) It is at this point that the story of the anonymous manuscript becomes important. It relates that after separating from the priests, LaSalle continued his journey to Onondaga, thence to a point six or seven leagues distant from Lake Erie, and continued until he came upon the rapids at Louisville. At length his men abandoned him and he retraced his steps. LaSalle in a memoir afterwards addressed to Count Frontenac states that he discovered "la grande rivière d'Ohio" and followed it to the falls after passing another quite large river which comes into it from the north which Parkman conjectures was either the Miami or Scioto. Parkman concludes "that he discovered the Ohio may then be regarded as established" and in all probability the Illinois also. (LaSalle etc., Chap. 2.)

LaSalle's claim to the discovery of the Mississippi is not generally received however and that honor is accorded to Joliet and Marquette who floating down the Wisconsin on June 17, 1673 entered the great and mysterious river, lost to history since the burial of De Soto a hundred and thirty-one years before. The Ohio is mentioned by them as coming from the country of the Shawanees. It was but eight years later, 1681, that the intrepid LaSalle explored the Mississippi from above the Missouri to its junction with the gulf, passing and noting the mouth of the Ohio (spoken of as the Wabash) on his way. On April 9, 1682 he raised a column in sight of the gulf inscribed with the arms of France and the name of the King and after the chanting of the "Te Deum" and amidst the firing of muskets, he took possession in the name of Louis the Fourteenth of the country (designating it as Louisiana) from the Ohio to the gulf.

In the later expedition projected for the purpose of extending a line of French forts from the mouth of the great river to the Canadian frontier and thus make sure this great basin for his master, LaSalle met with misfortune and death by the hand of an assassin. In this same year (1687) Tonti and DuLhut intercepted and captured the English party under McGregor on its way to attack DuLhut's settlement at the head of St. Clair River. This was Fort St. Joseph which had been established the previous year. This exploit was the most serious setback to the English that they had received.

This expedition of McGregor's was in reality a trading venture, the result of the success of New York traders at Mackinac the summer before in the absence of the French garrison. These adventurous English, with their cheap goods and large stock of rum, completely swept the Chippewa Indian market and had retired with their booty before the French could return.

This encounter which resulted so disastrously for the English was their first real conflict with the French in that section of the West. The century closed with the French in control of the countries watered by the lakes and the Mississippi, Ohio and Wabash rivers. For forty years or more, to quote Mr. King, darkness visible hung over the beautiful region lying fallow between the lake and the Ohio. The French *coureurs de bois* worked their way along the south shore of Lake Erie and up the Sandusky and Maumee rivers seeking the Wabash and Ohio, but they formed no settlements.

In 1701 Cadillac, the inveterate rival of the Jesuits and foe of the Iroquois, founded Detroit, building a strong stockade of wooden pickets and with bastions at the four angles, and stake houses within.

Just a year before Gravier passing the mouth of the Ohio, known to him as the Ouabache (Wabash) mentions that it is formed by three tributaries, the present Wabash, the Ohio (above the confluence of the Wabash) and the river from the Southeast upon which live the Shawanees who trade with the English of Virginia and Carolina. On the map of Gentil presented to the Bibliotheque Nationale in 1713, the Ohio is put down as the Ouabache (Wabash). The English too used this name. The Wabash was the present stream of that name and the part of the Ohio below it. Above the Wabash extending to the sources of the Allegheny was La Belle Riviere or the Oyo (Ohio). The Indians called the main river, between the mouth of the Wabash and the Mississippi, the Akansea. As early as 1697 De Remonville, in a memorial to the French ministry upon the importance of colonizing to keep out the English, reports a rumor that the Governor of Pennsylvania had despatched fifty men to settle upon the Wabash or Ohio which must be considered as a distinct threat to the French control of the Mississippi.

Iberville realized the importance of the Ohio region because of the easy means of communication between it and the St. Lawrence region and on the other hand between it and the Louisiana region and complained of the Canadian system in favoring the hunter and trapper in preference to the settler and home seeker which he thought a fatal blunder if France expected to hold the country against the English.

His plan was to establish posts near the mouths of the Missouri, Ohio and Arkansas as permanent centers of French influence and also at a later day to induce the tribes of the Illinois, who were friendly to the French, to settle along the banks of the lower Ohio. As a result of the alarm of the Eastern Indians, caused by the fortification at Detroit, came an action which was the basis of the subsequent claim of the English to the title of the Western country. Governor Penn had expressed the view of the colonial governors, when he stated that the just and reasonable boundary was the south side of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, but the basis of this claim was not a very substantial one. The purpose of the French to encompass the English by taking possession of the Mississippi basin was recognized in England as well as in the Colonies, and the Iroquois were represented as a "constant barrier of defence between Virginia and Maryland and the French, and by their constant vigilence they had prevented the French making any descent that way."

Nanfan, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Robert Livingston, the Secretary of New York, after a week's conference with the sachem at Albany, obtained a deed of cession, July 9, 1701, by the Five Nations to the King, ceding to him the region north of the Ohio and stretching to the Mississippi and Illinois rivers as well as the territory north of Lake Erie stretching east of the Ottawa. This included all the beaver hunting lands of the West and was described as having been conquered by them many years before, at the time when the Hurons were driven out of the Northern portion in 1650, and the Eries and others at a later period were defeated in the Southern portion. The territory ceded commenced north of Lake Ontario, and extended to the Twightwees, about eight hundred by four hundred miles in extent; this cession was confirmed by a later deed in 1726. As a matter of fact, however, the French influence in the territory, which now comprises the State of Ohio, was still predominant and it was not as a result of any permission from the Five Nations that the various Western tribes occupied the territory but by force of arms backed by French assistance.

In 1702 a French fort was established near the site of Cairo by Juchereau in accordance with the plan of Iberville but it was abandoned some three years later. Cahokia had been founded probably as early as 1690 and Kaskaskia about the same time. In 1712 the latter place had become a village and land titles were acquired and preparations for a permanent settlement made as it was chosen as the capitol place of the Illinois. The date of the settlement of Vincennes is variously given, but 1727 seems to be the most likely date.

It was in 1747 that the Indian chief Nicholas stirred up the Miamis against the French with whom they had hitherto been friendly and induced them to burn Fort Miamis of the Maumee. Galissonière the Governor of Canada sent aid, but before the arrival of the troops the Miamis were in full flight; the principal body under La Demoiselle settled on the Big Miami.

As early as 1671, Governor Berkeley of Virginia sent a party of English and Indians under Capt. Thomas Batts "to explore and find out the ebbing and flowing of the water behind the mountains, in order to the discovery of the South Sea." They traveled thirteen days over the mountains and through the woods until they came to a river "like the Thames at Chelsea" in which a few days later they reached "a Fall that made a great noise" where the journey was stopped by the refusal of the Indians to go any further. Their excuse was the difficulty of capturing game, but in reality the moving cause was fear of the Indians who lived down the river, which in all probability was the Kanawha. Those that went down that river never returned so it was said; these fears Captain Batts was unable to overcome and he was obliged to turn back.

KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN HORSESHOE.

In the early part of the eighteenth century a most venturesome and active soldier, Sir Alexander Spotswood, was Governor of Virginia. At the age of twenty-eight he had attained the rank of colonel, and had received a wound at Blenheim. He was a man of great force of character and very direct speech and he had the interests of his government and his colony much at heart. He was a strong believer in the theory of the English, that their rights ran from sea to sea. The grant to Penn, he claimed, extended to the border of Ontario, and the Virginia

charter included all other rights to the West, north of Carolina. This was the claim afterward maintained by Virginia and it included the great lakes from Lake Erie to the West and the upper Mississippi country. The English seem at times to have been strangely ignorant of what the French had done.

The English settlements crept slowly inland beyond tide-water and a strip of forest more than fifty miles in breadth was to be traversed before the peaks of the mountains could be reached. In 1710 some adventurers had gone about one hundred miles beyond the settlements and had descended the mountains from which they looked down into the valleys of Virginia, and shortly afterwards Sugar-loaf Mountain was described by Graffenreid, who said that he saw from its summit three distinct ranges and beautiful valleys lying between. The traders, however, must have passed through from time to time as evidences of their traffic were to be found in the possession of the Indians.

In 1716, Spotswood conceived the idea of his celebrated expedition, composed of a party of fifty gentlemen with slaves and Indian guides and pack horses who undertook a picnic jaunt to the mountains. No party of exploration has ever presented such attractive features as this expedition of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe. The days were spent in shooting and the nights in enjoying the trophies of the chase, washed down with native wine,—champagne and cognac. At the top of the Appalachian Mountains they drank the health of the king and all of his family. On the banks of the river, to which he gave the name Euphrates, and which is now known by its Indian name Shenandoah, they buried a bottle with a paper enclosed, on which was recorded the claim of title to this place and all the soil it drained. "We had a good dinner and drank the King's health in Champagne and fired a volley." The Governor had taken with him some graving irons but found the stones so hard that he could not make any impression upon them. It is reported however, that he cut the name of George the First upon a rock at the summit of the highest peak they reached and named it Mount George, whereupon the rest of the party called the next one Mount Alexander, in honor of the Governor. "For this expedition they were obliged to provide a great quantity of horseshoes, things seldom used in the lower part of the country where there are few stones. Upon which account the Governor upon their return presented each of his companions with a golden horseshoe, some of which I have seen studded with valuable stones resembling the heads of nails, with this inscription: *Sic juvat transcendere montes.* This he instituted to encourage gentlemen to venture backwards to make discoveries and new settlements, any gentleman being entitled to wear this golden shoe that can prove his having drank his Majesty's health upon Mount George."

This particular expedition, the first junketing tour of which we have any record, has been made the subject of much romantic writing. In his report the Governor relates that he reached within three days' march of a great nation of Indians who lived on the river emptying into Lake Erie and from the western side of one of the mountains, which he saw, that lake was visible and not above five days' march away. It would be a very easy matter he thought to obtain possession of the lake, as the road thither was very practicable. This he thought important because the British plantations were surrounded by the French fortresses in such a manner that they would not only soon engross the whole trade but send out such bodies of Indians as would threaten the Virginia plantations. Should they be able to join their settlements along the lakes with those in Louisiana, they could possess themselves of the English plantations. The long chain of mountains formed a natural barrier, but to make this effective he thought the English should make some settlements along the lakes and in the passes of the mountains to preserve communications with the settlements. It is conjectured that the river route of which he spoke, was down the Youghiogheny to the forks then up the Allegheny and across to the site of Erie, about three hundred miles distant in a straight line from the point where he turned back. With some self-complacency, Spotswood concludes his report: "I flatter myself I have attained a more exact knowledge than any other Englishman yet has of the situation of the lakes and the way through which they are most accessible over land."

It is probable that from the time of Spotswood's expedition, numerous stragglers crossed the mountains to the Indians. Not only did the traders undertake these expeditions but surveying parties began to explore the new country. Mitchell, a geographer of a later date, tells of the journeys of Virginia surveyors, who had crossed the gaps and passed down the Ohio River to New Orleans.

In 1742, it is reported that John Howard

passed from the upper waters of the James over the mountains to New River by which he reached the Ohio, which he descended to the Mississippi, where he was captured by some French and Indians and conveyed to New Orleans. In 1744, Col. Abraham Wood led an expedition through the Blue Ridge, by what came to be known as Wood's Gap, and he too reached the upper waters of the Ohio by way of New River.

In 1748, Conrad Weiser, one of the most prominent of the early traders, who had in early life acquired the Mohawk tongue by residence among them, was sent on an embassy to the Shawanees on the Ohio. He proceeded as far as Logs Town, where he met the chiefs of the tribe and delivered presents and received assurances of their support against the French. The treaty of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, was made in 1744. Weiser acted as interpreter for the English who entertained the Indians to the number of over two hundred and fifty, with food and drink for several days. The interpreter for the Indians was Madame Montour, whose husband and son were so prominent in the history of the Indian negotiations. Her son Andrew was at this time absent on the war-path against the Catawbas, by whom his father had been killed a few years before. At this time the commissioners from Virginia urged that the Western lands along the mountains were without occupants when they first knew them, and that the English King held Virginia by right of conquest and that the bounds of that conquest to the westward was the Great Sea. The answer of the Iroquois was as follows: "Though great things are well remembered among us, we do not remember that we were ever conquered by the Great King of England, or that we have ever been employed by that Great King to conquer others; if so it was at a time beyond the memory of man."

The claims of the other commissioners in Pennsylvania and Maryland were ridiculed as well. The conference ended with the payment of a considerable sum by the English and the release of an indefinite extent of territory to the west of the Alleghanies by the Indians. Each side realized that the title so obtained was of doubtful validity, but it was upon this title that a very large part of the contention of Great Britain subsequently rested.

The Ohio Company of which more will be heard of subsequently, was formed in 1748, which was the year in which the Pennsylvania and Virginia traders established their most advanced post at the newly settled Miami town, Pickawillany, on the Big Miami. As a result of the Walker expedition across the Alleghanies and through Cumberland Gap, the first Englishman's house in Kentucky was built April 25, 1750.

It is impossible of course to state when the first white man invaded the Ohio Valley, or even to state who was the first Englishman that appeared in this neighborhood. Undoubtedly traders from Pennsylvania and other Western States had trafficked among the Indians for many years, but at a time of which we have no record. These traders were called by Franklin "the most vicious and abandoned wretches of our nation," which however is in many respects an unjust characterization. It was true, however, that many of them were of a very low class and of very pernicious habits, which influenced the Indians to distrust the white man and his religion.

While the French were making inroads upon this country from the North, the English were working their way gradually westward, and the struggle for the friendship of the Indian tribes became a keen one. In December, 1747, a deputation of chiefs from the Ohio tribes was at Philadelphia. They told the commissioners that if they were expected to oppose the French on the Ohio, they must be supported by the English. It seemed to be a common complaint that the English gave no assistance to those they desired as allies.

"The several governments of the English Colonies," wrote Colonel Johnston to Governor Shirley, had for three years been persuading the Iroquois, "into a war wherein they had not any concern but to serve their friends and they have left their hunting and other means of living and exposed themselves and families for our sakes" to be left without assistance at a critical time.

In July, 1748, the Twightwees or Miamis, pledged themselves to an English alliance at Lancaster. English traders are said to have been employed along the Wabash as early as 1723, and this treaty gave them additional security. As a result the pack men of Pennsylvania and Virginia pushed forward into the valley of the Ohio, the first coming along the wagon roads through Lancaster to Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg, thence by bridle path to Will's Creek on to the Potomac, from which an Indian trail led to the forks of the Ohio; from this point they took another trail to the towns of the Miamis.

The French were disappointed at the treaty of 1748, as they had been making great efforts

to control the trade of the Miami country and had expected to build forts or stockades to aid them in this endeavor. One of the points suggested was on the Ohio, opposite the Cherokee, now Tennessee River, and another was at the falls of the Ohio. A special effort was made to alienate the Shawanees from the English. These people who had been dispersed between the Senecas and Miamis, with their main villages north of the Ohio, above the mouth of the Kanawha, were pushing westward into the Scioto country, some of them going as far as the mouth of the Wabash. Here they naturally became more under the control of the French, who were anxious to offset them against the Miamis, whose affiliations seemed to be with the English.

In 1745, English traders erected at Sandusky Bay, what Mr. Winsor suggests were "perhaps the first English structures in the present State of Ohio," and made friends among the neighboring Hurons and their chief Nicholas. This chieftain was very active in plotting against the French, and this fact together with the encroachments of the traders alarmed the commandant at Detroit, and determined him to prevent if possible the English from getting a lodgment in the Ohio country. The English traders had already founded their most advanced post at the Great Miami or Twightwee town, Pickawillany, in 1748; this was on the Big Miami, one hundred and fifty miles up the stream from the Ohio. It is said that at this time, during a single season, three hundred English traders led their pack horses and dragged their boats from the mountains across the portages into the Ohio Valley. The most conspicuous of these traders was George Croghan, for many years official representative of the State of Pennsylvania in various negotiations with the Indians.

Croghan was an Irishman, who had been trading for some years along the shores of Lake Erie. As early as June, 1747, the Pennsylvania Council received a letter from Croghan, calling their attention to the Indians along the borders of Lake Erie, who had formerly been in the French interest, but who had now come over and joined the Six Nations against the French, and stating that he had received from them a letter with a string of wampum and a French scalp, which he delivered to the Governor of Pennsylvania. He suggested that as this was a nation of great consequence, on account of their alliances, the Governor should immediately send them a present for their encouragement. Again in September, one of Croghan's men brought a letter to the Council, advising them that the Indians on Lake Erie were making war on the French,, but were very impatient to hear from their brethren, the English, expecting a present of powder and lead, "which if they do not get, he is of opinion they will return to the French, who will be very willing to make it up with them."

Croghan insisted that "in case the present was not sent, neither he nor his men would dare to go into the Indian Country that year. The Council concluded to send a present to the value of two hundred pounds, to the Indians of Ohio and Lake Erie, and the Secretary was ordered to prepare a letter and a string of wampum to accompany the present."

CELORON DE BIENVILLE.

Galissonière, the Governor of Canada, was alarmed at the progress made by the English, and realized that the French occupancy of Canada was imperiled. He was a naval officer and is perhaps best known from the fact that a few years afterwards, he won a victory at Minorca, over the famous English admiral, Byng, now remembered as the one commanding officer, who was shot on his own quarter deck for cowardice. Galissonière, although hump-backed, was a man of spirit and ability, and he felt strongly in need of uniting Canada and Louisiana, by a chain of forts which should hold back the British pioneers and encourage the development of French trade throughout the interior. His reasoning as set out in a memorial concerning the French Colonies in North America, was to the effect that Canada was necessary to the French as a barrier against the English, not because of its value to the French but because if it became the property of the English, it would so increase their trade and hence their naval power as to make them preponderant in Europe. The knowledge that such men as Croghan and other English traders were crossing the mountains from Pennsylvania and Virginia, trafficking among the Indians, who had been formerly French allies, and driving off the French traders stimulated him to take some decisive action, and in the summer of 1749, he set on foot the expedition of Celoron de Bienville, to the valley of the Ohio. Celoron was a Chevalier of St. Louis, and a captain in the colony troops. He took with him fourteen officers and cadets, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and about thirty Indians, Iroquois and Abenakis, in twenty-three

birch-bark canoes. He pushed up to St. Lawrence, losing a man and several canoes on the way, crossed Lake Ontario, and passed round Niagara. It took the party seven days, carrying the canoes and baggage up the steep hills through the dense forests of beech, oak and elm that intervened between the shores of Lake Erie and the waters of Chautauqua Lake, eight miles away and one thousand feet higher. They glided over this lake to the outlet so well known to summer tourists. The stream was quite low.

Father Bonnecamp, the chaplain, in his journal, which is the chief record of the expedition, says: "In some places—and they were but too frequent—the water was only two or three inches deep; and we were reduced to the sad necessity of dragging our canoes over the sharp pebbles, which with all our care and precaution stripped off large slivers of the bark. At last tired and worn and almost in despair of ever seeing La Belle Riviere, we entered it at noon of the 29th." This part of the Ohio is now known as the Allegheny or Alleghany.

This was the beginning of the territory which was already in dispute and which was regarded as so valuable to the French, lying as it did between their possessions in wintry Canada and tropical Louisiana. Not only was it valuable because of its peculiar geographical situation, but because of its inhabitants and the opportunities of trade afforded by them. To the east were the Delawares, Shawanees, Wyandots and Iroquois, called Mingoes by the English traders, and to the west, along the Miamis and the Wabash, was the Miami confederacy, and still farther west, near the Mississippi, were the Illinois. The French had forts on the Maumee, on the St. Joseph and two on the Wabash, all of but little strength. Fort Chartres, in the Illinois country, was much stronger with its stone bastions and citadel. There were seventy or eighty French houses at Kaskaskia, half as many at Cahokia, opposite the present site of St. Louis, and a few others along the line of the Mississippi. The English on the other hand were represented by a large number of traders who had been received by the Indians with open arms.

Such men as George Croghan, William Trent and Christopher Gist, were of the better class of traders, who had many men in their employ crossing the mountains with their goods, which were carried into the valley of the Ohio, from village to village. It was these traders that were the special object of Celoron's antipathy and the occasion of his expedition.

Upon reaching the Allegheny, he formally took possession of the country. His men were drawn up in order and in their presence, Louis the Fifteenth was proclaimed sovereign of all the territory. A sheet of tin, on which was stamped the arms of France, was nailed to a tree, and a plate of lead was buried at its foot, and the notary, who always accompanied the French expeditions, drew a formal record of the whole proceeding. The leaden plate was inscribed as follows:

"Year 1749, in the reign of Louis Fifteenth, King of France. We Celoron, commanding the detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonière, commander-general of New France, to restore tranquility in certain villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanaouagon (Conewango) this 29th July, as a token of renewal of possession heretofore taken of the aforesaid river Ohio, of all streams that fall into it and all lands on both sides to the source of the aforesaid streams, as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed it or ought to have enjoyed it, and which they have upheld by force of arms and by treaties, notably by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle."

After this work was completed the party proceeded down the river, passing various Indian settlements, but finding it very difficult to communicate with their inhabitants who were not at all friendly. In fact the hostile Senecas are said to have dug up his first plate and sent it to the English at Albany. Another plate was buried four leagues below French creek by a rock covered with Indian hieroglyphics. Three days later they came to a Delaware village at the site of Kittanning, whose owners fled at their approach. A little later at an abandoned village of the Shawanees they found six English traders, whom they warned to leave the country. He entrusted to their care a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania and expressed surprise at finding the English trespassing on the domain of France. This letter was properly delivered, for at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Council, held January, 1749:

"The Governor informed the Council that three several letters of extraordinary character in French, signed Celoron, were delivered to him by the Indian traders who came from Allegheny, informing him that this Captain Celoron was a French officer and had already in command of three hundred French and some Indians been sent this Summer to Ohio and the Owabach from

Canada, to reprove the Indians there for their friendship to the English and for suffering the English to trade with them."

On the following day they reached another Indian village, this time of the Iroquois, under a female chief, who was friendly to the English. Six more Englishmen were found here and were likewise warned to leave the country, but as did their predecessors they pretended to obey. When they reached Logs Town they found both French and English flags over the town and were greeted with a salute of musketry by the inhabitants who lined the shore. They climbed up the steep bank and encamped on the plateau above, near the village. This consisted of about fifty wigwams and cabins of the Delawares and Shawances and Mingoes and many fugitives from the deserted towns above. Celoron here delivered a message from the Governor, warning the Indians against the English, whose plans he said tended to their complete ruin. The English intended, he said, to rob them of their country and, to succeed, began by corrupting their minds. The answer of the Indians was practical and to the point.

They asked that the English traders might stay a little longer, since their goods, which were very cheap, were much desired by them. Celoron insisted, however, that the traders, of whom there were ten, should go, to which they agreed, as the chaplain states, "while resolved no doubt to do the contrary as soon as our backs were turned."

At the mouth of the Wheeling creek they buried another plate and another was buried at the mouth of the Muskingum. This was discovered half a century later, after the freshet of 1798, projecting from the river bank, in front of the spot where the fort school afterwards stood, by a party of boys bathing in the river. The plate was seen protruding from the bank and knocked down by a stick, and before its value was known, a large part of it was cut up and molded into bullets. A neighbor from Marietta rescued it and it was presented to the Governor of New York, who sent it to the American Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts.

On the 18th of August, another plate was buried near the mouth of the Great Kanawha. This too was found by a boy at play at the edge of the water, in 1846. As the party approached Scioto, on the 22nd of August, they were greeted with shots and threatening yells. Joncaire, who had been sent ahead to propitiate the inhabitants, was threatened with immediate killing, which was prevented by another party who desired to burn him alive. He was however released and allowed to return to his people. Celoron was very much alarmed, realizing the weakness of his party, "two-thirds of which were young men who had never left home before, and would have run at the sight of ten Indians." He insisted that powder was furnished to the Indians by the English for nothing.

A conference was held at which an apology was given for the ill treatement of Joncaire, and Celoron delivered his message. He prudently omitted, however, from the message any reference to the claim by the King of France of sovereignty over their lands. The party of English traders who were living in the place, he ordered to withdraw, but in view of the fact that they seemed well established, he made no attempt to enforce his order.

On August 30, 1749, he reached the Great Miami, called by the French Riviere-a-la-Roche, and here he buried his last leaden plate. They bade farewell to the Ohio—"that river so little known to the French and unfortunately too well known to the English."

He speaks of the great number of Indian villages along the shores who kept aloof from him and also of the number of traders in the vicinity: "Each, great or small, has one or more English traders and each of these has hired men to carry his furs. Behold then the English well advanced upon our lands and what is worse under the protection of a crowd of savages whom they have drawn over to them and whose number increases daily."

Up the Miami for thirteen days they toiled against the shallow current, until they reached the Indian village, built just before, at what was afterwards called Loramie Creek. This was ruled over by a chief called by the French, La Demoiselle, and by the English Old Britain. Celoron's object was to induce this chief and his band to return to their old home, near the French fort on the Maumee and for that purpose he addressed them in council and gave them many gifts. The Chief received the gifts and advice with thanks and agreed to follow it some other time. Celoron's demands that they should move the towns were in vain, and in fact within two years the town known as Pickawillany became one of the greatest Indian towns and the center of English trade and influence.

The following year at a Pennsylvania Council was read the message from the Twightwee race: "That last July about two hundred French and thirty-five French In-

dians came to their towns in order to persuade them to return back to the French Settlements from whence they came, or if fair means would not prevail with them they were to take them away by force; but the French finding they were resolved to adhere to the English and perceiving their numbers to be great were discouraged from using any Hostile Measures, and began to be afraid less they should themselves be cut off. The French brought them a present consisting of Four Half Barrels of Powder, Four Bags of Bullets and Four Bags of Paint with a few Needles and a little Thread, which they refused to accept of, whereupon the French and their Indians made the best of their Way off, for Fear of the worst, leaving their Goods scattered about. But at the Time of their Conference the French upbraided the Indians for joining the English and the more so for continuing in their Interest, who had never sent them any Presents, nor even any token of their Regards to them. The Indians further desired to assure the Governors of their steady Friendship to the English, which they hoped would last while the Sun and Moon ran round the World." (Penn. Pro. Council, Vol. V, p. 437.)

Celoron burned his canoes and crossed over to the French post of the Maumee, thence to Lake Erie, and finally reached Montreal. He closed his journal as follows:

"Father Bonnecamp, who was a Jesuit, and a great mathematician, reckons that we have journeyed twelve hundred leagues; I and my officers think we have journeyed more. All I can say is that the Nations of these countries are very ill disposed towards the French and devoted entirely to the English."

He supposed the secret of this devotion to be the inducements of trade offered by the English, which he had seen among the Delawares on the Muskingum, the Shawanees on the Scioto, and the Wyandots on the Sandusky, and among the Twightwees at Pickawillany.

Rufus King, in his "Ohio," says "the fact that Celoron's report was the first authentic relation yet known of Ohio, excites a lively interest in it until it is read; but (it) is so dry and restricted to the details of an official report, that except as to topography it is of little merit. The old soldier would not deign to notice a single scene in all the landscape through which he passed. To Father Bonnecamp, the chaplain and mathematician of this expedition, Ohio owes the first map of her boundaries or outlines yet discovered." Mr. King prints a very good copy of this map.

The Ohio Company had been formed in the State of Virginia, as opposed to those of Pennsylvania. This company included in its body a number of tide-water Virginians, among them Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington, Thomas Lee, the president of his Majesty's Virginia Council, and Thomas Hanbury, a London merchant of wealth and influence. The company's application for a grant of one-half million acres of land south of the Ohio and between the Monongahela and the Kanawha was acceded to in part, on the ground that such a grant would consolidate trade for the English and give them advantages over the French, and on May 19, 1749, a royal order awarded two hundred thousand acres of those asked for with a ten years' freedom from rent, on condition that one hundred families were settled upon them in seven years and a fort built and maintained.

Some years previous, Col. Thomas Cresap had built a hunting and trading cabin near the uppermost fork of the Potomac, and near an old Shawanee town. This man, familiar with the frontier life, was employed by the company to open a way to their new lands and a rough trail was run over the divide in the same general direction as that taken subsequently by Braddock. The company had expected to enlist in its interest some of the Pennsylvania Germans, but the fact that the Episcopalian tithes were fastened upon the land, repelled the provident Germans; for a time at least the plan rested.

CHRISTOPHER GIST.

The news of Celoron's expedition, however, aroused the company, and they concluded to send out a new explorer, Christopher Gist, often called the pioneer explorer of the Miami country and the lands to the north and south of the Ohio as far as the falls, and afterwards the companion and guide of Washington. Speaking of him in connection with the management of Indian affairs, Washington said: "I know of no person so well qualified for an undertaking of this sort as Captain Gist. He has had extensive dealings with them, is in great esteem among them, well acquainted with their manners and customs, indefatigable but patient—most excellent where Indians are concerned. As to his capacity, energy and zeal, I dare venture to engage."

Gist, the son of a Maryland surveyor, who had laid out the city of Baltimore, lived with his family on a farm near the home of Daniel Boone on the Yadkin River, in the northern part of North Carolina, then on the extreme frontier. He had retired to the quiet life of a farmer, when in 1750 he was employed for one hundred and fifty pounds sterling certain "and such further handsome allowance as his service should deserve, to explore and report upon the lands upon the Ohio and its several branches as low as the Falls of the Ohio." The instructions given to him by the Ohio Company, September 11, 1750, read in part as follows:

"You are to go out as soon as possible to the Westward of the great Mountains, and carry with you such a Number of Men as You think necessary, in Order to Search out and discover the Lands upon the river, Ohio, & other adjoining Branches of the Mississippi down as low as the great Falls thereof: You are particularly to observe the Ways & Passes thro all the Mountains you cross, & take an exact Account of the Soil, Quality & Product of the Land, and the Wideness and Deepness of the Rivers, & the several Falls belonging to them, together with the Courses & Bearings of the Rivers & Mountains as near as you conveniently can: You are also to observe what Nations of Indians inhabit there, their Strength & Numbers, who they trade with, & in what Commodities they deal.

"When you find a large quantity of good, level Land, such as you think will suit the Company, You are to measure the Breadth of it, in three or four different Places, & take the Courses of the River & Mountains on which it binds in Order to judge the Quantity: You are to fix the Beginning & Bounds in such a Manner that they may be easily found again by your Description; the nearer in the Land lies the better, provided it be good & Level, but we had rather go quite down the Mississippi than take mean broken Land. After finding a large Body of good level Land, you are not to stop but proceed further, as low as the Falls of the Ohio, that we may be informed of that Navigation; And You are to take an exact Account of all the large Bodies of good level Land, in the same Manner as above directed that the Company may the better judge when it will be most convenient for them to take their Land.

"You are to note all the Bodies of good Land as you go along, tho there is not a sufficient Quantity for the Company's Grant, but You need not be so particular in the Mensuration of that as in the larger Bodies of Land."

Following these instructions, Gist set out October 31, 1750, from Col. Thomas Cresap's at the old town on the Potomac River in Maryland, afterwards called Will's Creek, which is just opposite the Green Spring station on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; at this time it was the westernmost settlement and the rendezvous of all prospectors, traders and hunters. Washington stopped there in 1748, when surveying the lands of Lord Fairfax. After twenty days of painful travel and suffering from fever and no bear meat and turkey for food, Gist arrived at Shannopin, now a part of the city of Pittsburg, where he spent four days for the purpose of regaining his health.

"While I was here I took an Opportunity to set my Compass privately, & took the distance across the River, for I understood it was dangerous to let a Compass be seen among these Indians."

Col. Stoddard Johnston, in his edition of Gist's "Journal," explains this on the ground that the principal argument of the French in endeavoring to alienate the Indians from the English was that the English intended to take their lands. Gist throughout his journal pretends that his mission was to cement the friendship of the Indians with the English by means of treaties of alliance against France, but in fact he was the accredited surveyor of the Ohio Company, making the trip for the purpose of reporting upon lands suitable for them to appropriate. Colonel Johnston also notes the fact that Washington upon his trip to the Ohio, three years later, came in the interest of the same company and that the Indians, who were most friendly to him and Gist, subsequently became the allies of France and the enemies of England on account of the evident purpose of the English to appropriate their lands.

On the 25th he arrived at Logs Town, a village eighteen miles below Pittsburg, just below the present site of the town of Economy. This had been established by the Shawanees about twenty years before. "In the Loggs Town, I found scarce any Body but a Parcel of reprobate Traders, the Chiefs of the Indians being out a hunting." Here he heard that George Croghan, the Pennsylvania agent, "who is a meer Idol among his Countrymen the Irish Traders" and Montour, the interpreter, were a week ahead of him. The Indians were suspicious of him say-

ing, "I was come to settle the Indian's Lands and they knew I should never go Home again Safe" and the next day "tho I was unwell, I preferred the Woods to such Company" and he set out down the river to Great Beaver creek, which empties into the Ohio a few miles below Loggs Town, near the present town of Rochester. Here he met Barney Curran, a trader for his own company; he continued with him as far as Muskingum. They left the river to the southeast and cut across the country, killing many deer and turkeys and finally reached Muskingum on December 14th. This was a town of the Wyandots or little Mingoes, who he said were divided between the French and English consisting of about one hundred families and was near the present site of Coshocton. "When We came within Sight of the Town, We perceived English Colours hoisted on the King's House, and at George Croghans; upon enquiring the Reason I was informed that the French had lately taken several English Trader's, and that Mr. Croghan had ordered all the White Men to come into this town, and had sent Expresses to the Traders of the lower Towns, and among the Pickweylinees; and the Indians had sent to their People to come to Council about it." Three days later, "came into town two Traders belonging to Mr. Croghan, and informed Us that two of his People were taken by 40 French Men, & twenty French Indians who had carried them with seven Horse Loads of Skins to a new Fort that the French were building on one of the Branches of Lake Erie."

On the next day he met Croghan and Andrew Montour, two of the most remarkable characters in the early settlements of the West. Croghan has already been described.

Montour was the son of a prominent chief of the Six Nations and the half-breed, long known as Madame Montour. Both his father and mother acted as interpreter at the treaty of Lancaster in 1744, when the Indians ceded to the English all their lands in Virginia. At the meeting at Logs Town, which took place the next year, and also at the treaty in the same place in 1752, and at the conference of Carlisle, in 1753, he acted in the same capacity. In 1754, he was Washington's interpreter and confidential agent in the advance to the Ohio, and remained with him through the Braddock campaign. He was faithful to the English for many years, acting as their interpreter as late as 1758, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. He had a European face, derived from his half-breed mother, but was greased and painted like a savage and decked out with tinkling spangles.

On Christmas Day, Gist read prayers, probably the first religious service held by a Protestant in the Northwest. The Indians were so much impressed that they returned thanks to him and invited him to live among them. They gave him a name, which was the name of a good man who had formerly lived among them. He excused himself on the ground that if he should remain, that the French would carry him away as they had the English traders, to which they answered "I might bring great Guns and make a Fort, that they had now left the French, and were very desirous of being instructed in the Principles of Christianity; that they liked Me very well and wanted Me to marry Them after the Christian Manner, and baptize their Children; and then they said they would never desire to return to the French, or suffer Them or their Priests to come near them more, for they loved the English, but had seen little Religion among Them; and some of their great Men came and wanted Me to baptize their Children."

One of them brought him a book which was a kind of an almanac contrived for them by the French, in which the days of the week were so marked that by moving a pin every morning they kept a pretty exact account of the time. Gist staid some days at this village with Croghan and Montour, and from time to time messages were brought in with relation to the doings and claims of the French, who were still taking English traders prisoners.

On Sunday, the 13th, George Croghan acquainted the Indians, by presenting them with four strings of wampum, of the friendly desires of Gist. The chiefs promised an answer at a general council in the spring, upon which the party took its leave, traveling westward. At White Woman's creek he met the white woman, who had been taken from New England some forty years before, at the age of ten, by the Indians. She had an English husband and several children—"Her name is Mary Harris, she still remembers they used to be very religious in New England, and wonders how the White Men can be so wicked as she has seen them in these Woods." The trip continued in the southwesterly direction to Hockhockin, the present town of Lancaster, then a small town of the Delawares, thence to the Scioto and across the country.

On one occasion they lodged at the house of an

Indian, who entertained them very kindly "and ordered a Negro Man that belonged to him to feed our Horses well." At Shannoah Town, at the mouth of the Scioto, he crossed the path of Celoron. This was the point where Celoron omitted in his speech any reference to the claim of French sovereignty. This town, afterwards known as Shawanee Town, was situated on both sides of the river Ohio, just below the mouth of Scioto creek, and contained about three hundred men; there were about forty houses on the south side of the river and one hundred on the north side, "with a kind of State-House of about 90 Feet long with a light Cover of Bark in which they hold their Councils." Here another council was held and Croghan and Montour delivered messages from the Governor of Pennsylvania, informing them of the threats of the French and of their building a fort on the south side of Lake Erie, as well as of the sending by the King of Great Britain of a large present of goods which they were invited to partake of the next summer. The Indians promised to attend the conference at Logs Town in the spring and offered to send a guard with them to the town of the Twightwees, about two hundred miles off, and Pickawillany. Here they also witnessed an extraordinary festival, described as follows:

"In the Evening a proper Officer made a public Proclamation that all the Indians marriages were dissolved, and a Public Feast was to be held for three succeeding days after, in which the women as their Custom was were again to choose Husbands.

"The next Morning early the Indians breakfasted and after spent the Day in dancing till the Evening when a plentiful Feast was prepared, after feasting they spent the Night in dancing. The same Way they spent the next two Days till Evening, the Men dancing by themselves and then the women in turns round the Fires, and dancing in their Manner in the Form of the Figure 8 about 60 or 70 at a time. The Women the whole Time they danced sung a Song in their Language the Chorus of which was

I am not afraid of my Husband
I will choose what Man I please

singing those Lines alternately.

"The third Day in the Evening, the Men being about 100 in Number, some Times at Length, at other Times in a Figure 8 quite round the Fort and in and out of the long House, where they held their Councils, the Women standing together as the Men danced by them; And as any of the Women liked a Man passing by she stepped in and joined in the Dance, taking hold of the Man's Strond whom she Chose, and then continued in the Dance till the rest of the Women stepped in and made their choice in the same Manner; after which the Dance ended and they All retired to consummate."

From this point his party went across to the Twightwee Town, on the Big Miami River. "All the Way from Shannoah Town to this Place is fine, rich level Land, well timbered with large Walnut, Ash, Sugar Trees, Cherry Trees, &c., it is well watered with a great Number of little Streams or Rivulets and full of beautiful natural Meadows, covered with wild Rye, blue grass and Clover, and abounds with Turkeys, Deer, Elks and most sorts of Game particularly Buffaloes, thirty or forty of which are frequently seen feeding in one Meadow; In short it wants nothing but Cultivation to make it a most delightfull Country—The Ohio and all the large Branches are said to be full of fine Fish of several Kinds, particularly a Sort of Cat Fish of a prodigious Size."

They entered the town with the English colors before them and were invited to the King's house, upon the top of which they set their colors. "The Twigtwees are a very numerous People consisting of many different Tribes under the same Form of Government. Each tribe has a particular Chief, or King, one of which is chosen indifferently out of any Tribe to rule the whole Nation, and is vested with greater Authorities than any of the others—They are accounted the most powerful People to the Westward of the English Settlements, & much superior to the Six Nations with whom they are now in Amity: their Strength and Numbers are not thoroughly known, as they have but lately traded with the English, and indeed have very little Trade among them: They deal in much the same Commodities with the Northern Indians. There are other Nations or Tribes still further to the Westward daily coming in to them & 'tis thought their Power and Interest reaches to the Westward of the Mississippi, if not across the Continent; they are at present very well affected to the English, and seem fond of an Alliance with them—they formerly lived on the other side of the Obache, and were in the French Interest, who supplied them with some few Trifles at a most exorbitant Price—they were called by the French Miamees; but

they have now revolted from them, and left their former Habitations for the Sake of trading with the English; and notwithstanding all the Artifices the French have used, they have not been able to recall them."

They were the people of La Demoiselle, who received the gifts and advice of Celoron with so many thanks and promised to follow it some other time. By reason of their change of allegiance and friendship for the English and to the treaty, subsequently made with Croghan and Gist, the French waged a destructive war against them and took their fort and burnt their villages in 1752. They finally submitted to the French and together with the Shawanees took sides with them in the war against England, and at the time of the later settlements of the Miami Valley were the principal Indians with whom the settlers came into contact.

At this town there was a series of conferences and powwows, which as reported by Gist give as good an idea of Indian character and eloquence as we have preserved. During the negotiations some Ottawa representatives of the French arrived, and Gist and his party had the chance to test the Miamis' friendship. The result was satisfactory and the French envoys were completely discomfited.

The French Indians marched in under French colors and were conducted into the long house, whereupon the Indian chief of the Twigtwees insisted on having the English colors set up as well as the French. Thereupon the speaker for the French stood up "and laid his Hands upon two small Caggs of Brandy that held about seven Quarts each, and a Roll of Tobacco of about ten Pounds Weight, then taking two strings of Wampum in his Hand, He said, 'What he had to deliver Them was from their Father, and then he desired they would hear what he was about to say to them;' then he layed them two Strings of Wampum down upon the Caggs, and taking up four other Strings of black and white Wampum, he said, 'that their Father remembering his Children, had sent them two Caggs of Milk, and some Tobacco, and that he now had made a clear Road for them, to come to see Him and his Officers; and pressed them very much to come,'"

The Twightwee king replied that it was true, that "the road was clear, but He understood it was made foul and bloody, and by Them—" and said that they had cleared a road for the English, and that the French had taken some of the English prisoners, "which We look upon as done to Us, and he turned short about and went out of the Council"—"After the French Embassador had delivered his Message He went into one of the private Houses and endeavored much to prevail on some Indians, and was seen to cry and lament (as he said for the loss of that Nation)."

Two days later, the Twightwees delivered the final answer to the French Indians. "The Captain of the Warriors stood up and taking some Strings of Wampum in his Hand he spoke with a fierce Tone and very warlike Air—'Brothers the Ottaways, You are always differing with the French Yourselves, and yet you listen to what they say, but we will let you know by these four strings of Wampum, that we will not hear any Thing they say to Us, nor do any Thing they bid us.' Directing his speech to the French, he said, 'we have made a road as far as the Sea to the Sun-rising, and have been taken by the Hand by our Brothers the English, and the Six Nations, and the Delawares, Shannoahs and Wyendotts, and We assure You it is the Road we shall go; and as You threaten Us with War in the Spring, We tell You if You are angry we are ready to receive You, and resolve to die here before we will go to You; And that You may know that this our Mind, We send You this String of black Wampum.' After a short Pause the same Speaker spoke again thus—'Brothers the Ottaways, You hear what I say, tell that to your Fathers the French, for that is our Mind, and We speak it from our Hearts.'"

The following day the four French Indians left for the French fort, that is Fort Miami, the present site of Fort Wayne. Gist records an exhibition of dancing as follows:

"The Crier of the Town came by the King's Order and invited us to the long House to see the Warriors Feather Dance; it was performed by three Dancing-Masters, who were painted all over with various Colours, with long Sticks in their Hands upon the Ends of which were fastened long Feathers of Swans, and other Birds, neatly woven in the Shape of a Fowl's Wing: in this Disguise they performed many antick Tricks, waving their Sticks and Feathers about with great Skill to imitate the flying and fluttering of Birds, keeping exact time with their Musick; while they are dancing some of the Warriors strike a Post, upon which the Musick and Dancers cease, and the Warrior gives an Account of his Achievements in War, and when he has done, throws down some Goods as a Recompence to the Performers and Musicians; after which they proceed in their Dance as before till an-

other Warrior strikes ye Post, and so on as long as the Company think fit."

After receiving the promise of the Indians to join them at the conference at Logs Town in the spring, the English party took their leave. They traveled together to Mad creek near the present town of Springfield, the site of the town of Piqua, destroyed by Clark in 1780. At this point they separated, Croghan and his party going to Hockhockin, and Gist to the Shannoah Town, "and as I was quite alone and knew that the French Indians had threatened Us, I left the Path, and went to the South Westward down the little Miamee River or Creek, where I had fine traveling thro rich Land and beautiful Meadows, in which I coud sometimes see forty or fifty Buffaloes feeding at once—The little Miamee River or Creek continued to run the Middle of a fine Meadow, about a Mile wide very Clear like an old Field, and not a Bush in it, I coud see the Buffaloes in it above two Miles off."

He apparently reached the Shannoah town in safety and was told that there was a party of French Indians hunting at the falls, and that if he went there would certainly be killed or carried away prisoner. Despite this warning he crossed the river and proceeded to the southwest. On this part of his journey he heard of the finding of some teeth of a large beast near the falls of the Ohio, one of which he brought in and delivered to the Ohio Company. "He assured me that the Rib Bones of the largest ot these Beasts were eleven Feet long, and the Skull Bone six Feet wide, across the Forehead, & the other Bones in Proportion; and that there were several Teeth there, some of which he called Horns, and said they were upwards of five Feet long, and as much as a Man could well carry: that he had hid one in a Branch at some Distance from the Place, lest the French Indians should carry it away—The Tooth which I brought in for the Ohio Company, was a Jaw Tooth of better than four Pounds Weight; it appeared to be the furthest Tooth in the Jaw, and looked like fine Ivory when the outside was scraped off."

When near the falls he was persuaded from going any farther by the news of the hostile Indians and returned through Kentucky to Virginia.

Arrived on the 18th of May, at his own house on the Yadkin. "When I came there I found all my family gone, for the Indians had killed five People in the Winter near that Place, which frightened my Wife and Family away to Roanoke about 35 M nearer in among the Inhabitants, which I was informed by an old Man I met near the Place." Next day fortunately he found his family well.

Gist's journey was published in Pownall's "Topographical Description of North America," London 1776, and his route is pricked on the English map of Mitchell and Evans. The text followed here is that of Col. J. Stoddard Johnston's edition, in Volume XIII, Filson Club Publications.

Immediately upon Gist's return, he was sent upon another expedition, to course the south bank of the Ohio to the Big Kanawha, for good lands. Upon his return in March, 1752, a new grant was obtained by his company, of lands south of the Ohio, and in the spring of that year he went among the Indians again to induce them to take land within the company's grant and by living among the white settlers to add strength to the barrier against the French.

In June, 1752, the proposed conference at Logs Town was held. Gist, Colonel Trent, and others were present on behalf of the Virginians. The purpose of this conference was to get the tribes to confirm the cessions which the Indians had made at Lancaster, in 1744. The Indians did not dispute the authority of the Six Nations to make that treaty, but they declined at first to have anything to do with it, but finally after the intercession of Croghan and Montour, representing the interests of Pennsylvania, the disaffected tribes, the Shawanees and Mingoes, yielded, and an agreement was reached. The Indians agreed not to molest Virginia settlers on the south side of the Ohio, and asked that an English fort be built at the forks of the Ohio. As a result of this conference, settlers began to push down the Monongahela, and Gist was instructed to lay out a town and a fort just below the forks. Trent was sent to the Miami country with messages and gifts; here he found a sad state of affairs.

Celoron, who was now the commandant of Detroit, had become more alarmed than ever by the English encroachments, especially in view of the feeling which he had found to exist among the Indians on his trip three years before. He felt the necessity of driving the English traders from the Miami villages, and for that purpose sent an expedition under Charles Landglade, a half-breed, to attack the fort at Pickawillany. Crossing the corner of Lake Erie, the fleet ascended the Miami of the Lake, and on June

21st completely surprised the Miami town. But eight English traders and a few Indians were there. Fourteen Miamis and one trader were killed and the old chief La Demoiselle, or Old Britain, was boiled and eaten. This victory for a time cleared the valleys of the Maumee and the Miami of the objectionable English traders and gave the French sufficient confidence to carry out their scheme of establishing armed posts throughout the Ohio Valley. In the spring of the next year, Presqu' Isle, at the site of the city of Erie, Le Boeuf on French creek at the site of Waterford, and Venango at the mouth of French creek on the Allegheny were built.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

It was now apparent that the time had come for the fight for the control of the Ohio Valley. Franklin and a number of others met a deputation of Indians in council at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in September, 1753. The Indians complained that the English made no effort to protect them against the French. They had protested against the erection of the forts and their protest had been disregarded. The Indians urged that the English, if they desired to retain their trade must fortify the trading posts at Logs Town, at the mouth of the Kanawha and the forks. It was concluded to send a messenger to ascertain the numbers and force of the French and to deliver to their commanding officer the demand of Virginia, that all French troops be withdrawn from her territory. The messenger selected was a young man of twenty-one, who had held the position of adjutant-general in the Virginia militia since he was nineteen years of age,—Major-General Washington. Accompanied by Gist and five others he first visited Logs Town to get information from the half-breed king with regard to the French. From this point he went to Venango, where he was most hospitably entertained by Joncaire. He was the son of a French officer and a Seneca squaw, and acted as scout in Celoron's expedition. He was a man of great influence among the Indians and he tried very hard to win over Washington's Indian companions. In this he was unsuccessful, but on the other hand, Washington succeeded in obtaining much information as to the plans of the French. He was received at Le Boeuf with great politeness, but soon learned that the French were most determined in their purposes. On his journey home, he came near to losing his life at the hands of a treacherous Indian; he was saved however by Gist.

Washington's "Journal" of this expedition, promptly published in England, aroused both that country and the Colonies to the necessity of some immediate steps to protect the Ohio Company against the French. In the spring of 1754, Captain Trent began to build a fort on the site of the present city of Pittsburg, but on April 17th, Contrecoeur, with one thousand men appeared before the fort and demanded surrender, which had to be conceded. Thus began the French and Indian War, which waged for nine years on both sides of the ocean. This news was communicated to Washington, who was on the way with a relief party too late for him to be of any assistance. Shortly afterwards he fell in with a French party under Jumonville, and in a quarter of an hour's fighting, the French commander and nine others were killed. At Gist's settlement, which had been built about ten miles from the Monongahela, on what is now Mount Braddock, as a result of the explorations for the Ohio Company, Washington received information of a French force marching against him. He fell back to Fort Necessity, some thirteen miles away, where his party, three hundred in all, were attacked on July 3rd, by a party of Frenchmen and on the next day, July 4, 1754, he was obliged to surrender. This surrender involved the practical abandonment by the English of the Mississippi Valley. In 1755 came the ill fated expedition of Braddock, which for a time confirmed the hold of France on the Great Valley. The defeat of Braddock brought down upon the settlers along the Ohio the relentless savages, although the Six Nations who claimed to own the land favored the English in the war that followed. The actual occupants of this territory, the Delawares and the Shawanees and the Miamis, took the part of the French and soon throughout the Indian towns were to be found the wives and children of the English backwoodsmen who had been murdered.

THE ENGLISH SUPREMACY.

It was not until 1758, that Fort Duquesne fell into the hands of the English under Forbes and became known as Fort Pitt, and in 1760, the Northwest from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi was yielded by the French to the English. The principal action of the war had taken place east of the Ohio region and the Indians of the West who had been for so long a time faithful to France, knew little of the successive French defeats. Great was their surprise there-

fore, when little bodies of English soldiers came into the West without any opposition and took possession of the little French forts which the Indians had regarded as impregnable. The fact that these possessions were given up to the new comers without a struggle was beyond the comprehension of these simple warriors, and when they were told that the French armies had been entirely defeated and that the French rule in America was at an end, they could scarcely believe it. So far as they knew no battle had been fought for eight years and the last one had been a great victory. Ignorance naturally resulted in suspicion and the feeling that they had been betrayed by the French grew very strong. The French after all from the Indian standpoint never owned the land. Their policy had been very different from that of the English. When they built a fort it was not to establish a claim to territory but to protect their friends the Indians and provide trading posts. The idea that the defeat of the French involved the surrender of their land to the English was one that they could not bear. The English policy of settlement they were familiar with. As soon as a few Englishmen came to the Indian country and settled themselves they began clearing the land and cultivating it and to exercise acts of dominion over all the surrounding territory. The occupation of the English ever meant the exclusion of the Indians. "You are ignorant," said Duquesne to the Indians, "of the difference between the King of France and the English. Look at the forts which the King had built; you will find that under their very walls the beasts of the forests are hunted and slain; that they are in fact fixed in places most frequented by you, merely to gratify more conveniently your necessities. The English on the contrary no sooner occupy a post than the woods fall before their hands—the earth is subjected to cultivation —the game disappears—and your people are steadily reduced to combat with starvation."

A Mohawk Indian at one of the conferences with Sir William Johnson, is reported to have said: "I must now say it is not with our consent that the French have committed any hostilities at the Ohio. We don't know what you Christians, English and French together, intend; we are so hemmed in by both that we have hardly a hunting place left. In a little while if we find a bear in a tree there will immediately appear an owner of the land to challenge the property and hinder us from killing it, which is our livelihood. We are so perplexed between both that we hardly know what to say or think."

Horace Walpole in his sarcastic manner remarked of the French and English methods: "They ensiaved or assisted the wretched nations to butcher one another, instructed them in the use of fire arms, brandy and the New Testament, and at last by scattered extension of forts and colonies, they have met to quarrel for the boundaries of empires, of which they can neither use nor occupy a twentieth part of the included territory; "but," says he again, "*we* do not massacre; we are such good Christians as only to cheat." A Delaware sachem asked the question, "the French claim all the lands on one side of the Ohio and the English on the other; now where do the Indian lands lie?" Another expresses the fear that "between their fathers, the French, and their brothers, the English, they were in a fair way of being lovingly shared out of the whole country."

Much of this reasoning was indulged in by the savages. At this time when they saw the land which they inhabited slipping from under their feet, the French traders, who still lingered among them, did much to feed their wrath. The apparently helpless condition of the English settlements and forts gave them an idea of their opportunities. The Treaty of Paris guaranteed to the King of England, Canada and all the rights of France east of the Mississippi River. Religious freedom was granted to the inhabitants as well as the right to sell their estates and quit the country within eighteen months. By an order in council of October 7, 1763, three new divisions were erected, one of which, Quebec, included the Ohio country. To protect the Indians in their hunting grounds, grants of any lands beyond the heads and sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic from the West or Northwest or of any lands whatever preserved to the Indians were forbidden. All lands lying westward of these limits were to be reserved for the use of the Indians and purchasers or settlements without special leave and license were forbidden under heavy penalties. Settlers in the Indian country were ordered to remove forthwith. No private persons were allowed to make purchases of the Indians; even the King was to receive cessions at public councils of the Indians. Fair as these provisions appeared they clearly indicated that the territory was regarded as an acquisition by conquest.

PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY.

Pontiac, the chieftain of the Ottawas, one of the most remarkable men of his race, was also among the first to divine the change in affairs. He felt that the Indians had been weakened by their contact with the civilization of Europe. A period of decadence had set in. The implements, arms and arts of the red men had given place to the more convenient and more luxurious ones of the whites. As a result he felt that the time would soon come when the Indian would be absolutely dependent upon the foreigner.

Already before the conclusion of the war, he had gone to Fort Pitt to make inquiries as to how the Indians were likely to fare under the new order of things. He was assured that the rivers would run with rum, that presents from the great King of England would be without limit and the markets the cheapest ever known. When Maj. Robert Rogers was sent out with a company of two hundred and fifty British rangers to take possession of Detroit and the other posts to the North and West in September, 1760, he was met by Pontiac who inquired his business. Pontiac was told the news of the French defeat and of the intended English occupation. Fair promises were made to him and for a time he pretended acquiescence. He noted however, the weakness of the British garrisons, as recorded by Sir William Johnson, there were about one hundred and fifty British at Detroit, thirty at Mackinac, twenty at Fort Miami, thirty at St. Joseph, thirty at Ouiatanon, twelve at Sandusky, and thirty each at Presqu' Isle, Le Boeuf and Venango.

At Detroit, Capt. Donald Campbell was in command. The life of the garrison was full of gayety, and the conclusion of the war left the inhabitants apparently without any care or thought except pleasure. Rumors came however, of disaffection among the Indians.

Sir William Johnson supposed that the Ohio Indians were instigators and he himself went to Detroit to endeavor to make a treaty. At the same time Major Gladwyn was sent with three hundred infantry to strengthen the posts. Sir William's visit was a great social event. Balls beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and lasting until five in the morning, to which the French maidens of the settlement were especially invited, were given by Captain Campbell and a return ball lasting eleven hours, by Sir William. Dinners and calls at which were refreshments of every variety and kind followed. Presents were given to the Indians and finally Johnson returned home satisfied that all was well.

The real instigator however of the mischief was not one of the Ohio Indians but Pontiac. The war had become a matter of religious conviction with him. At a great convention of the Indians, not far from Detroit, on April 27, 1763, he delivered a most impressive harangue, that is commonly reported as one of the most remarkable specimens of Indian eloquence. At this time he was about fifty years of age. He was not above the middle height but very muscular and very symmetrical. He was unusually dark and very stern featured with a most imperious bearing. He ordinarily dressed with the utmost simplicity but on an occasion such as this he stood forth in all the pomp and glory of a costume of war. In his address, delivered with great fierceness, he attacked the English for their arrogance and injustice, their contemptuous treatment and abuse of the Indians. The supremacy of the English meant the destruction of the Indians. The French were about to return and reap vengeance on their enemies. Then he told an allegory to illustrate the degeneracy of his race and to call them back to the simple habits of their ancestors. He warned them that the guns, knives, kettles and blankets of the white men, and worse than all their rum, were instruments about to bring about their destruction and must be discarded. They must expel the English and return to the customs and traditions of their forefathers. As a result all present were eager to join in the conspiracy and it was arranged that Pontiac with a party of warriors should gain admittance to the garrison to ascertain its strength.

On the 1st of May, he and thirty of his warriors were admitted to the fort, where they danced the calumet dance for the edification of the garrison. Ten others of the Indians in the meantime strolled about the fort making notes of its condition. On the night of the 7th, an Indian girl, a favorite of Major Gladwyn, is said to have revealed the plot to him. Whether this story be true or the less romantic one related by other authorities, matters not. When Pontiac and his chiefs entered the council chamber the next morning, where they intended treacherously to massacre the garrison, the troops were drawn up on parade. As Pontiac saw them he realized that his plot had been discovered and asked the reason for such conduct. When he was told that it was simply for the purposes of discipline, he arose and began to protest his

friendship. When he raised the belt of wampum, which according to his agreement was to be the signal for his chiefs to fire, at a signal from Gladwyn "a sudden clash of arms sounded from the passage without and a drum rolling the charge filled the council room with its stunning din."

According to one story, Gladwyn drew aside Pontiac's blanket, discovering his concealed weapon. According to another and a more probable one, Gladwyn, who did not desire an open rupture offered the Chief friendship and protection so long as he continued to deserve it. Pontiac and his chiefs retired baffled for the moment.

On the 9th of May open warfare began and the town was besieged. Fort Sandusky was surrounded on the 16th of May, by Indians who appeared to be friendly. The fort was taken by treachery and the garrison was slaughtered. Fort Miami was surrendered after its commander had been shot, while on an errand of mercy to an Indian servant outside the stockade. At Fort St. Joseph, seventeen Indians treacherously gained admission, seized the commander and killed ten of the garrison. Fort Ouiatanon on the Wabash was surrendered after its commander had been treacherously captured. At Fort Michillimackinac, the Indians gathered on June 2nd, to play a game of lacrosse. They played from morning until noon while the officers stood by to watch the sport. Suddenly the ball was thrown over the palisade and a number of Indians rushed through the gate to get it, but before the sentries could recover, the officers were seized and fifteen soldiers, one officer and a trader were killed outright, and the rest were taken prisoners. All would have been killed but for the intervention of Charles Langlade. Fort Le Boeuf was attacked, but the garrison escaped in the night time to Fort Pitt, passing on their way the smoldering ruins of Fort Venango. Other forts were attacked throughout the Western country, but Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt held firm. It is computed that in four months two thousand men, women and children had been murdered or captured. For five months the siege continued at Detroit.

The monotony of the siege was varied by a number of sorties, in which the savages and the whites met with varying success. Pontiac's principal hope of success had been in assistance from the French. He was unable to realize for many months that peace between the French and English was a lasting one and that the former nation had been banished from its old realm east of the Mississippi. As time went on however, and he received no assistance and finally assurances that he could not expect any assistance from the French, it became apparent to him that his cause was lost for the present at least. French messengers came to him from the French commandant at Fort Chartres, the principal post of the French in the Illinois country, and upon receipt of the information carried by them Pontiac made a virtue of necessity and withdrew from the siege. His course was towards the Maumee, where he hoped to stir up the Indians and renew the war in the spring.

Fort Pitt itself was relieved by an army from Philadelphia under Colonel Bouquet, after one of the most decisive battles ever fought with the Indians in America. This battle of Bushy Run as it was called, which took place on July 6, 1763, was won by a stratagem worthy of the savages themselves. Bouquet at the very moment when his troops were yielding to fatigue and despair, under the pretense of a retreat, drew his assailants into an ambush. The Indians were cut to pieces and so completely overawed that the prestige of Bouquet's name became irresistible.

CHAPTER V.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY. BOUQUET TO CLARK.

Bouquet's Expedition—The Return of the Captives—Croghan on the Ohio—The Land Companies—The Treaty of Fort Stanwix—Dunmore's War—Logan—The Quebec Act—The Revolutionary War—George Rogers Clark—The Spanish Claims—The Massacre of the Moravians—The Burning of Crawford—Blue Licks—Clark on the Miamis—The Conclusion of the War.

In order to assure the English possession of the Northwest two expeditions were sent out in 1764, one under Colonel Bradstreet and the other under Colonel Bouquet. Bradstreet had been very successful in the early days of the war when he was in charge of a flotilla of whale boats on Lake Ontario. In 1758 he had captured Fort Frontenac. This capture included a large number of guns, provisions and goods and nine vessels in the harbor with their entire armament. It involved the loss of the lake to the French and the cutting off of supplies for Niagara and Duquesne and was one of the most important elements in the final success of the English. As a result of this success Bradstreet had won much renown and unfortunately much confidence in himself. When therefore he was given command of a large force sufficient to give the Indians an effective chastisement he felt satisfied that he would reap the glory of closing the war. A part of his plan was to enlist a contingent of French Canadians which should help to convince the Indians of the hopelessness of a French defection. When therefore he passed up Lake Erie from Niagara in July he was in the proper frame of mind to be approached by treacherous Indians. He was soon met near Presqu' Isle by some strange Indians claiming to be peace commissioners sent by Delawares and Shawanees. These savages had planned to quiet Bradstreet by a treaty of any sort which should enable their confederates a little further south to gain time for further assaults upon the border. He was completely duped and on August 12th entered into a preliminary treaty by which the Indians pretended to cede the existing posts and to grant sites for any others which the English might desire to build. The savages also agreed to deliver up all prisoners and in fact to do most anything which Bradstreet might desire. He was completely misled and his expedition was rendered useless as a result. Not only was this so but he sent a messenger to Colonel Bouquet informing him that peace had been concluded.

BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION.

Bouquet fortunately was not so easily deceived and he marched directly across the country from Fort Pitt to the Muskingum with two battalions of regular troops and about seven hundred provincials. The prestige of his victory at Bushy Run had attracted to him the most expert woodsmen of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The march westward was like a picnic. It was through a beautiful country in the fall of the year and at the approach the Indians fled or hid themselves so that there was no sign of an enemy to interfere with their comfort. Not a single shot was fired on the entire march to the

Muskingum. On October 16th, after a wilderness journey of two weeks, Bouquet was met by six Indians who said that they came as ambassadors to sue for peace and on the following day a meeting was had with the representatives of the Senecas, Delawares and Shawanees. The Indians endeavored to throw the blame of their conduct upon their Western nations and the rashness of their young men. According to custom an answer was deferred until the next day and no intimation was given as to the conclusion reached by Bouquet. The severity of the weather and Bouquet's desire to leave them in suspense postponed the next meeting until the 20th. At this meeting Bouquet assailed them with great determination and bitterness. He told them that their excuses were weak and frivolous and recapitulated the instances of their former perfidy. He called to their mind their murders of traders and their attack upon Fort Pitt and murders of the King's messengers ever sacred among all nations, their treacherous attack upon the frontiers, their breach of faith in the case of the treaty with Bradstreet. In this instance too they had failed to return their prisoners despite their promises and they had received each time considerable presents but had never complied with their engagements.

"I am now to tell you, therefore, that we will be no longer imposed upon by your promises. This army shall not leave your country till you have fully complied with every condition that is to precede my treaty with you.

"I have brought with me the relations of the people you have massacred, or taken prisoners. They are impatient for revenge; and it is with great difficulty that I can protect you against their just resentment, which is only restrained by the assurances given them, that no peace shall ever be concluded till you have given us full satisfaction.

"Your former allies, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, and others, have made their peace with us. The Six Nations have joined us against you. We now surround you, having possession of all the waters of the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Miamis, and the Lakes. All the French living in those parts are now subjects to the King of Great Britain, and dare no longer assist you. It is therefore in our power totally to extirpate you from being a people. But the English are a merciful and generous nation, averse to shed the blood, even of their most cruel enemies; and if it were possible that you convince us that you sincerely repent of your past perfidy, and that we could depend on your good behavior for the future, you might yet hope for mercy and peace. If I find that you faithfully execute the following preliminary conditions, I will not treat you with the severity you deserve.

"I give you twelve days from this date to deliver into my hands at Wakatamake, all the prisoners in your possession, without any exception, Englishmen, Frenchmen, women and children; whether adopted in your tribes, married, or living amongst you under any denomination and pretence whatsoever, together with all negroes. And you are to furnish the said prisoners with clothing, provisions, and horses, to carry them to Fort Pitt.

"When you have fully complied with these conditions, you shall then know on what terms you may obtain the peace you sue for." (Olden Time, Vol. I, p. 247.)

THE RETURN OF THE CAPTIVES.

It may be well imagined that this speech made an impression on the minds of the savages, who were thoroughly cowed by the firm and determined spirit of Bouquet and the consciousness of their own wrong doing. The Delawares delivered a number of their prisoners forthwith and made promises as to the others. The Shawanees were not present at this conference and Bouquet determined to march further into their country to give them full knowledge of his strength and determination. When they had reached the center of the Indian country within a mile of the forks of the Muskingum, they proceeded to erect a camp wherein to receive the captives. In addition to the fortifications for protection, three houses with separate apartments were built for the expected captives, and proper officers appointed to take charge of them with a matron to attend the women and children so that the camp had the appearance of a little town. The Shawanees held back and Bouquet insisted that they should be punctual, and added: "As their Nation had expressed some uneasiness at our not shaking hands with them, they were to know that the English never took their enemies by the hand before peace was finally concluded."

Here on the 9th and 12th of November, was enacted a scene the like of which is probably not known to history. After the exchange of many speeches accompanied by many strings and belts of wampum, the prisoners were surrendered.

"The scene I mean was, the arrival of the prisoners in the camp; where were to be seen fathers and mothers recognizing and clasping their once lost babes; husbands hanging around the necks of their newly recovered wives; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after long separations, scarce able to speak the same language, or for some time to be sure that they were children of the same Parents! In all these interviews, joy and rapture inexpressible were seen, while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others; flying from place to place in eager enquiries after relatives not found! trembling to receive an answer to their questions! distracted with doubts, hopes and fears, on obtaining no account of those they sought for! or stiffened into living monuments of horror and woe, on learning their unhappy fate!

"The Indians, too, as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this most affecting scene. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance; shed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard to them continued all the time they remained in camp. They visited them from day to day; and brought them what corn, skins, horses, and other matters, they had bestowed on them, while in their families; accompanied with other presents, and all the marks of most sincere and tender affection." (Olden Time, Vol. I, p. 255.)

Some of the Indians even solicited leave to accompany their former captives to Fort Pitt and one young Mingo claiming a young Virginia girl as his wife insisted on following her to the frontier at the risk of being killed by the relatives of the prisoners who had been slain by his race. Strangely enough some of the captives did not wish to return. "The Shawanees were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and some women, who had been delivered up, afterward found means to escape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance." (*id.*, p. 257.)

The army with the captives reached Fort Pitt at the end of November, ending an expedition regarded as the most effective campaign in the military history of America, with the possible exception of that of General Wayne. Bouquet received the thanks of the assemblies of both the Pennsylvania and Virginia people for his services and the honor of appointment by the King, to the position of brigadier-general. His death the following year at Pensacola terminated a life of brilliant service as a soldier in many of the armies of Europe as well as America, but of keen disappointment in his life's desire, because of unrequited affection. Mr. King suggests that as a subject for speculation, what would have been the effect upon subsequent events had Great Britain kept in her service two such officers as Bouquet and Sir William Johnson, both of whom died just prior to the Revolution.

CROGHAN ON THE OHIO.

In the following year, 1765, Sir William Johnson, the Indian commissioner, sent Croghan down the Ohio to take control for the King over the Indians in that neighborhood. He was accompanied by a number of Mingoes, Delawares and Shawanees. He notes in his journal that the Shawanee town, which formerly stood at the mouth of the Scioto, which he and Gist had visited in the winter of 1750 and 1751 had all been carried away (except three or four houses) by a great flood in the Scioto. On the 29th of May, he passed the Little Miami River, and on the next day the Great Miami, finding the country on both sides level. The following is the record in his journal:

"29th—We came to the Little Miame River, having proceeded sixty miles last night.

"30th—We passed the great Miame River, about thirty miles from the little river of that name, and in the evening arrived at the place where Elephant's bones are found, where we encamped, intending to take a view of the place next morning. This day we came about seventy miles. The country on both sides level, and rich bottoms well watered.

"31st—Early in the morning we went to the great Lick, where those bones are only found, about four miles from the river, on the southeast side. In our way we passed through a fine timbered clear wood; we came into a large road which the buffalos have beaten, spacious enough for two wagons to go abreast, and leading straight into the Lick. It appears that there are vast quantities of these bones lying five or six feet under ground, which we discovered in the bank, at the edge of the Lick. We found here two tusks above six feet long; we carried one, with some other bones, to our boats, and set off. This day we proceeded down the river about

eighty miles, through a country much the same as already described, since we passed the Scioto. In this day's journey we passed the mouth of the River Kentucky, or Holsten's River." (Olden Time, Vol. I, p. 407.)

From this point they went to the mouth of the Wabash where he encamped, sending messages to the Illinois Indians. Here they were attacked by a band of Kickapoos and Mascoutens and made captive. They were carried up to Post Vincent, on the east side of the Wabash, the modern Vincennes and from this point to Fort Ouiatanon, the site of Lafayette. Here the Miami chiefs exposed to Croghan's captors the enormity of their offense in making prisoner Sir William Johnson's deputy, which resulted in his immediate release. Croghan resumed his journey through the country of the Miamis, finally reaching Detroit, where he had conferences with the various Indian chiefs, including those from the Big Miami. On this trip he met with Pontiac who took his hand and followed him to Detroit where he joined in the peace conference there.

The result of Croghan's trip was to confirm the British possession of the Northwest for many years. Detroit as the headquarters of the British was a center of control over all the Indians in the territory (almost as far down as the Ohio River) lying west of the Muskingum. Near the old haunts of Demoiselle at Piquatown was about the only serious thorn in the flesh of the English. Here Peter Loramie, a hostile Frenchman, established a trading station in the year 1769 on the western branch of the Big Miami. This place known as Loramie's Store, Loramie's Fork and Loramie's Station became a center of discontent among the Indians who were there supplied with ammunition and arms as well as reasons for creating dissension.

THE LAND COMPANIES.

The disturbing influences at this time were the land companies. The King's proclamation forbidding further sales of lands to the west of the mountains was subject to the one exception, the King's special license. This special license was the loophole through which came the flood of settlers striving with the Indians for the possession of their lands. A number of companies had been formed for the purpose of availing themselves of this great wealth of land. In addition to the Ohio Company, which had been inactive during the war, there were the companies of Virginia, known as the Loyal Company, and the Greenbrier Company, which had been formed prior to the war. They, as well as other associations, began the struggle for the proper grants from the crown. To make a grant effective it must be accompanied by a cession of title by the Indians. Sir William Johnson himself accepted a gift of forty thousand acres of land in New York from the Mohawks. Another important company in which were interested Sir William Johnson and Governor Franklin of New Jersey was the Walpole Company, named after a London banker, who was at its head. Its most active promoter was Benjamin Franklin, then in London as the agent of Pennsylvania. He had writted to his son, "I like the project of a colony in the Illinois country and will forward it to my utmost here." To bring it in public notice a pamphlet was issued at London in 1763 entitled "The Advantages of a Settlement upon the Ohio."

Franklin himself submitted to the King in council a plan which had been drawn up by Sir William Johnson and his deputy, Croghan. In March, 1764, Croghan, who was in London for the purpose, urged upon the Board of Trade and Plantations the possibility of fixing a line of division between the colonists and the Indians in the West. His line was to run from the heads of the river Delaware to the mouth of the Ohio.

Lord Hillsborough, who was at the head of the board, was very much opposed to any extension of colonization. He feared that if the Ohio lands should be opened to settlement *the whole of Ireland would go there* and used, in support of his fear, the fact that so many Scotch Irish were already on the frontier. Another difficulty was the fact that these colonies were so far from the sea coast which would drive the colonists into manufacturing, which would injure the British trade. Another objection was that a colony beyond the mountains might become too independent for the home government and would propagate ideas of independence among the other colonists. The uncertainty of the attitude of the Indians was used as a strong argument and to overcome this Sir William Johnson proceeded to invite a conference with the Six Nations. Johnson never lost the idea of the Iroquois contest of the Western country. His influence with the Six Nations was so great that he felt that he could negotiate on more favorable terms with them than with any other Indians

and color of title was, after all, all that he cared for.

THE TREATY OF FORT STANWIX.

The place appointed for the conference was Fort Stanwix, now Rome, N. Y. Sir William arrived at this point on September 20, 1768, accompanied by two hundred boats of merchandise with presents. In his party were Croghan, Daniel Claus, Guy Johnson, Governor Franklin and Lieutenant-Governor Penn, with commissioners from Pennsylvania and Virginia. The great gathering of Delawares and Senecas in the Shawanee country on the Scioto in March, 1765, and the constant interruption of the English traders on the Ohio by the Indians had so frightened the State of Pennsylvania as to induce them to vote a large sum of money to be used as gifts for the savages. The latter complained that when they went to hunt in their own lands it made them tired to be obliged to climb the fences of the white men, who had driven away their deer and cut down their trees. The Pennsylvania money had been used by Sir William to quiet the complaining Indians and preparing them for negotiations. Croghan had taken an important part in the distribution.

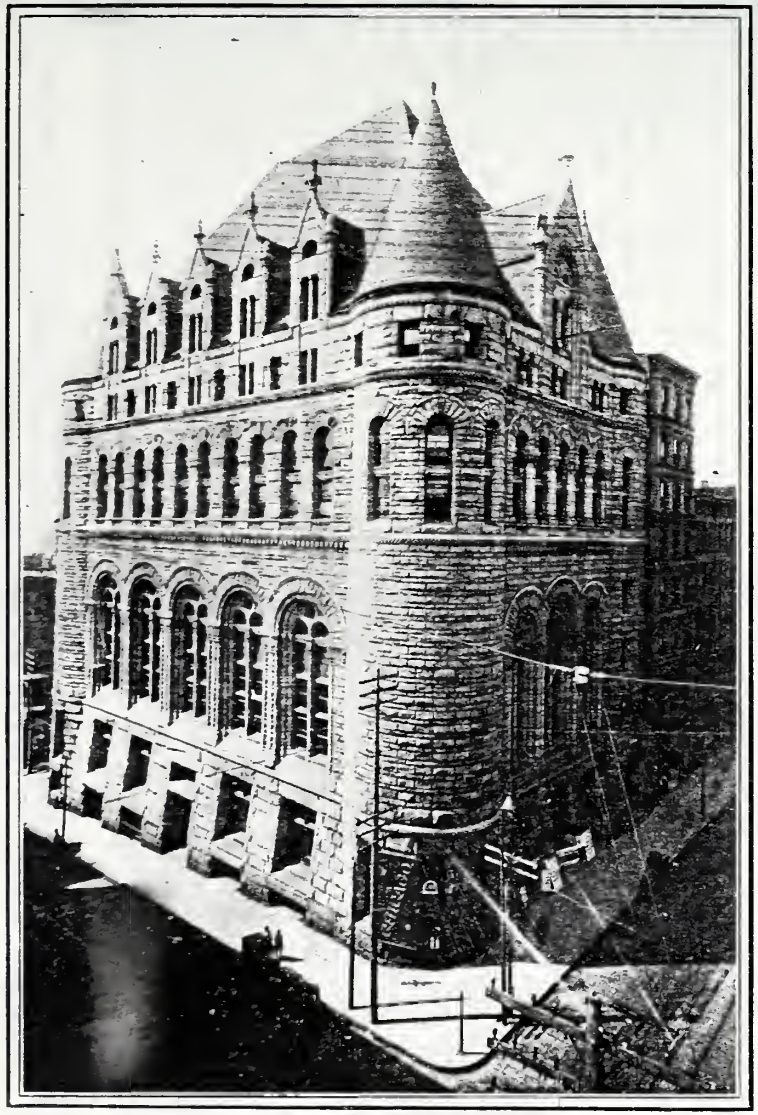
The Indians were very slow in gathering. A sachem had died among the Senecas and this required proper attention. The Delawares and Shawanees had been exchanging belts for the last time with the French and Spanish on the Mississippi. By October 24th, there were thirty-two hundred Indians in attendance. Johnson provided lavishly for their wants and entertained them in most elaborate style; the feasting and talking continued for seven weeks. At this time Johnson estimated that the Iroquois numbered ten thousand persons of whom two thousand were warriors. The allies could make up another two thousand, including three hundred Shawanees from the Ohio country, six hundred Delawares from the Susquehanna and two hundred Wyandots from Sandusky. The Ottawa confederacy, which included the Twightwees and the Miamis, and which were unfriendly, were supposed to be double the numbers just given. Johnson reckoned them at eight thousand warriors, three thousand of whom were on the Detroit River. These figures are now regarded as very much exaggerated.

The actual negotiations extended about a week. Johnson opened the conference with a proposal to buy the lands of the Indians. The conference then adjourned, according to the custom, to ponder over the proposal as to which they had been fully informed for weeks. Upon reassembling they calmly suggested a line from Lake Champlain across the heads of the Susquehanna. This Johnson promptly told them was ridiculous. They finally offered the line of the Ohio River at the mouth of the Tennessee to Kittanning on the Allegheny, thence to Shamokin on the Susquehanna and up that river and its eastern branches and to Oswego (Lake Ontario).

The conclusion was reached on November 5, 1768. The Iroquois chiefs signed with the colonial delegates; the other Indians present agreed, but were not allowed to sign on the fictitious idea that they were dependent upon the Iroquois. Of course this action did no more than vest the lands in the crown. They could be opened for settlement by royal grant alone. Johnson took great pains in his closing speech to refer to the matter as having been concluded by the Indians of their own free will and exhorted them to be faithful to their agreement. The speaker for the Indians, an Onondaga, replied, that they were deeply interested in the matter and would notify the Indians at the Ohio of their conclusion, at a public meeting to be held in the Shawanee country, where these nations held their councils, and trusted that they would be able to get their consent.

At a conference which Croghan had held with the Shawanees, Senecas and Delawares at Fort Pitt in May, 1768, he had taken great pains to make no allusion to any new boundary. The Shawanees at that conference, in Croghan's presence and in the presence of the deputies of the Six Nations, had said that the country along the Ohio belonged to the tribes living there and insisted that the Pennsylvanian commissioners should stop their traders from encroaching upon them until they had been consulted.

As a matter of fact, Johnson, in agreeing to this line, had exceeded his instructions. Lord Hillsborough had proposed a boundary which stopped at the mouth of the great Kanawha instead of the Tennessee, recognizing the claim of the Cheroques or Cherokees to the west of that line. This line, however, was an impossible one, as it involved the admission by the Iroquois that they did not control this territory. They insisted upon surrendering this land to show their authority over the Cherokees and other Indians. Johnson preferred to go beyond his instructions to angering the Six Nations. This line, of course, was an interference



THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

THE CITY HALL.

with the claim of the Virginians and figured largely in the subsequent contests with them. If the Indians owned this territory and were able to cede it at Fort Stanwix, the Virginians could have no claim to it.

The Walpole Company asked for territory on the east side of the Ohio from a point opposite the Scioto up to the Pennsylvania line, to be bounded on the south by a line from the Cumberland Gap northwesterly to the confluence of New River with the Greenbrier and thence to the Alleghanies; this would have cut Virginia out of the Kanawha Valley. Other claimants relied upon the military bounty lands promised by the proclamation of 1763 and upon Governor Dinwiddie's promise of a grant of two thousand acres to the officers and soldiers who went out under Washington against the French. These claimants were represented by Washington himself, who addressed letters to the governors, Botetourt and Dunmore, and obtained large grants for his men in the Kanawha Valley. Other claimants were mere squatters who had settled on Great River and on the Monongahela. All these parties were interested in the Fort Stanwix conference and all disgusted with the result. The Virginians gained the whole of Kentucky but were limited by the Ohio River. In spite of the complaints the King approved of the treaty in September, 1769, except as to some private grants to Croghan and others. The various land companies immediately became more active. The Walpole Company, represented by Franklin, urged its petition with success. Its offer to repay the crown the amount paid for the whole country, of which this grant was to be a part, together with certain quit rents and the promise to bear the expenses of the civil government, was accepted August 14, 1772. The Mississippi Company, composed of forty-nine Virginians, including George Washington, made application for lands but was unsuccessful.

The only real result, however, of all this excitement about royal grants, seemed to be to arouse the Indians beyond the Ohio because of their being ignored in behalf of the Six Nations. The settlers who were moving in paid little attention to the Indians or to companies or to royal grants and as a result the matter settled down to a fight to last twenty years in which the Indians endeavored to save at least the lands of the Ohio itself.

The Shawanees took a leading part in the conflicts on both sides of the river and at a conference of the Western tribes held at the Scioto plains in 1771 and the two following years they tried to reunite the tribes in the war of extermination against the English. Johnson made every effort to conciliate them and had some success with the tribes of the far West, but the tribes in the Ohio country were relentless. Their feeling against the colonists continued during the Revolutionary War, and was largely the result of what they regarded as the injustice done at Fort Stanwix and subsequent thereto.

DUNMORE'S WAR—LOGAN.

This conflict in regard to the various lines and the rights of the different States had much to do with Dunmore's War, which broke out against the Shawanees in 1774. The particular occasion of this was an attack made by some Cherokee Indians upon three of Butler's traders. Dr. Connolly, a nephew of Croghan but a creature of Dunmore and for years afterwards a bitter enemy of the settlers in the West, who was at that time having a contest with the Pennsylvanian traders who were at the forks of the Ohio, took this occasion to call upon the Virginians to hold themselves in readiness to repel and attack the hostile Shawanees. This was given as an excuse for collecting a force of militia with which he could intimidate Pennsylvania and maintain the sovereignty of Virginia beyond the Ohio and incidentally to despoil the Indians. A number of adventurers of all kinds, including hunters and grabbers, had assembled at the mouth of the Kanawha. Among them was a famous frontiersman, Michael Cresap, the son of Washington's frontier friend and partner in the Ohio Company's venture. Another one of the number was a young man of great spirit and daring, George Rogers Clark, who was looking after a grant which he had obtained. At this spot Ebenezer Zane had squatted in 1769 and at this time there were a number of other houses, all of squatter settlers, clustering about those of Zane. These people were wholly irresponsible and inclined to believe any exaggerated story. Zane himself was a man of prudence and Cresap is now regarded as a leader of a fair amount of caution and of good intentions. The alarm, however, caused by the Indians was so great that the settlers were passing eastward in great numbers, as many as a thousand crossing the Monongahela in one day. Stories of all sorts were told of the Indian outrages and outrages committed by the whites were also attributed to the red men. Some men of Cresap's company ambushed and killed

two Shawanees who had been employed by Butler to recover his stolen goods from the Cherokees. This outrage aroused the traders to further indignation and it was planned to go to the mouth of the Big Beaver and there attack the camp of Logan. This determination was abandoned for the time, but towards the close of April ten Indians, including a number of Logan's family who had crossed the Ohio to get rum, were butchered in cold blood while drunk. Cresap at the time was charged with this deed and Logan held him responsible for it in the celebrated speech, regarded by Mr. Jefferson "as challenging whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero or any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished any, to produce a passage superior to it." It has since been pretty well established that Cresap had no connection with these murders, but that they had been committed by one Greathouse and a party of twenty men under him. Indian runners spread the news of the massacre and Logan was soon on the war-path. Logan himself was a Mingo chief living among the Shawanees and had long been a friend of the English. In the campaign which followed some of the most renowned frontiersmen took part. Besides Gen. Andrew Lewis there were Daniel Morgan, George Rogers Clark, William Crawford, Simon Kenton and Simon Girty. Pennsylvania held itself aloof from the war, leaving to Virginia the entire burden of conquering the savages.

Lord Dunmore's army was divided into two sections and included some of the most experienced and stalwart Indian fighters of the time. On October 10th General Lewis' section, including eleven hundred men, was attacked at Point Pleasant by a large force of Indians under the Shawanee chief, Cornstalk. In the battle, which continued for the entire day, one-fifth of the whites were killed or wounded, while the Indians lost but forty. The Indians had come upon the whites without warning, having evaded scouts who had been looking for them for four days. At dark they retired as noiselessly as they had come, unwilling to suffer the loss of any more comrades even to achieve ultimate success. Lewis marched to join Dunmore, who was at Sipo creek, a tributary of the Scioto near the line between Ross and Pickaway counties. The Indians there made a proposition of peace. Logan, however, sulked in his tent and was sent for by Lord Dunmore to join the conference. Simon Girty, the messenger, failed to bring him and then Colonel Gibson went for him. He brought back the celebrated speech. "I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat, if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not? During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said Logan is the friend of the white man. I had even thought to have lived with him but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap last spring in cold blood and unprovoked murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

Eloquent as was this speech it did injustice to Cresap, who was not within fifty miles of the place of the murder when it was committed. Logan, however, joined with Cornstalk in assenting to the peace, determined upon according to the Indian custom by the majority of the council and Lord Dunmore returned to Virginia to receive the praise that belongs to the conqueror. As a matter of fact the charge has been made that the whole expedition was intended to arouse the savages against the colonists in the war with the mother country, which everyone realized was impending. The officers, however, passed a vote of respect for Dunmore, who they were confident "underwent the great fatigue of this singular campaign from no other motive than the true interest of his country." It is not unworthy of notice, however, that the first paragraph of the resolution adopted on the banks of the Ohio, November 5, 1774, was as follows: "Resolved, that we will bear the most faithful allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third whilst his Majesty delights to reign over a free people; that we will at the expense of life and every thing dear and valuable exert ourselves in support of the honor of his crown and the dignity of the British empire. But as the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every

power within us for the defence of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen."

Captain Cresap in the following year marched with a company of backwoodsmen across the Alleghanies and joined Washington at Cambridge. His health, however, was such as to make it necessary for him to leave the army and on his journey west he died at New York and was buried with honors in Trinity Churchyard.

THE QUEBEC ACT.

The Dunmore War may have been a trick either of England or Virginia, but it conquered for the time a peace which opened up the Western country for settlement; these settlements founded by the men who subscribed this pledge of independence served as a barrier between the Colonies and the savages of the Northwest during the war that was to follow. During this campaign Parliament had passed an act known as the Quebec act, by which the whole country bounded by the Ohio, Mississippi and the lakes west of the west line of Pennsylvania was annexed and made part of the Province of Quebec.

The purpose of this act, which was passed June 22, 1774, was to extend the boundaries and government of Quebec so as to include the French at Kaskaskia, on the Wabash and at Detroit, and also to provide for the people at Quebec, who were almost entirely French Catholics, a government applicable to their religion and their manner of life and thought. By its terms it extended to all inhabitants of the province the free exercise and the enjoyment of the tenets of the Church of Rome and also provided for a government in accordance with French methods which at that time were opposed especially to the principle of popular representatives and trial by jury. The outcry against the act both in England and America was astonishing, particularly when viewed in the light of modern ideas. It simply carried out the principles of religious and political liberty and was a fulfillment of the promise of the King made in 1763. However, it was denounced as arbitrary, dangerous, cruel, oppressive, odious and "destructive of that liberty which ought to be the ground work of every constitution," by Lord Chatham himself. It was opposed on other grounds by Colonel Barré, Charles James Fox, Edmund Burke and the Lord Mayor and Magistrates of London. In the course of a discussion as to the abandonment of trial by jury, Sir Guy Carleton testified that the French Canadians thought it "very strange that the English residing in Canada should prefer to have matters of law decided by tailors and shoemakers mixed up with respectable gentlemen in trade and commerce; that they should refer their decision to that of a judge." He also stated that there were at that time, in 1770, in Canada, about three hundred and sixty men who claimed to be Protestants, while the Roman Catholics numbered one hundred and fifty thousand.

The passage of this act was made a subject of complaint in the Declaration of Independence, where among the repeated injuries and usurpations of the King of Great Britain is cited the giving of his assent to acts "for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies."

At any rate whatever may have been the motive it is hard at this date to criticise the sound statesmanship of the Quebec act so far as it referred to the Province of Quebec in Canada. By its terms Ohio was added to Canada again and remained a part of that section until the treaty of independence in 1783. The connection was, however, simply nominal, as there seems to have been no effort to assert any civil or military authority over the Northwest Territory by either the French, English or Americans.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

During the War of the Revolution the campaigns in the Northwest were in the main those conducted by George Rogers Clark against the Indians and their English allies. Under the Quebec act Detroit was made the capital of the territory northwest of the Ohio and was the seat of the English power during the war. Henry Hamilton was the lieutenant-governor and superintendent and it was to him that the news of the Declaration of Independence came in a copy of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 24, 1776. The paper had been brought to Detroit by the Delaware chief, Captain White Eyes, who appeared with a letter, a string and a belt, soliciting the Western Indians to attend a conference at Pittsburg in the interest of the colonists. Some two

years later Baubin and Lorimer, two Frenchmen, appeared at Detroit at the head of some fourscore Shawanee Indians and a large number of captives. They had made a raid through the Miami slaughter house up the Kentucky River and had come upon Daniel Boone and twenty-six others making salt at the salt licks. They captured them without the loss of a man and after a long trip through the Indian country had brought them to the English commandant.

Boone, at that time forty-four years of age, and the leader of the pioneers in the Kentucky country, made a marked impression both upon the Indians and Hamilton. According to his own account he was treated by the latter with great humanity. "During our travels the Indians entertained me well; and their affection for me was so great that they utterly refused to leave me there with the others, although the governor offered them £100 sterling for me on purpose to give me a parole to go home. Several English gentlemen there, being sensible of my adverse fortune and touched with human sympathy, generously offered me a friendly supply for my wants, which I refused, with many thanks for their kindness, adding that I never expected it would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity." (Filson's Boone.)

After five months' captivity, Boone, having heard that the Indians were about to attack Boonsborough, succeded in making his escape. He traveled one hundred and sixty miles in five days with but one meal during the whole trip and succeeded in warning his friends.

In the summer of this year, June 17, 1778, a great council of Indians, including every important tribe of the Northern Indians, met at Detroit. With them were the Indian agents, Hay and Alexander McKee, and the notorious Simon Girty.

Girty and his two brothers, James and George, were the sons of an Irishman who formerly made his home on the banks of the Susquehanna and engaged in Indian trade. The father was killed in a drunken spell by an Indian named "The Fish" and the Indian was then killed by one John Turner, who thereupon married Girty's widow. The entire family were taken prisoners in 1756 and Turner was tortured to death in the presence of his family. The three sons were separated among the Indians, Simon being adopted by the Senecas, James by the Shawanees and George by the Delawares. During their Indian life they became accustomed to witnessing scenes of the most horrible torture. In time no Indian could equal them in barbarity.

Three years later as a result of the treaty of Easton in 1756, they came together again and made their headquarters at Pittsburg. By reason of their knowledge of the Indian dialect and their acquaintance with the different tribes they were much used as interpreters. Simon Girty was one of Lord Dunmore's scouts and afterwards received a commission in the Virginia militia. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he first attached himself to the Americans, but his loyalty was soon suspected and after a short time he became associated with Sir William Johnson and Alexander McKee, whose position as crown deputy had also placed him under suspicion. At the end of March, 1778, these two, together with Matthew Elliott, another Irish trader, escaped to Detroit and cast their lot with the British. From this time the names of Girty, McKee and Elliott were associated in the minds of the settlers with the most terrible cruelties practiced by the savages along the border.

The council of Indians at Detroit, which has been just referred to, opened with prayer, after which Hamilton congratulated the Indians on the number of their prisoners and the far greater number of scalps they had taken. Every artifice was used to arouse the passion of these savages against the whites who were in revolt and the party separated after a riotous feast. Despite the congratulations of Hamilton and his feeling of security he was to hear in a few days of Clark's wonderful expedition against Kaskaskia, which he entered at the head of a handful of troops on the evening of July 4, 1778.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

After Dunmore's War, Clark had cast his lot with Kentucky. Early in 1778 he had been able to obtain authority from Governor Patrick Henry to make an attempt to gain the Northwest for the Americans. Gathering together such volunteers as he could, about one hundred and seventy-five in all, he started on his campaign to extend the limits of the American Colonies far beyond any point claimed by them before that time. Kaskaskia was completely surprised while the British were engaged at a ball when Clark entered the place. His treatment of the people was so tactful that they volunteered to go with his party to Cahokia. It surrendered immediately upon the approach of his force under Major Bowman. Vincennes, too, yielded immediately, largely as

the result of the intercession of a priest, Father Gibault. On October 17, 1778, Virginia, as a result of Clark's conquest, established the county of Illinois, embracing all the charter limits of the Colony west of the Ohio River.

Hamilton at Detroit was stunned by Clark's success and called upon Veteran Langlade to arouse the Indians. As a result in the campaign which followed Captain Helm, who had been left in charge at Vincennes, surrendered that post to Hamilton on December 17th, without firing a shot as a defense would have been useless. The campaign that followed, as a result of which Clark retook Vincennes, is one of the most remarkable episodes in American history. It has been a favorite story with historians and also with writers of romance. On February 5, 1779, the miniature army of one hundred and seventy men had set out from Kaskaskia to capture a British commander in a fortified fort well supplied for a siege, with a garrison at least equal to one-half of the number of the attacking party. A large part of their march was through water up to their waists. For periods of more than two days at a time they would be without food of any kind. Vincennes was completely surprised and on the night of the 23rd Hamilton heard the shots of the besiegers. After some parley, Hamilton was obliged to surrender on February 25th, and a salute of thirteen guns was fired from the fort by Clark in honor of the Colonies. It seems unfortunate that Hamilton, who had treated Boone so well, should have been treated with so little generosity. He was sent to Williamsburg, a distance of twelve hundred miles, with other prisoners, and the uncomfortable journey lasted almost three months. The latter part of his journey was in irons. He was kept in confinement for nineteen months and was not paroled until October 10, 1780. The reason for this cruelty was the wide-spread belief in his guilt of buying Virginia scalps from the Indians. The English retained possession at Detroit and although Clark made many plans to attack this post he was never able to carry them out. During the remainder of the war the Northwest country remained a neutral ground so far as the principal combatants were concerned. The subsequent expeditions by Clark and others up the Miamis and through the West were against the Indians.

While Clark was occupied in the Illinois country the colonists were engaged in an expedition which was raised at Pittsburg, for the purpose of marching against the Indians in the neighborhood of the British fort at Sandusky and possibly to cooperate in an attack upon Detroit. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, a Scotchman about fifty years of age, was assigned to command at Fort Pitt. Here McIntosh in September, 1778, attempted to conciliate with presents the Delawares, among whom the Moravians had already established themselves. The Shawanees in the lower valleys of the Great and Little Miamis and Scioto, were rather friendly to the English and the upper waters of these same streams were held by the hostile Mingoes. Beyond these on the Sandusky were the Wyandots, very uncertain in their sympathies, and the Ottawas on the Maumee, who were devoted to the British cause. McIntosh made some slight headway with these Indians at a conference and received the consent of the Shawanees to pass through their country. This conference, however, had caused much delay and the season for an active campaign passed without result. Accordingly, he began the erection of the fort on the north bank of the Ohio, thirty miles below Fort Pitt, near the mouth of Beaver creek, at which, called Fort McIntosh, he established his headquarters on October 18, 1778. This was the first fort built north of the Ohio River and was in a good position to assist the settlements already extending to the Muskingum and up that river. His delay in building this stronghold, which was called by his successor, Brodhead, "a romantic fort," has since been regarded as the cause of the failure of his campaign in its main object,—the capture of Detroit. At length he pushed westward with twelve hundred men over Bouquet's route until he reached the Upper Muskingum or Tuscarawas, where he arrived November 19, 1778, after making but fifty miles in a fortnight. He had not met the Indians, but fearing the danger of surprise, he erected a stockade on the west bank of the Tuscarawas near the site of the modern Bolivar and close to a spot where Bouquet had built a stockade some distance above a Moravian settlement. This he named Fort Laurens, after the president of Congress. A slight embankment to-day marks the site of this fort, which was the first erected in Ohio, with the exception of those near the lake shore.

McIntosh describes his so-called invasion in a letter to Washington, in the year following:

"A letter by express from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, a little afterward, informed me that no supplies came yet, and we had very little to

expect during the winter, nor could he get the staff to account for, or give any reasons for their neglect and deficiencies, which disappointed all my flattering prospects and schemes, and left me no other alternative than either to march back as I came without effecting any valuable purpose, for which the world would justly reflect upon me after so much expense, and confirm the savages in the opinion the enemy inculcates of our weakness, and unite all of them to a man against us; or to build a strong stockade fort upon the Muskingum, and leave as many men as our provisions would allow to secure it until the next season, and to serve as a bridle upon the savages in the heart of their own country; which last I chose with the unanimous approbation of my principal officers, and we were employed upon it while our provisions lasted." It is not remarkable that a man capable of such an unconscionably long sentence as this was unable to accomplish any results.

McIntosh put Colonel Gibson of the Thirteenth Virginia regulars in command of the post with a force of one hundred and fifty men and in December returned to Fort Pitt. During the winter the garrison at Fort Laurens had but little trouble; in the spring they began to suffer from the artifices of the savages. At one time the Indians stole the horses of the fort and took off their bells which they jangled along the path in the woods. Some men were sent out from the fort to bring in the horses and of these, sixteen in number, fourteen were killed on the spot and the other two captured. In the evening the Indians who were under the command of Simon Girty paraded past the fort in war paint and feathers, over eight hundred in number, including Iroquois, Delawares and Shawanees. After they had indulged in all sorts of antics in celebration of their victory in full view of the garrison, they disappeared. Colonel Gibson, thinking that they had left the neighborhood, concluded to send a dozen invalids, under the escort of fifteen soldiers, back to Fort Pitt. This party was ambushed within two miles of the fort and but four escaped. The blockade continued for about a month, at the end of which time McIntosh, with a relief party of seven hundred men, came to their aid. As the packhorses carrying supplies came within hearing of the welcoming salute fired from the fort they took fright and carried the provisions off into the woods so that they were not recovered. The garrison had reached the point of living on raw hides and roots.

In the meantime Colonel Brodhead had been placed in command of the department and at the end of May, hearing that Fort Laurens was to be attacked "when the strawberries are ripe," he reinforced it, but in August concluded to abandon the post. Fort Randolph, at the mouth of the Kanawha, had been abandoned in June, which left Fort Henry at Wheeling the most advanced post.

In July Colonel Rogers' party of Kentuckians who were bringing up supplies from New Orleans had been attacked by Indians under Girty and Elliott on the Ohio, near the Licking, and had been practically annihilated. It was during this same summer that Col. John Bowman crossed the Ohio, near the Licking, with three hundred Kentucky volunteers, with whom he made a dash up the Scioto Valley and attacked the Shawanee town, near the modern Chillicothe. Although he burned some houses and secured some plunder, he retreated without accomplishing any great result.

In May, 1779, an expedition of Colonel Byrd's at the head of a large party of whites and Indians captured two small stockades on the Licking and then retreated rapidly to Detroit. One of the reasons given for his retreat is that he was shocked at the barbarity of his Indian allies. The generally accepted reason is that the Indians refused to take the chances of a pitched battle and following their usual procedure insisted upon retiring before the Kentuckians could recover from their surprise. This expedition was one of the most extensive ones planned during the war and could have annihilated every settlement between the Ohio and Cumberland Gap. Clark gathered together a thousand men and swept north through the Miami Valley in an assault upon the Shawanee town at Pickaway. This and many other towns and the crops around them were completely destroyed. A similar expedition from Pittsburg under General Brodhead burned the crops and villages of the upper Muskingum.

THE SPANISH CLAIMS.

It was at this time that the Spanish claims afterwards urged with more force than justice, took their origin. Spain had declared war upon England in 1779 and thereupon the English at Detroit, under command of a garrulous and bustling soldier of twenty-five years' service, Patt Sinclair, proposed to sweep clean that "nest of tares," the Spanish post, St. Louis.

St. Louis was now a town of about one hun-

dred and twenty houses, mainly of stone and contained a population of about eight hundred whites, mainly French, and one hundred and fifty negroes. On May 26, 1780, a force of about nine hundred Indians fell upon some farmers who were without the stockade. No assault, however, on the post followed, as the savages were unwilling, as usual, to attack a fortified place which had been forewarned. The attacking party withdrew after killing a small party of whites and taking about eighteen prisoners.

The Spaniards planned an expedition against the deserted English post of St. Joseph, which was on the south bank of the river St. Joseph, a mile or so west of the present city of Niles, Michigan. After Pontiac's War, the fort had been abandoned, although the place continued to be occupied as a trading post. In 1780 it contained eight houses and seven shanties and a population of forty-five French persons and four Pawnee slaves.

Spain had already seized the English posts at Natchez and Baton Rouge and Mobile, which, with St. Louis, gave her the practical control of the lower Mississippi Valley. She now thought of establishing herself in the Northwest, which would place her in a position to make a trade with England for Gibraltar, a serious thorn in the side of his most Catholic majesty. As a result, in January, 1781, an expedition of Spaniards and Indians made a winter journey of four hundred miles to capture the deserted post of St. Joseph. The march northward through the snow was a fatiguing one, but it and its result were the occasion of the most elaborate claims on the part of the Spanish. There were at the post no English and but few French except trappers, but the commander, in the name of the King of Spain, took possession of the place and its dependencies and of the river of Illinois. The report of this expedition seems to have been held back until March, 1782, when the matter of boundaries was being discussed between France, Spain, England and America. This wonderful victory was used in support of the Spanish claim at the treaty of Paris to all the lands west of the line drawn southward through what is now Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi which, in addition to large parts of the States mentioned, would have given to Spain all of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. Fortunately, however, the Mississippi River boundary was insisted upon by the American commissioners and finally retained by them at the treaty of Paris.

THE MASSACRE OF THE MORAVIANS.

The surrender of Cornwallis took place October 19, 1781. This surrender concluded the war in the East and the treaty of peace was finally signed September 3, 1783. In the West, however, the war continued and during the year 1782 occurred some of the most horrible episodes in the history of Indian warfare. The villages planted by the Moravian missionaries on the banks of the Tuscarawas River in 1782 are regarded by Mr. King in his history of Ohio as fairly entitled to rank as the first settlements in Ohio. Many white people, of course, had lived in the country before that time and many a white child had been born there, but history does not know them and they made no permanent impression upon the land. For this reason Marietta's claim as the earliest settlement in Ohio is without foundation, and the very terms of the grant to the Ohio Company in July, 1787, as well as the ordinance of 1785, providing for the surveys and disposals of Western lands, excepted and reserved the Moravian villages and the land surrounding them, ten thousand acres in all, for the Christian Indians who formerly settled there. The title was vested in the Moravian Brethren at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and the gift was subsequently enlarged to twelve thousand acres. In 1823 this was all reconveyed to the United States with the exception of the church yards, cemeteries and some special leases.

The Moravians or United Brethren were a sect who took as their guide the "Daily Word" composed of texts from the Gospel for each day's meditation and who submitted to lot all questions of difference. They were bound to bear all things for conscience' sake and relied for their defense not upon arms but upon prayer and remonstrance. Military duty and the taking of oaths in court were contrary to their tenets. Their religion was not dogmatic but included all who believed in the Christian Church. Foreign missions had been adopted by them as their vocation. They came in 1735 to Georgia but were obliged to leave that colony because of the border wars with the Spaniards requiring every man in the colony to bear arms. They fled to Pennsylvania where Bethlehem on the Lehigh became the center of their system and still remains so. Their first mission was established by Zinzendorf in 1741 among the Mohicans near the boundary between New York and Connecticut. They were obliged to flee from this point and finally settled twenty miles above Bethlehem and called their

colony Gnadenhütten (Tents of Grace). Here their teachings took a great hold upon the Delawares and as a result, as they and the Shawanees were gradually pushed westward, the missionaries headed by Zeisberger accompanied them.

Zeisberger by his wonderful preaching and vivid word pictures painted in the Indians' own language made a wonderful impression on the Delaware Indians. The wave of religious enthusiasm swept over the nation converting many of the Indian chiefs to the new belief. Finally Zeisberger and five Indian families, twenty-eight in all, arrived May 3, 1772, at a new settlement in Ohio on the Tuscarawas River. This settlement was called Shoenbrun, from a beautiful spring at its site and was about two miles southeast of the present town of New Philadelphia.

In August the missionaries Ettwein and Heckewelder arrived with about two hundred and fifty Christian Indians from the Allegheny and the Susquehanna and a second colony was established about ten miles below the first which was reserved by the Delawares. As the second was taken by the Mohicans, they called it Gnadenhütten from their old home on the Lehigh.

Here the Moravians and the Indians lived in peace and amity. Churches and schools were built and farms and shops inaugurated as well. As a result the Indians prospered mightily in their contact with civilization. More warlike Indians naturally looked upon them with scorn but as their homes were always open to the wanderer and were always well supplied with food they finally won the respect of their savage neighbors. The population of the Moravian villages at the close of 1775 was 414 persons.

At the outbreak of the war the Moravians were invited to attend the council of the Eastern and Western Indians at Pittsburg but Zeisberger declined. At the council the division among the Delawares part of whom were inclined toward the King and part towards the colonists was apparent. They were asked by the commissioners of Congress to remain neutral which they had said they would do. In the discussion however there had been much feeling. Captain White Eyes would not conceal his affection for the Americans and was reminded by one of the speakers of the Six Nations that the Delawares were a subject race and not worthy of consideration. White Eyes retorted with a claim of ownership by his people of the lands west of the Allegheny. This defiant speech was used afterwards by Captain Pipe to the injury of the Americans. He pretended to believe that it would bring down the resentment of the Six Nations upon the Delawares and in this way he brought about a division among his people into a war and a peace party. The Moravians insisted upon remaining neutral but the English at Detroit suspected them of giving the news to Fort Pitt and in 1781, McKee, Elliott and Captain Pipe with three hundred warriors ordered the Christian villages moved to the Sandusky River. Here the greatest hardships overtook them and their leaders were summoned to Detroit to respond to the charge of giving information to the Americans. They freed themselves from this charge and were treated by the English with great consideration and allowed to return to their homes on the Sandusky but in March, 1782, the teachers were ordered back to Detroit where they established a new settlement near the present city of Mount Clemens. The bitter winter had brought intense suffering to those who remained in the settlement and when the spring came their provisions had become exhausted and one hundred of them were permitted to return to their old villages in February, 1782, to save the corn which had been left standing. Strangely enough the American border settlers always viewed the Moravian Indians with suspicion. It is probable that many of the outrages committed by the warlike Indians had been attributed to these innocent converts and it is suggested that at this time suspicion was diverted to these returning wayfarers by concealing in their homes plunder which had been taken in raids upon the border land. Whatever the excuse is, when the party had about finished its work on the 7th of March and were about to return, a barbarous band of about ninety borderers commanded by a wretch called Col. David Williamson came upon them and under pretense of escorting them to Pittsburg secured from them their hatchets, pocket knives and everything in the shape of weapons. After this they were overpowered and shut up in two houses, the men in one and the women and children in another. Thereupon Williamson left it to the vote of his men whether he should take them as prisoners to Pittsburg or to put them to death. Out of the ninety white men but eighteen voted against this basest act of treachery. The Indian prisoners penned up as they were like sheep and ninety-six in number were slaughtered without any possible excuse or means of defense. "My arm fails me," said Williamson as he struck the life from his fourteenth bound victim "to go on the same way; I think I have done pretty well." At the conclusion the ninety-

six corpses of murdered Christian Indians, forty men, twenty-two women and thirty-four children were left to be fought over by the bears and panthers. This massacre of Indians by whites is justly regarded as one of the most barbarous episodes in the history of Ohio. Not without provocation therefore was much of the barbarism of the so-called savages which soon found an opportunity to repay this outrage.

THE BURNING OF CRAWFORD.

In May of the same year an expedition started to punish the British-inspired Indians for their raids on the Pennsylvania and Virginia borders. Four hundred volunteers assembled near the present site of Steubenville to attack the Indians at Sandusky. According to the Moravian accounts the purpose of this expedition was to destroy the remaining Christian Indians but this is disputed by other narrators. This expedition was commanded by Col. William Crawford, who was elected by five majority over the fellow Williamson whose hands were still stained with the blood of the Moravians.

Crawford was a friend of Washington and had been with him at the time of Braddock's defeat and afterwards in Forbes' army. He also surveyed Washington's lands on the Ohio and was with him in his trip down that river and the Great Kanawha in 1770. He served under Washington on Long Island and at Delaware, Trenton and Princeton.

Crawford and his force proceeded to Upper Sandusky but were unable at first to find any Indians to oppose them. Upon their reaching an Indian trace which ran through a swamp they were attacked by the Indians who were hidden in the tall prairie grass all about them. They were soon compelled to retreat and during the confusion Colonel Crawford became separated from the main force and with a companion Dr. Knight was captured by the Indians and fell into the hands of Captain Pipe. They were taken to the half king's town at Upper Sandusky where Crawford appealed to Simon Girty, whom he had long known and who had often been a guest at his table, to save his life but without avail. Girty, to whom Crawford offered one thousand dollars, pretended however to be impressed. The conversation was overheard and repeated to the Indian chiefs who were incensed at it and determined to torture Crawford to death. Nine other prisoners were given over to the squaws and the boys, who tomahawked and scalped them all. The scalps reeking with blood were dashed in Crawford's face. After this they were taken from point to point until they reached the place of execution. A stake fifteen feet high was driven into the ground and about it at a distance of about six yards was built a fire of small hickory poles about six feet in length. Crawford was stripped naked and ordered to sit down. He was then beaten with sticks until his body was covered with bruises. After this his hands were tied behind his back and a rope extended from the foot of the post to the bands at his wrists. The rope was long enough to permit him to sit down or to walk around the post once or twice. Crawford asked Girty if they intended to burn him and when Girty responded in the affirmative he replied that he would take it all patiently. About four o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, June 11, 1782, the torture itself began. The Indians fired powder into Crawford's bruised body from his feet to his neck; not less than seventy loads were fired at his naked body. They then crowded about him and cut off both his ears. Several Indians would pick up the burning poles and stick the burning ends next to his body already black with the gunpowder. They stood on all sides of him and would meet him with their burning fagots or with wooden shovels full of hot coals, whichever way he moved as he ran around the post. In a short time there was nothing but coals of fire for him to walk upon. Crawford called several times to Girty asking him to shoot him and end his misery. Girty laughingly replied that he had no gun and by his actions and gestures seemed delighted at the terrible scene. All this took place in the presence of Dr. Knight, to whom Girty stated that he would receive the same treatment within the next two days. At this point Crawford began to pray in a low tone and after suffering in terrible agony for about two hours longer being almost exhausted he lay down upon his stomach in the ashes. Thereupon one of the savages scalped him and threw the scalp into Knight's face taunting him with comments about his great captain. An old squaw thereupon collected a pile of hot coals and laid them upon Crawford's back and wounded head. The excessive pain seemed to arouse him and he got up on his feet and began to walk about the post apparently insensible however of what was going on about him. At this point Knight was dragged away to prepare for a similar fate. According to Girty's report however "Crawford died like a hero; never changing his countenance tho' they

scalped him alive and then laid hot ashes on his head; after which they roasted him by a slow fire."

It seems one of the unexplained mysteries of fate that the horrible wretch Simon Girty who was concerned in so many of the outrages upon the white settlers and who was present and connived at the burning of Abner Hunt in Hamilton County long after the conclusion of the war, should have been permitted to die a peaceful death in the arms of his wife after having survived until 1808. According to Oliver M. Spencer who saw him during his captivity in 1792, Girty's appearance did not belie his character. "His dark shaggy hair, his low forehead, his brows contracted and meeting above his short flat nose, his great sunken eyes averting the ingenuous gaze, his lips thin and compressed and the dark and sinister expression of his countenance to me seem the very picture of a villain."

When the manner of Crawford's death became known along the border and in army circles, the grief and rage felt on all sides was beyond expression. The English officers as well as the officers of the Continental forces were deeply shocked although they regarded the torture of Crawford as retaliation for the slaughter of the Moravian Indians. Dr. Knight fortunately escaped from his guard. He subsequently married a daughter of Crawford's half brother and lived at Shelbyville, Kentucky, until 1838. The spot where Crawford was tortured was a short distance northeast of the town of Crawfordsville in Wyandot County, Ohio, and is marked by a monument erected there about a quarter of a century ago.

BLUE LICKS.

The news of the cessation of war did not arrive in time to avert the unsuccessful attack on Bryan's Station in Kentucky and the battle of Blue Licks which followed. A war party under Caldwell and McKee came upon the station on August 16, 1782. The settlers were in the field at work but the advance party of Indians skulking about was discovered by them. An attack was at once suspected. Bryan's Station had no spring within its walls and it became a matter of importance to provide for water. To send the men to the spring would indicate to the Indians that they had been discovered. Accordingly the women took their pails and buckets and with seeming unconcern talking and laughing as they walked they went to the spring and procured a sufficient supply of water. The Indians fearing that if they attacked the women all chance of surprising the fort would be lost permitted them to go unharmed. Immediately afterwards the attack on the fort began but it was without success. News was sent to Lexington and a relief party under Maj. Levi Todd were able to make their way into the station. The Indians tried to burn the fort during the night but were unsuccessful. In the morning Girty who was with the attacking party tried to frighten them into a surrender with a threat of no quarter in case of an assault. The attempt failed and the Indians withdrew after having lost five of their number. But four of the defenders were killed. Among the children in the station at that time was a babe named Richard Johnson, who thirty years later at the head of the Kentucky riflemen took part in the victory of the Thames and is said to have killed with his own hand the great Indian chief Tecumseh.

At the news of the attack upon the station, troops gathered from all sides under the County Lieutenant John Todd and Boone, Colonel Trigg and Majors McGarry, Harlan and Lincoln. This party of trained hunters and skilled veterans including in its number the most daring of the Kentucky pioneers hurried to Bryan's Station from which point they followed the Indians along the great buffalo trace to the Blue Licks. They overtook the savages on August 19th. Boone, who saw that his party was much outnumbered and to whom as the most experienced Indian fighter present all turned, urged that no attack should be made until reinforcements which were coming up under Logan should arrive. The more conservative officers agreed with him but the younger and bolder spirits, headed by Maj. Hugh McGarry, were opposed to delay. Raising the war cry he dashed into the stream separating them from the Indians and called on all who were not cowards to follow him. This left no option to Boone and Todd and the others. All crossed together and formed in the line of battle. The Indians arose on all sides from the long grass and in less than five minutes the attack became a wild rout in which each vied with the other in his efforts to escape. Seventy of the Kentuckians were killed outright, including Colonel Todd and Lieutenant Trigg and seven were captured and twelve badly wounded. The victors lost

but one white man and six Indians killed and ten wounded.

In the party was Capt. Robert Patterson one of the founders of Cincinnati. At the time of the retreat he was not able to get a horse. As he was suffering from an unhealed wound he soon became exhausted. At this moment a young man Aaron Reynolds rode up and dismounting insisted upon Patterson taking his horse. Patterson did so and escaped unhurt being the last man over the ford. Reynolds swam the river but was captured by two Indians on the other side. He succeeded in escaping however and when Patterson asked him why he had saved his life he answered that it was because Patterson had once reproved him for swearing. Of the seven whites captured by the Indians four were put to death by torture. Another saved his life by a trick. He was forced to run the gauntlet and had succeeded in reaching the council house when he turned and hurled a powerful Indian to the ground and sticking his head between the legs of another Indian threw him clear over his back. He thereupon jumped upon a log, knocked his heels together and crowed after which he called the Indians a pack of cowards. He was adopted by one of the chiefs in admiration of his strength and courage.

CLARK IN THE MIAMIS.

The disaster of Blue Licks was one of the most severe ones suffered in the early history of Kentucky. In retaliation Clark gathered a large body of riflemen and swept up through the Miami valleys to the Indian towns which he ravaged. Although in this as in many other of the expeditions the number of Indians slain was not large, the great loss occasioned by the burning of their growing crops and supplies drove them more and more to rely upon hunting. As time advanced the hunting fields in the neighborhood of the settlements became exhausted and as a necessary consequence the Indians were obliged to move farther away from civilization. In this way these constant raids of Clark and others gradually pushed forward the limits of the settlements. The battle of the Blue Licks was the last serious conflict in Kentucky and with the attack of Clark which followed the War of the Revolution may be said to have ended in the Northwest.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

In the foregoing chapter the effort has been made to trace the course of events in the great Northwest, the great territory lying east of the Mississippi and northwest of the Ohio River, with a view of indicating the basis of the claims made by three great countries to jurisdiction over the land on which to-day rests the city of Cincinnati. By the supposed conquests of the occupying Indian nations, the Iroquois or Five Nations, subsequently the Six Nations, claimed ownership of the entire tract. At a very early time this nation came into contact with the French explorers and as a result of their first meeting this powerful confederacy submitted itself to the protection of the English. The rights such as they are which pertain to discovery, early exploration and partial occupation clearly were earned by the French. Prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century the whole region was unknown to the English. In the early part of that century the Virginians in their search for the limits of their chartered rights cast longing eyes to the westward but it was not until the century was half gone that any serious effort was made to learn much about the region. At how early a period the French *courieurs de bois* and the English traders wandered through the country of the Miamis and the Illinois it is impossible to state. The knowledge taken back to their homes of the possibility of trade with the Indians aroused the interest of both France and England at about the same time and the expedition of Celoron and that of Gist was the result.

The different manner of occupation by the French and English had a very important bearing on the final result. The French were not a colonizing nation in the true sense and in no place has this national weakness been made so clear as in the territory northwest of the Ohio. At first the advantage was with the French but by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, the country was lost to them forever. By this treaty taken in connection with a secret treaty of Spain made during the previous year, France lost entirely her foothold on the American continent. Then followed the greatest of all Indian attempts to reclaim the hunting grounds of their fathers,—the last despairing gasp of the red men. Then came a series of negotiations and conferences with the Indians which were finally to result in

complete abandonment of their lands along the Ohio. The Revolutionary War so far as the West was concerned was largely but an incident in the struggle with the red men. The English who used the Indians as their allies and kept possession of the Northwest forts for so long a time were not conscious of the value of the territory involved and their principal purpose was to harass the colonists in the rear. It is not likely that they would easily have yielded possession of this territory had the authorities in London understood its value. The fair fame of England will ever be sullied by her willingness to use the savages as allies in a war against England's own kinsmen. It must be remembered however that despite many statements to the contrary, the colonists of Massachusetts were willing at the outset of the war to receive aid from similar sources.

The result of the War of the Revolution assured the settlement of these regions by the Americans. It remained however a mooted question to be settled by much negotiation as to the quarter from which the settlements were to come and the jurisdiction under which they were to be made. With this question a new division of the history of the Northwest opens up.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

Territorial Claims of the States—Jefferson's Many States—Extinction of Indian Titles—Squatters Along the Ohio—Surveys—The Ohio Company and the Ordinance—The Selection of Territorial Officers.

By the treaty of 1763 all rights of France in the country which afterwards included the State of Ohio were ceded to Great Britain and the title of the land vested in the crown. By the proclamation of October 7, 1763, this territory was reserved by the King for the Indians as hunting grounds and was not opened to settlement or purchase without special leave and license from the crown. The policy of maintaining these fertile lands as a hunting ground proved to be a failure, as has been seen. By the Quebec act of 1774, this territory became incorporated in the Royal Province of Quebec. The Colony of Virginia however never admitted any question as to its rights within the parallels referred to in its charter west as far as the Mississippi and in 1769 created the county of Botetourt which included a large tract of land seven hundred miles long extending from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi, within which was the territory now known as Hamilton County. It is pleasing to know that Virginia exempted the residents of this county, situated on the Mississippi, from the payment of any levies for the purpose of building a court house and prison for the county.

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS OF THE STATES.

In 1776 it is said that the present territory of Ohio was included in the section of the State of Virginia called the District of West Augusta and the county of Ohio. After the conquest of the Illinois country by Clark in 1778 the county of Illinois was created by the Virginia Legislature out of the county of Botetourt, including all the territory between the Pennsylvania line, the Mississippi, the Ohio and the lakes. Col. John Todd who afterwards lost his life at the battle of the Blue Licks in 1782 was the first county lieutenant. It is apparent therefore from the foregoing that at the time of the cession by Great Britain to the United States in 1783, of the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, there was a serious conflict as to the jurisdiction of these lands. The proclamation of the King in 1763, fixing the Western boundary of the seaboard Colonies as the watershed between the rivers flowing into the Atlantic and those discharging into the Mississippi, although not questioned at the time, was never treated by the colonists during the Revolutionary period as of any legal force. Jefferson in 1774 in his "Summary View" gave as a theory regarding the ownership of the soil that the soil of the Colonies belonged to the communities by whose exertions it had been converted to the uses of man, that is to the colonists themselves.

The Quebec act of 1774, which extended the limits of Quebec to include the country west of the Alleghanies as far south as the Ohio River, strangely enough contained a reservation that it should not in any wise effect the boundaries of any other colony. This

reservation and the clauses of the act reserving the rights of holders of grants from the crown do not seem to have been widely known in America. Virginia's claim covered those of three other states and was based on her charters of 1606, 1609 and 1612 all of which had been annuled in 1624, since which time she had been a royal province. The proclamation of 1763 certainly disposed of her claim. New York's claim rested upon the various submissions made by the Iroquois League to the Governor of New York. Virginia also claimed by right of conquest as the British posts had been captured by Clark's expedition organized and paid for by the State of Virginia. This latter claim, which after all was the only one of real consequence, was questioned by the other States on the ground that they had all made common cause in securing independence and that accordingly such results as might accrue from the confirmation to them of these unsettled lands at the peace ought to be shared in common by the States, since they had all been instrumental in acquiring them. Before the Declaration of Independence, it will be remembered that the Continental Congress asked the Colonies to establish governments for themselves. Virginia in her constitution adopted in pursuance with this request ceded to Maryland, North Carolina and Pennsylvania, the territory which had been set apart to them by the King, one hundred and fifty years before; it concluded however with the reservation that the western and northern extent of Virginia should remain as fixed by the charter of 1609 and the public treaty of peace of 1763. The purchase of lands of Indian nations was forbidden except by authority of the General Assembly. Of course the proviso was absurd so far as the proclamation of 1763 was concerned for the reason just stated, and the charter of 1609, long since revoked, merely covered the territory from sea to sea west and northwest, —clearly too indefinite a description to be available.

Maryland in 1776, Rhode Island and New Jersey in 1778 urged that the Western lands be sold by the Confederation to defray the expenses of the war and Maryland subsequently refused to enter the Confederation until this question was settled. Thereupon Virginia arrogantly passed a statute in 1779 opening a land office for the entry of lands west of the Alleghany Mountains. This brought forth remonstrances from various companies claiming rights under the Walpole grants and by other concessions. Virginia objected to the consideration of these remonstrances as being matters pertaining to her own internal affairs. Maryland at this time secured a passage by Congress of a resolution recommending that Virginia close her land office and at least refrain from issuing land warrants while the war lasted. All the delegates except those of Virginia and North Carolina joined in this recommendation. The commandant at Pittsburg in 1779 reported that he was expelling trespassers from the west side of the Ohio and destroying their cabins. This report which was referred to Virginia with the request that further intrusion be prevented drew a remonstrance from Virginia on the ground that the United States could have no territory otherwise than in the right of one of the States. The logical result of this claim is pointed out by Mr. King to be that no cession could be obtained by a treaty as a result of the war, and therefore Virginia's own claim would be lost. The contest became a bitter one and aroused much feeling. At this juncture however the New York Assembly acting under the advice of Schuyler, one of the delegates in Congress from that State, passed an act ceding her Western land to the national government for the common good. It will be remembered that the western boundaries of New York had been fixed in the Quebec act upon the intervention of New York's London agent, Edmund Burke. New York's gift therefore was of all the lands held north and south of the Ohio as far west as the Mississippi River including Kentucky, which she claimed to hold under her treaties with the Six Nations and their conquered tributaries. The tenuity of this claim in this respect has been referred to a number of times and therefore the magnanimity of this State in surrendering something which she did not have may not be impressive when viewed at this late date. At the time it had great influence upon Congress. That body having under consideration the complaints of Maryland and the Virginia remonstrances and the New York cession, finally urged the different States to remove all embarrassment by surrendering to the general government their territorial claims and thus establish "the Federal Union on a fixed and permanent basis and on principles acceptable to all its respective mem-

bers." Congress indicated that all lands ceded should be disposed of for the common benefit and formed into new States upon equal footing with the original States. All expenses incurred by a particular State in subduing any British should be reimbursed by the general government. This last provision was a concession to Virginia by reason of her aid to George Rogers Clark. Thomas Paine at this time published his tract called "Public Good" in which he attacked the Virginia claims and urged the forming of a new State in the West and the paying of the debts of the war from the sale of the lands. This was clearly the general trend of public opinion. Connecticut had previously offered to give up her title to the lands on condition that she retain jurisdiction over the territory. The purpose of this, as supported by Alexander Hamilton, was to prevent the forming of New States on the frontier. Virginia by this time perceived that something must be done by her and thereupon on January 2, 1781, she offered to cede her lands northwest of the Ohio upon condition that her lands southeast of that river be guaranteed by the United States and that the claims of all other persons held under royal grants or by purchase from the Indians inconsistent with the charter rights of Virginia should be held void. Congress refused to accept such conditions as being inconsistent with the honor, interests and peace of the United States. Maryland, convinced that her point against the acquisition of territory by individual States was now practically made, joined the Union by signing the Articles of Confederation on March 1, 1781, This made the United States an accomplished fact. The proper announcement was made to the various States and to foreign countries and to the army.

The proposition made by New York in her deed of cession impressed Congress favorably because by accepting it the United States would acquire all the territory in controversy. For this reason they felt that they could not accept Virginia's cession nor that of Connecticut as they were inconsistent with the claims of the national government by this cession of New York. To an observer at this late date it seems surprising that such flimsy rights and such meretricious arguments should have endangered the organization of the new government. Finally on March 1, 1784, Virginia ceded her rights making but two reservations, the first of one hundred and fifty thousand acres promised to George Rogers Clark and his officers and soldiers and the second of a tract between the Scioto and the Little Miami rivers to be used as bounty lands for the Virginia soldiers during the Revolutionary War. Other stipulations provided that the new territory should be for the common benefit and formed into States not less than a hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square to be admitted into the Union upon an equality with the original States. Other States surrendered their claims in turn, Massachusetts in April, 1785, and Connecticut in 1786. There was reserved to the last State a section of Ohio now known as the Western Reserve, which was peopled subsequently by settlers from Connecticut, just as the Virginia military district lying east of the Little Miami was peopled by settlers from Virginia.

Charles Moore in discussing these land cessions gives the moral as follows: "Maryland by standing out for the national ownership and control of the Northwest brought about a result of tremendous benefit to the United States; New York by giving up early what she never had won for herself great credit; Virginia generously made a distinct sacrifice of dearly conquered territory over which she was actually exercising jurisdiction; Massachusetts quit claimed a title she could not defend; and Connecticut gained an empire to which she was not entitled but which she put to the very best of uses."

Mr. King calls attention to the fact that there is still an open question between the States on the opposite banks of the Ohio as to their respective jurisdiction over its waters. It has been determined that Virginia and Kentucky did not extend further than low water mark on the northern shore but "whether they extended to that line is as yet unsettled." As a matter of fact the constant practice of courts particularly those in which admiralty questions have arisen has been to accept this line as a boundary.

JEFFERSON'S MANY STATES.

The first proposition with relation to the division of the Northwestern lands was to divide them into States of not less than one hundred nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square. Jefferson was made chairman of the committee to enter into the details of the organization of the new country. He reported on March 1, 1784, an or-

dinance somewhat in accord with the idea just mentioned. His plan however included not only the territory northwest of the Ohio but the country of Virginia and the other Southern States across the mountains from which slavery was to be excluded after the year 1800. The scheme contemplated fourteen States south of the 45th parallel and north of the 31st parallel. The whole Western country was to be divided by lines of latitude two degrees apart intersected by the meridians of longitude drawn through the mouth of the Kanawha and the falls of the Ohio. The most westerly north and south column would include six States south of the 43rd parallel and one above lying west of Lake Michigan and the second lying still farther north reaching to Canada. The States south of the 43rd parallel were to have for their eastern boundary a meridian cutting the falls of the Ohio. Clark had already founded at this point, Louisville, a town which now included about one hundred houses and the only store in the Ohio Valley which was supplied with stock by traders passing up and down the river from Pittsburg. North of the 43rd parallel and lying between Lakes Michigan and Huron was to be another State and south of that four which would reach to the 35th parallel. The country further to the south and east of the meridian of the falls was to be joined to South Carolina and Georgia. The eastern boundary of the second column of States was as has been said the meridian of the mouth of the Kanawha. By this arrangement an irregular piece of territory was left to the east of the Kanawha meridian extending to the Allegheny River and the western boundaries of Pennsylvania and to Lake Erie; this was to be another State. This scheme would divide Ohio into two States lying between the 37th and 39th parallels.

Jefferson not only provided this checker-board division into states but supplied the names. The most northerly State was to be called Sylvania; to the west of Lake Michigan was to be Michigania and at the east Chersonesus; next south came Assenisipia and Metropotamia and next there came Illinoia and Saratoga. Polypotamia included the country with the many rivers joining the lower Ohio; to the east of this and in the main south of the river Ohio lay Pelisipia. The irregular State just west of Pennsylvania was to be called Washington. Northern Ohio was in Metropotamia; the rest of the State would have been divided between Washington and Pelisipia. Pelisipy seems to have been another name for the Ohio River. These States were to be admitted to the confederation as they reached a population equal to the smallest of the original States. Jefferson's famous anti-slavery proposal was as follows: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States otherwise than in punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty."

The ordinance was recommitted and after some modifications reported March 22nd. Amendments made other changes in its provisions. The wonderful names were given up. The Ohio River was selected as a boundary between the States of Saratoga and Pelisipia. The territory from the 45th parallel northward was added to Michigania and the slavery clause was dropped. In its new form the ordinance was adopted April 23, 1784. It provided that the States could adopt a constitution like that of any of the original States and that when they reached a population of twenty thousand they could be admitted to Congress by delegates and would have a right to vote whenever the census showed their State to have a population equal to that of the smallest of the old States. As a supplement to this ordinance, Mr. King of Massachusetts introduced on March 16, 1785, another provision with relation to slavery. This was as follows: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolve of Congress of April 23, 1784, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been personally guilty and that this regulation shall be an article of compact and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States and each of the States described in said resolve of the 23d of April, 1784."

This proposition was referred to a committee who reported on April 6th, but no definite action was taken at the time. It was clear however by the ordinance and various resolutions that Congress was committed to the retention of the Northwest Territory, forever as a part of the United States, and secondly that some provision in opposition to slavery was bound to be incorporated in the final scheme of organization.

EXTINCTION OF INDIAN TITLES.

Necessary steps preliminary to such an organization were the extinction of any Indian titles and proper surveys. To attain the first object Congress established in 1784 a board of commissioners to treat with the Indians. The red men by the treaty of 1768 and by the treaty of Fort Stan-

wix recognized the Ohio as the boundary between them and the whites and were not disposed to make any concessions with regard to the lands on the northwest bank of that river. Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) the leader of the Mohawks and practically of the Six Nations had already formed a confederacy with the Western and Lake Indians for the protection of the Indian lands as far south as the Ohio. This remarkable Indian, the brother of Sir William Johnson's Molly Brant, visited England in 1785 to obtain compensation from the British for the losses incurred by the Mohawks during the Revolution. While there he received the welcome accorded to foreign sovereigns and was wined and dined by the royal family, statesmen, wits and ladies of quality. The Prince of Wales, Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Sir Guy Carleton, —the new Governor of Canada,—all vied with each other to do him honor and he was the sensation of the time. At a masque ball, the Turkish diplomat tried to examine his painted nose, which he thought was false, whereupon Brant resented the indignity with a war whoop that would have done honor to one of Pontiac's braves. Upon his return he was able to strengthen the determination of the Indians to adhere to their claims with regard to the lands above the Ohio. In November, 1786, the united Indian nations held their first conference at the rapids of the Maumee and prepared an address to their "Brethren of the Thirteen United States of America." In this they deplored their not being included in the peace made with Great Britain and gave notice that in the future no council would be held legal unless the entire confederacy gave its assent. They said they were ready to make a lasting treaty of peace but on one condition; that was that the surveyors and "others that march on land" must cease crossing the Ohio until they had come to terms. The address concluded with this warning: "Brothers! it will be owing to your arrogance if this laudable plan which we so earnestly wish for is not carried into execution. In that case the result will be very precarious and if fresh ruptures ensue we are sure we will be able to exculpate ourselves and most assuredly with our united force be obliged to defend those immunities which the Great Spirit has been pleased to give us; and if we then should be reduced to misfortune, the world will pity us when they think of the amicable proposals we made to prevent the effusion of unnecessary blood."

This address represented the feelings of the tribes of the Northwestern confederacy which included the Six Nations, Hurons, Delawares, Shawanees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Cherokees, Wabash Confederates and Miamis.

Congress however had all the time refused to pay any attention to this confederacy and through its commissioners had been negotiating with separate bands of savages. Richard Butler, Oliver Wolcott and Arthur Lee met the New York Indians at Fort Stanwix in October, 1784, where a treaty was made which shut off the Iroquois from any advance along the southern shores of Lake Erie. The Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas were met at Fort McIntosh in January, 1785, by Isaac Lane, George Rogers Clark and Samuel H. Parsons, and a treaty was agreed upon surrendering certain lands in the northwestern part of the State of Ohio to the Indians forever, except certain reserve tracts about six miles square about the military posts. This reserve region ran along the south shore of Lake Erie from Cayahoga to the Maumee and as far south as the portage between the Miami and the Maumee. It was this reservation which made it impossible for the Symmes grant, subsequently made, to include the number of acres originally contemplated.

SQUATTERS ALONG THE OHIO.

What were called by many the "lawless emigrants" were not waiting for treaties and acts of Congress but settlers were pushing to the West and into the lands north of the Ohio. Governor Henry of Virginia warned the intruders of the dangers incurred and General Harmar, in the spring, sent a force along the north bank of the Ohio as far as Wheeling to dispossess the squatters; the officer in command reported that there were one hundred more extending as far west as the Miami. Harmar issued a proclamation on April 2, 1785, and by May 1st reported that the cabins of the squatters had been burned. It was estimated however that by the close of 1785 there were something like fifty thousand souls west of Pittsburg including English, Scotch, Irish and German and in 1786 their numbers were sufficient to warrant the setting up of the first newspaper west of the Alleghanies, the *Pittsburg Gazette*. The emigrants were at the rate of from five to twenty thousand a year and their boats within twelve months reached the number of a thousand most of which were for the Kentucky side. Some however attempted settlements on the north.

In fact the principal efforts of the government

at this time seem to have been directed to the prevention of settlements by these so-called "banditti",—the original squatters,—rather than to the protection from the Indians of the bona-fide settlers on the southern side of the Ohio. General Harmar had been directed, as has just been stated, to prevent the surveying and settling of the lands not within the limits of any particular State and to employ such officers as he might judge necessary to drive off persons attempting to settle on the lands of the United States. On May 1, 1785, he transmitted to Congress the report of Ensign Armstrong who had marched down as far as opposite Wheeling and had executed his orders (excepting a few indulgences granted on account of the weather). Armstrong's report showed that he dispossessed one family at Little Beaver, other families at Yellow creek, Mingo Bottom and Norris' town and another one at Mercer's town and still another at a place opposite Wheeling. He had arrested a man named Ross who seemed to be obstreperous and had sent him to Wheeling in irons. He had also been threatened by one Charles Norris with a party of armed men. Upon showing his authority he had met with no further offensive demonstration. At Mercer's town he learned that Charles Norris and Joseph Carpenter had been elected as justices of the peace and had acted as such. This was probably the first attempt at organized government in the Northwest Territory. Armstrong also transmitted the opinion "of some reputable inhabitants on the eastern side of the river." These reputable inhabitants were of the opinion that if Congress did not prevent the settlements "that country will soon be inhabited by a Banditti whose actions are a disgrace to human nature." Armstrong states that he had distributed copies of the instructions in the settlements to the west of the Ohio and had posted them up at most public places on the east side of the river in the neighborhood through which the people passed but that in spite of these instructions they were moving to the unsettled country by forties and fifties. There were already at the falls of the HawkHawkin (HockHocking) upwards of three hundred families and at the Muskingum "a number equal." At the Moravian town there were several families and more than fifteen hundred on the rivers Miami and Scioto. "From Wheeling to that place there is scarcely one bottom of the river but has one or more families living thereon." He refers also to an advertisement by one "John Amberson," which was being complied with by the inhabitants. This advertisement is of interest as showing the capacity for self government inherent among the early settlers regardless of their quality or condition. It reads as follows:

"ADVERTISEMENT."

"March 12, 1785.

"Notice is hereby given to the inhabitants of the west side of the Ohio River that there is to be an election for the choosing of members for the convention for the framing a constitution for the governing of the inhabitants, the election to be held on the 10th day of April next ensuing, viz: One election to be held at the mouth of the Miami River and one to be held at the mouth of the Scioto River, and one on the Muskingum River, and one at the dwelling house of Jonas Menzons; the members to be chosen to meet at the mouth of the Scioto on the 20th day of the same month.

"I do certify that all mankind, agreeable to every constitution formed in America, have an undoubted right to pass into every vacant country, and there to form their constitution, and that from the confederation of the whole United States, Congress is not empowered to forbid them, neither is Congress empowered from that confederation to make any sale of the uninhabited land to pay the public debts, which is to be by a tax levied and lifted by authority of the Legislature of each State.

"JOHN AMBERSON."

The plans of these original expansionists would have resulted in the foundation of a State at a somewhat earlier period than was contemplated had they been left undisturbed. They certainly seem to have made every effort to establish a law abiding community. From the points selected for the election, it is plain that there must have been a number of settlers in the neighborhood of the Miami River and in what is now Hamilton County almost four years before Stites landed at Columbia.

Harmar received from sixty-six of the settlers a petition asking for a further indulgence of time and insisting that they desired "to act consistent with our duty to our country and the commands of the Legislature," to which they had already appealed that is,—Congress. Harmar gave them until the 21st of May to remove themselves at the expiration of which time he reports to the President of Congress that he expects to detach parties to drive off the settlers

within a distance of one hundred and fifty miles from Fort McIntosh, "which in my present situation is all that is practicable." He concluded with the statement that the "number of the settlers lower down the river is very considerable and from all accounts daily increasing."

General Butler on his way down the river to the conference at Fort Finney makes frequent reference to these early settlers. Just below Yellow creek near the present site of Wellsville he felt called upon to put in to warn off one Penniman and one Pry. This latter "appears to be a shrewd, sensible man. He assured me he would go off, that he would go to Kentucky, having been disappointed in a place he had formerly purchased, it being taken from him by a law suit. I told him, as well as the others, that Congress was determined to put all the people off the lands, and that none would be allowed to settle but the legal purchasers, and that these and these only would be protected; that troops would be down next week, who have orders to destroy every house and improvement on the north side of the river, and that garrisons will be placed at Muskingum and other places, and that if any person or persons attempted to oppose Government, they may depend on being treated with the greatest rigor. He seemed not well pleased, though he promised submission."

At the Mingo towns just below the present site of Steubenville "we found a number of people, among whom one Ross (Joseph) seems to be the principal man of the settlers on the north side of that place. I conversed with him, and warned him and the others away. He said he and his neighbors were misrepresented to Congress; that he was going to Congress to inform them that himself and neighbors were determined to be obedient to their ordinances, and we have made it a point to assure them that Congress had no respect to persons, that the lands would be surveyed and sold to poor and rich, and that there would, or could be no more of preference given to one more than another, which seemed to give satisfaction."

In view of the regulations of Congress this statement does not seem quite candid. On the next day, October 2nd, at Cross creek eight miles below, he "called at the settlement of Chas. Norris, whose house has been pulled down, and he has rebuilt it. At this place found one Walter Kean, who seems but a middling character, and rather of the dissentious cast. Warned all these off, and requested, they would inform their neighbors, which they promised to do. Col. Monroe (the future President) spoke to them also, which had weight, as I informed them of his character."

General Butler continued distributing proclamations and giving warning all the way down the river. Of course these attempts to drive off the unauthorized settlers were not entirely successful but they had great influence in discouraging emigration to the Ohio country. The number of the people passing down the river at this time and subsequently was very great. Butler speaks of settlements along the river on both sides. A little later in December, 1787, General Harmar writes to the Secretary of War concerning the population of the Western world as follows: "From the first June to this day, there have passed this garrison, bound for Kentucky, one hundred and forty-six boats, three thousand one hundred and ninety-six souls, one thousand three hundred and eighty-one horses, one hundred and sixty-five wagons, one hundred and seventy-one cattle, two hundred and forty-five sheep, and twenty-four hogs." In a letter of June 15th of the next year he again reports: "From the 9th of December to this day, three hundred and eight boats, six thousand three hundred and twenty souls, two thousand eight hundred and twenty-four horses, five hundred and fifteen cows, six hundred sheep, nine hogs, and one hundred and fifty wagons have passed this garrison (Fort Harmar) bound for Limestone and the Rapids. The emigration is almost incredible." In other words in about a year almost ten thousand people were noted by him as emigrating to Kentucky. It is not strange that Symmes subsequently complains that by reason of the lack of military protection and for other reasons the settlements in Kentucky were being favored at the expense of those in Ohio. We have no further account of the settlers on the northern bank of the Ohio. Mr. King in his "Ohio" states that "the history of these squatters is hardly worth pursuing. The blood of the Moravians is the 'damned spot' upon their memory." This seems hardly justified as the Moravian massacre took place a number of years before and there is no reason to connect all of this large number of people with that horrible outrage. The impression left by their own proclamations and proceedings as well as by the statements made by General Butler and others is that they were as law abiding a community as any pioneer settlement is likely to be. Their

only offense seems to have been that they were not willing or were not able to pay the trifling sum demanded by Congress for the lands. This refusal to pay was probably due more to the lack of the knowledge of affairs and the lack of a promoter than to any desire to take advantage of the government.

To return to the negotiations with the Indians. During the summer the Wyandot and Delaware nations brought in their prisoners to the forts and professed great friendship. It was apparent however that the Indians were very much dissatisfied. The Indians coming to trade would get drunk and become quarrelsome and in the affray that followed either a white man or Indian would be killed; in each case this led to great feeling. Cornplanter, the chief of the Senecas, came to Fort Pitt to tell Colonel Harmar that his people were dissatisfied with the treaty of Fort Stanwix and desired to revoke. The Cherokees killed and scalped seven people near the mouth of the Scioto and Harmar reported in his letter to General Knox on January 1, 1785, that the British including one Simon Girty were doing all that was possible to stir up feelings against the Americans. In a later letter (July 16, 1785) Harmar states: "It is reported that a Mr. Brant has lately arrived from London who (with the commanding officer of the British in that quarter) has informed the Six Nations that their lands were never ceded to the Americans by the King of Great Britain. In consequence of which these chiefs complain of being accused by their Nation of treachery and say they are in danger of their own people. They have left Fort Pitt highly satisfied to appearance with the answer to their speech; but so long as the British keep possession of the posts, it is very evident that all treaties held by us with the Indians will have but little weight with them."

The Shawanees made great professions of peace but had not been included in the treaty at Fort McIntosh. It was determined therefore to arrange a treaty with them at the mouth of the Great Miami where at Fort Finney, built for this purpose, Generals George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Samuel H. Parsons as commissioners concluded in January, 1786, a treaty which confined the Shawanees to the territory between the Great Miami and the Wabash. This treaty for a time also afforded protection to the surveyors of the Western lands, although from time to time evidences of dissatisfaction on the part of the Indians were given by attacks in which a number of the settlers were killed. This dissatisfaction was the cause of the efforts to negotiate further with the Indians which finally led to the treaties concluded by General St. Clair at Fort Harmar in January, 1789. The first treaty was with the Six Nations (except the Mohawks who had withdrawn with Brant) and confirmed the cessions made at Fort Stanwix and the other was with the Wyandots and other Western tribes and confirm the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney. By these various treaties Congress assumed to have acquired the Indian title to all the Northwest country beyond the Ohio with the exception of the reservation in the northern part of Ohio mentioned above.

SURVEYS.

The other important matter in connection with the opening up of the new country to settlement was the matter of surveys. Complaint had been made with regard to the Virginia habit of scrambling for allotments and setting up what were known as "tomahawk claims" such as prevailed in Kentucky and which proved a great incentive to Indian attacks. Jefferson's entire plan with regard to the Western territory had been referred to the grand committee and on April 12, 1785, this committee reported an ordinance providing for a scheme of surveying and disposing of the public land west of the Ohio River. According to this bill which was finally adopted May 20, 1785, the lands were to be divided into townships six miles square and five ranges of townships were to be surveyed between the Ohio and Lake Erie beginning west of the Pennsylvania line. A section of a square mile was to be reserved in each township for the support of schools. The district between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers was reserved for the Virginia military claims. The matter of States troubled the members of Congress considerably. Monroe felt that five States would be enough for a region to which Jefferson had accorded almost double that number and others thought that three would be sufficient. Jefferson objected to a small number of States and thought that they should be of about thirty thousand square miles each and not one hundred and sixty thousand as he did not believe that people of such large States would be kept together but would be likely to break up their territory into parts some of which might join the British and others Spain.

In accordance however with the Ordinance of May 20, 1785, there was appointed as the first

geographer of the United States, Thomas Hutchins, who had been Bouquet's engineer and had served as a captain in the Sixtieth British Infantry. He was directed to survey seven longitudinal ranges of townships north of the Ohio, west of Pennsylvania and south of the Reserve. This survey was the first systematic one west of the mountains and was known as the Seven Ranges. The initial point was established by Hutchins and Rittenhouse, the official geographer of Pennsylvania, at the point where the north bank of the Ohio River is intersected by the west line of Pennsylvania which line is that of the meridian at the west extremity of the celebrated Mason and Dixon's line. The line was run forty-two miles due west to a meridian that struck the Ohio a little above Marietta which formed the western bounds of the nineteenth township in the most westerly of the ranges. At each mile was set a post and every six miles was marked as a township corner through which ran the meridian line to the Ohio and the line of the Reserve (41°) which was cut by east and west lines at regular distances of six miles. This survey was accomplished during the years of 1786 and 1787, despite the many hostile Indians who in spite of the cessions to the United States were wholly opposed to the occupation of the land by white men.

Thomas Hutchins the first and last geographer of the United States had made many explorations in the Western country and published in 1778 a topographical description which includes probably the first printed notices of the Miami rivers. As engineer of Bouquet's expedition he surveyed the route from day to day after it left Pittsburg. He kept a journal of the march and a map showing each encampment and while in the Ohio country he conceived the plan of settling military colonies in it which he thought would be the best method of securing peace with the Indians. At the opening of the Revolution he was in London and being suspected of negotiating with Benjamin Franklin at Paris he was imprisoned and his fortune to the extent of forty thousand dollars was confiscated. He succeeded in reaching Savannah in Georgia in 1778. He became geographer of the Confederation. He it was who substituted in this country surveys on base lines from the parallels of latitude instead of those determined arbitrarily by roads, rivers, mountains and coasts. Hutchins did not live to complete his work but died in 1788 at Pittsburg and with him expired the office of geographer. Its duties were for a time assumed by the Treasury Department and finally in 1796 the office of Surveyor-General of Public Lands was created. Gen. Rufus Putnam was the first man appointed to this office.

THE OHIO COMPANY AND THE ORDINANCE.

One of the surveyors who accompanied Hutchins was Benjamin Tupper of Massachusetts. Upon his return to the East he wrote to Washington expressing his admiration for the country in which he had been working and afterwards met at his home in Rutland, Massachusetts, Gen. Rufus Putnam. Putnam had been a lieutenant-colonel of a militia regiment during the Revolution and he it was that had devised the scheme of fortifications which led to the evacuation of Boston. Senator Hoar in his eloquent oration delivered at the centennial celebration of Marietta says: "We take no leaf from the pure chaplet of Washington's fame when we say that the success of the first great military operation of the Revolution was due to Rufus Putnam." Subsequently Putnam devised the fortifications of West Point and rendered valuable service throughout the war. At the conclusion of the war he retired to his farm at Rutland and acted in various official capacities for his neighbors. He kept in mind throughout the whole time however a scheme for the building of a new State westward of the Ohio. His old leader Washington had been interested in the Northwest and was a large land owner on the Ohio and Kanawha and to him there was sent in 1783 before the dissolution of the army a petition of two hundred and eighty-eight officers praying for the location and survey of lands north and northwest of the Ohio River for veterans of the army in redemption of the pledges of Congress. The year later he wrote again. Washington at all times took an active interest in his plan but stated that he had tried in vain to have Congress take action. In 1785 Congress appointed Putnam one of the surveyors of the Northwestern lands. He was compelled by his engagements to remain at home but he sent General Tupper as his substitute. On January 9, 1786, the two friends sat up all night framing a call to officers and soldiers of the war and other good citizens of Massachusetts who might wish to become purchasers of land in the Ohio country. This privilege was to extend afterwards to the inhabitants of other States as might be agreed upon. In accordance with this call, on March 1, 1786, a convention was held at the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern" in Boston at which on March 4,

1786, was formed the Ohio Company. Putnam, Rev. Manasseh Cutler and Gen. Samuel H. Parsons were made the directors.

General Parsons a Connecticut man was selected to go to New York to secure a grant of lands and a passage of an act for government. He failed but events of recent years seem to have raised the suspicion that his good faith not only in the Revolutionary cause but in the matter of the Ohio Company was not beyond question. Thereupon the other director Cutler, a minister of the Gospel in Ipswich, Massachusetts, a graduate of Yale, as Parsons was of Harvard, was selected to take up the task in which Parsons had failed. He left Boston on the evening of June 25, 1787, on which day he recorded in his diary that he had conversed with General Putnam and settled the principles upon which he was to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company. To quote Senator Hoar again: "He was probably the fittest man on the continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy. It was said just now that Putnam was a man after Washington's pattern, and after Washington's own heart. Cutler was a man after Franklin's pattern, and after Franklin's own heart. He was the most learned naturalist in America, as Franklin was the greatest master in physical science. He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct; of courtly manners; a favorite in the drawing-room and in the camp; with a wide circle of friends and correspondents among the most famous men of his time. During his brief service in Congress he made a speech on the judicial system, in 1803, which shows his profound mastery of constitutional principles.

"It now fell to his lot to conduct a negotiation second only in importance in the history of his country to that which Franklin conducted with France in 1778. Never was ambassador crowned with success more rapid or more complete."

On April 26, 1787, the committee reported an ordinance for the government of the Western territory. This ordinance was intended to supplant Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784. The bill came up for second reading on May 9th, at which time General Parsons was present for the Ohio Company and put in a memorial for a grant of land within the jurisdiction of the proposed ordinance. Something in the manner of Parsons excited the suspicions of both Cutler and Putnam as to his honesty but as there was no quorum on the following day the business was laid over. On July 9th, Congress being dissatisfied with the report of the committee referred it back to a new committee consisting of Mr. Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Edward Carrington of Virginia, Mr. John Kean of South Carolina and Melancthon Smith of New York. Dane and Smith were the only members of the older committee retained. Cutler had arrived in New York on July 5th, with his application on behalf of the Ohio Company representing two hundred and fifty shares of one thousand dollars each. His proposition to Congress came before the original committee on July 6th, and included a payment for the land of 66 2/3 cents an acre in soldiers' certificates which was equivalent to eight or ten cents specie. At the same time he is supposed to have insisted that there should be recognition of the principles of freedom formulated in the constitution of his own State. This proposition appealed to Congress by reason of the financial relief it involved and when it was recommitted to the new committee Cutler was called in to make remarks and amendments. Cutler's conditions and demands changed the whole situation. The new proposals opened a way to pay off about one-tenth of the national debt but on the other hand seemed to afford an opportunity of formulating into a definite code the principles of freedom which had been so many times adverted to in the discussions of Congress. Some of these principles of course were dangerous from the standpoint of some of the members of the committee. This was particularly true with regard to the matter of forbidding slavery. "Cutler was in his element in standing as the champion of freedom, and he was politician enough to know how the Virginia opposition could be quieted by showing to the representatives of the Southern States the better chance they had of compacting their interests south of the Ohio, if they conceded something on the other side of that river to the principles of the North, since such concessions might strengthen the obligations of the North to protect the products of slave labor in the South and to stand by that section of the country in an inevitable contest with Spain over the free navigation of the Mississippi. This was to be the chief victory of Cutler in paving the way for the later motion of Dane. The other points upon which Cutler insisted were more easily carried. Such were reservations of land for the support of religion and education. The latter object received a double recognition. Five sections in each township were set aside for the benefit of schools, and two whole townships were devoted

to the advancement of liberal learning." (Winsor, The Westward Movement, p. 283.)

After forty-eight hours' deliberation the committee brought in a new measure which after being debated and amended on July 12, was passed by a unanimous vote on July 13, 1787, all the States present voting for it. The amendment was the provision concerning slavery. This was not reported back with the ordinance but was proposed by Nathan Dane of Massachusetts and agreed to with but one dissenting vote. Says Senator Hoar in his Marietta address:

"To Nathan Dane belongs the immortal honor of having been the draughtsman of the statute and the mover of the anti-slavery amendment. His monument has been erected, in imperishable granite, by the greatest of American architects, among the mass of columns of the great argument in reply to Hayne. But the legislative leadership was Virginia's. From her came the great weight of Washington, in whose heart the scheme of Rufus Putnam for the colonization of the West occupied a place second only to that of the Union itself. Hers was the great influence of Jefferson, burning with the desire that his country in her first great act of national legislation should make the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence a reality. From her came Carrington, chairman of the committee; Lee, its foremost member; and Grayson, then in the chair of the Congress, who, Mr. Bancroft says, 'gave, more than any other man in Congress, efficient attention to the territorial question, and whose record against slavery is clearer than that of any other Southern man who was present in 1787.'"

This statement is open to discussion. Dane claimed the authorship of the anti-slavery amendment in a number of statements made on the subject. In a letter to Rufus King of July 16, 1787, three days after the ordinance was passed he said: "When I drew the ordinance (which passed a few words excepted, as I originally formed it) I had no idea the States would agree to the sixth article prohibiting slavery as only Massachusetts of the Eastern States was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft. But finding the house favorably disposed on this subject after we had completed the other parts I moved this article which was agreed to without opposition." At a later time Mr. Dane compiled his well known "Dane's Abridgment" which was a digest of the laws of the States. In this work, speaking of the Ordinance of 1787, he incidentally says: "This ordinance formed by the author of this work was framed mainly from the laws of Massachusetts, etc." This statement was in the seventh volume issued in 1824. In volume nine issued in 1830, Dane being disturbed by the statements in the great debate in the Senate on Foote's resolutions made a more explicit statement. In that great debate Senators Benton and Hayne by their allusions to Dane and the ordinance had called from Webster his celebrated statement with regard to the ordinance and its authorship in which Mr. Webster states explicitly "it so happened that he drew the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwestern Territory." Mr. Dane in his statement traces the history of the amendment mainly for the purpose of refuting Benton's statement that the ordinance was chiefly copied from the plan of Jefferson. As to the main body of the ordinance the statement is not important but Mr. Dane's statement with reference to the slavery article is interesting. He states distinctly that it was originally reported in 1784 by a committee consisting of Jefferson, Chase and Howell. As already stated in this chapter it admitted slavery to the year 1800 and for all time, in certain considerable portions of the Territory. He admits that he took from Mr. King in 1785 the words of his article as to time and extent of territory in which freedom was to be granted. Certain other provisions were taken from Mr. Jefferson's resolutions of 1784.

The question of the verbal authorship of the ordinance is not so important however as that of the influences which secured its enactment. There can be no question that the sentiment in favor of the anti-slavery provision was in the air. The resolutions of Jefferson in 1784 and those of King in 1785 showed this clearly. Dr. Cutler has been credited with the greatest influence in securing the incorporation of this article in the ordinance and the statement has even been made that he brought it already prepared from New England and forced it on the committee of Congress as a prerequisite to his land purchase. There is no evidence whatsoever to support any such statement. Senator Hoar in his celebrated address particularly disclaims such an idea. Cutler went to New York expecting to purchase lands under the Ordinance of 1784 provided he could make suitable arrangements with the Treasury

Board. His appearance with the money to purchase the Western lands came at a fortunate time and gave encouragement to those who favored the insertion of the anti-slavery limitation. As a result after the ordinance was reported Dane was emboldened to propose the amendment prohibiting slavery and it was carried with one dissenting vote. As to the ordinance, its subsequent critics have naught but words of praise. Webster denominated it "as a measure of great wisdom and foresight and one which had been attended with highly beneficial and permanent consequences." He further stated "We are accustomed to praise the law givers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus but I doubt whether one single law of any law giver ancient or modern has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." Judge Cooley speaks of it as "immortal for the grand results which have followed from its adoption, not less than for the wisdom and far-seeing statesmanship that conceived and gave form to its provisions. No charter of government in the history of any people has so completely withstood the tests of time and experience: it had not a temporary adaptation to a particular emergency, but its principles were for all time, and worthy of acceptance under all circumstances. It has been the fitting model for all subsequent territorial government in America."

Cooley accredits to Jefferson the honor of first formulating the purpose of dedicating the Territory to freedom and says that "for him it constitutes a claim to immortality superior to the presidency itself. The one was proof of his greatness and far-seeing statesmanship; the bestowment of the other evidenced only the popular favor. The ordinance was the beginning of the end of American slavery. It checked at the banks of the Ohio the advance of a system fruitful of countless evils, social and political; and the opponents of the system found in its mandate of uncompromising prohibition an inspiration and a prophecy of final triumph in their subsequent warfare."

Senator Hoar in his great address at Marietta says: "The ordinance belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three great title deeds of American constitutional liberty."

The ordinance provided that the Territory, which included two hundred and seventy thousand five hundred and fifty square miles or thereabouts, a country much larger than any known in Europe except Russia and twice as large as Great Britain and Ireland combined was to be one district subject to be divided into two. It also made provision for the descent and distribution of the States, reserving to the French and Canadians their own laws and customs. There was to be a Governor whose commission was for three years who must reside in the district and have a freehold estate therein of a thousand acres of land; a Secretary commissioned for four years who must reside in the district and must have a freehold estate of five hundred acres of land; and a court of three judges any two of whom would form the court with common law jurisdiction who must reside in the district and have each a freehold estate of five hundred acres of land. The Governor and judges or a majority of them were empowered to adopt and publish such laws of the original States as might be necessary and report them to Congress. These laws were to be in force and in effect until the organization of the General Assembly unless disapproved by Congress. The Governor was to be the commander in chief of the militia with the power of appointing all the officers below the rank of general officer which last named officers were to be commissioned by Congress. Magistrates and other officers were to be appointed by the Governor until such time as the General Assembly should be organized. The Governor was to divide the district into counties and townships. Provisions were made for the election of a General Assembly. A property qualification was provided for both representatives and electors. The General Assembly was to consist of the Governor and a Legislative Council of five members and a House of Representatives. The Legislative Council was to be nominated by the House of Representatives and appointed by Congress from ten nominations submitted for the five places. The Governor was given the veto power. Provision was also made for the election of delegates to Congress. In conclusion the ordinance contained six articles of compact between the original States and the people and States of the Territory, to remain unalterable forever except by common consent. The first article guaranteed religious liberty; the second the writ of habeas corpus, trial by jury, proportionate representation, right of bail, moderate

fines, freedom from cruel or unusual punishment, the immunity from the taking of liberty or property except by the law of the land, the right of compensation for property taken for public use and the inviolability of private contracts. Article three begins as follows: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." The remainder of the section is devoted to the protection of the rights of the Indians. Article four provides that the Territory shall remain forever a part of the United States and for the payment by its citizens of their share of Federal taxes. The legislatures of the new States are prohibited from interfering with the primary disposal of the soil by Congress and from levying any tax on lands the property of the United States and from levying higher taxes upon non-residents than upon residents. The navigable waters are declared to be common highways. Article five provides that there shall be formed in said Territory not less than three nor more than five States but fixes the boundaries to take effect as soon as Virginia shall consent to the same. The eastern State provided for was to be bounded by a direct line drawn north from the mouth of the Great Miami to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, by said territorial line and Pennsylvania and the Ohio River. Provision is made by which Congess can alter the boundaries and for the admission of the States into the Union. Article six is the slavery section and reads "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

As soon as the ordinance had been passed the next point for Cutler to consider was the law for the sale of lands. It is apparent that at this stage much political manoeuvering became necessary. Cutler soon found that General St. Clair who was at that time the president of Congress wanted to be Governor of the Northwest Territory. The Ohio Company had selected General Parsons for this office but it soon became apparent that St. Clair's influence was necessary and Cutler was prevailed upon to support St. Clair. Under this arrangement Parsons was shifted to a judgeship. Mr. Smith in his "St. Clair Papers" resents the suggestion that St. Clair was influenced by the offer of this position and devotes considerable space to a discussion to prove that St. Clair was not a party to any arrangement of the kind. Cutler's own diary however leaves no doubt as to the impression on his mind. St. Clair was not present on July 13th, at the time the ordinance was passed but returned to New York on the 17th. On the 18th Cutler records that he paid his respects to the President of Congress, General St. Clair. On the 23rd appears the following entry:

"Spent the evening with Colonel Grayson and members of Congress from the southward, who were in favor of a contract. Having found it impossible to support General Parsons as a candidate for Governor, after the interest that General St. Clair had secured, and suspecting this might be some impediment in the way, for my endeavors to make interest for him were well known, and the arrangement of civil officers being on the carpet, I embraced this opportunity frankly to declare that, for my own part, I ventured to engage for Major Sargent that, if General Parsons could have the appointment of First Judge, and Sargent, Secretary, we should be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his Excellency, General St. Clair, might be the Governor; and that I would solicit the Eastern members to favor such an arrangement. This I found rather pleasing to the Southern members, and they were so complaisant as to ask, repeatedly, what office would be agreeable to me in the Western country. I assured them that I wished for no appointment in the civil line.

"July 26. This morning I accompanied Generals St. Clair and Knox on a tour of morning visits and, particularly, to the Foreign Ministers. . . . Being now eleven o'clock, General St. Clair was obliged to attend Congress. After we came into the street, General St. Clair assured me, he would make every possible exertion to prevail with Congress, to accept the terms contained in our letter. He appeared much interested and very friendly; but said we must expect opposition. I was now fully convinced that it was good

policy to give up Parsons, and openly to appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed Governor. Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the Eastern members, in favor of his appointment."

On the 23rd Congress authorized the Board of Treasury to sell to the Ohio Company a tract lying between the seven ranges and the Scioto and beginning on the east five miles away from the left bank of the Muskingum. This tract was supposed to contain one and a half million acres and they were to be paid for it a million dollars in soldiers' certificates, one-half down and the other half when the land was surveyed. Cutler discovered that it was advisable to conciliate Colonel Duer, secretary of the Board of Treasury, and land speculator and the "representative of some of the principal characters in the city" and devised a new scheme. This New England parson and agent of the Ohio Company, and above all first-class politician, without saying anything to his principals, enlarged his proposition to include five million acres of land for which he offered three and a half millions of dollars. As a result on July 27th, Congress approved a contract which was satisfactory to the Doctor. "By this ordinance, we obtained the grant of near five millions of acres of land, amounting to three millions and a half of dollars. One million and a half of acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters in America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company." The private speculation became known as the Scioto purchase. This scheme which was not carried out by the principal characters in America, is as good an illustration of practical politics as the history of our country can present. On the day that the bargain was clinched Cutler and Sargent, to whom the grant had been made, sold a half interest to Col. William Duer who agreed on his part to advance the money to help meet the payment on the whole.

THE SELECTION OF TERRITORIAL OFFICERS.

All the other terms of the compact having been complied with it remained to carry out the election of officers who had been agreed upon. On Friday, October 5, 1787, Congress elected the officers for the new government. Arthur St. Clair was elected the Governor and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary. Samuel Holden Parsons, John Armstrong and James Mitchell Varnum were elected the judges of the Territory. Mr. Armstrong declined the appointment and on February 19, 1788, John Cleves Symmes was appointed in his place. The appointments took effect as of February 1, 1788.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

The Officers of the Territory—The Settlement of Marietta—The Establishment of Civil Government—The Judges of the Territory—The Erection of Washington County—Captain Brant and Louisa St. Clair—The Treaty of Fort Harmar—The Settlement of Gallipolis.

The territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River whose formation has been discussed in the preceding chapter was the first important addition to the original Colonies. From the land within its limits was subsequently formed the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, States which have certainly contributed their share of prosperity and happiness to the life of the country. Not the least important element in the subsequent development of this vast region was the character of the men who were chosen to govern it at the outset. Although the population was small and although the contact of the settlers with the governing officials was in many instances a very rare occurrence, the character of these officials made a great impression upon the people whom they served. It is true that these officials were not at all times in entire harmony with each other but this lack of harmony had no serious effect upon their relations to the community and was in fact largely due to honest difference of opinion with regard to governmental measures. The vast territory which had for so long a time been a wilderness given over to savages and wild beasts and which had enjoyed practically no government when under French or English occupation was impressed from the outset with the fact that it was an organized community to be governed under the forms of law and that the period of irresponsibility had passed. Much of this was due to the personality of the officials all of whom were men of very high standing and of education. Five of the six men originally chosen for the important offices in the Territory had received a college education. St. Clair had been educated at the University of Edinburgh; Sargent and Parsons were graduates of Harvard; Varnum was a graduate of Brown; Armstrong had been a student at Princeton and Symmes who was appointed in his place was a man of education who had served for many years in many responsible positions including twelve years as judge. Men of this character were fully convinced of the importance of a well ordered government and it is largely due to their strict adherence to their ideas of duty that the Territory over which they presided became from the first a law abiding community.

THE OFFICERS OF THE TERRITORY.

Arthur St. Clair the newly appointed Governor was a Scotchman. He was a relative (sometimes said to be the grandson) of the Earl of Roslyn. He was born in Thurso in 1734 and was educated at the University of Edinburgh and studied medicine under the celebrated Dr. Hunter of London. Inheriting a large sum of money from his mother he purchased a commission of ensign in the English Army and came to America in 1758. He participated in the capture of Louisburg and distinguished himself under Wolfe at Quebec. In 1760 he married at Boston the half-sister or niece of Governor Bowdoin. He resigned his commission in 1762 and in 1764 he set-

tled in the Ligonier Valley in Pennsylvania where with his inherited wealth and the fortune brought to him by his wife he purchased a large quantity of land and built large mills and a handsome dwelling house. He became in time the owner of eleven thousand acres of land. He held various offices including that of surveyor, justice of the Court of Common Pleas, member of the Governor's Council, recorder of deeds and the like and was one of the most prominent citizens in his community. At the time of Dunmore's War the unprincipled Dr. John Connolly representing Governor Dunmore of Virginia in the controversy with Pennsylvania as to the jurisdiction of the head waters of the Ohio took possession of Fort Pitt. St. Clair, who was then a magistrate, had Connolly arrested on a warrant and committed to jail. As a result of this, Lord Dunmore insisted that St. Clair should be dismissed from office but Governor Penn declined to remove him. "Mr. St. Clair is a gentleman," said Governor Penn, "who for a long time had the honor of serving his majesty in the regulars with reputation, and in every station of life has preserved the character of a very honest, worthy man." St. Clair became colonel of the militia in 1785 and accompanied the commissioners to negotiate with the Indians at Fort Pitt, as their secretary. He served in Canada in 1776 and in August was made a brigadier-general. He joined Washington's army in November. He was engaged actively in New Jersey until April 17, 1777, when he was placed in command at Ticonderoga which he was obliged to evacuate on July 4th, by reason of the presence of Burgoyne in overwhelming strength. He then became a member of Washington's official family commanding for a time the light infantry in the absence of Lafayette. As much criticism has been aroused by his conduct during the war, criticism which was part of the attacks made upon Washington and his favorite generals, he demanded a court martial which acquitted him of the charges made against him with the highest honor. He was a member of the court martial which tried Major Andre and was obliged to vote with the others the penalty of death. He was in command at West Point during the latter part of 1780 and aided in suppressing the mutiny of the Pennsylvania troops in January of the next year. He afterwards joined Washington and participated in the capture of Cornwallis and finally led a body of troops to join Greene in South Carolina. The war left St. Clair an impoverished man. He was elected as a delegate to Congress and became president of that body in the year 1787, resigning that position to accept the governorship of the Northwest Territory.

Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Territory was from Massachusetts, and a graduate of Harvard in 1781. He served throughout the war with success and was a major at its termination. He became connected with the Ohio Company in 1786 and was a surveyor in the Northwest Territory and was subsequently Adjutant-General under St. Clair and under Wayne, and was made Governor of the new Territory of Mississippi in 1798, dying in New Orleans on June 3, 1820.

Samuel Holden Parsons was born in Connecticut May 14, 1737, and graduated at Harvard in 1756. He was a Representative in the Connecticut Assembly for eighteen sessions. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was made a colonel in a militia regiment and took part in the siege of Boston. In 1776 he became a brigadier-general and as such engaged in the battle on Long Island. In 1779 he succeeded General Putnam as commander of the Connecticut line. In the following year he was commissioned a major-general. He had taken part as commissioner in the negotiations with the Indians. He subsequently settled in the new Territory and was drowned in the Big Beaver River, November 17, 1789.

James Mitchell Varnum was born in Massachusetts, December 17, 1748, and graduated at what is now known as Brown University in 1769. He served throughout the Revolutionary War becoming a brigadier-general in 1777. He resigned in 1779 and was chosen major-general of the militia which office he held until his death. He served in the Continental Congress from 1780 until 1782 and in 1786 and 1787 and was remarkable for his wonderful gift of eloquence. He removed to Marietta June, 1788, and held his office until the time of his death, January 10, 1789.

John Armstrong who declined the appointment of judge was born in Pennsylvania in 1758. While a student at Princeton in 1775 he became a volunteer in a Pennsylvania regiment and took an active part in the war until its conclusion at which time he held the rank of major. He is best known as the author of the "New-

burgh Addresses," written at the end of the war to induce the army to make such a demonstration as would require Congress to do it justice. After the war he was Secretary of State and Adjutant-General of Pennsylvania and in 1784 conducted operations against the settlers in the Wyoming Valley. Two years after declining the nomination of judge he married the sister of Chancellor Livingston and removed to New York. He was a member of the National Senate from 1800 to 1804 at which time he resigned to become Minister to France. He was commissioned a brigadier-general in July, 1812, and in January of the following year became Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Madison. The failure of the operations against Canada and the capture of Washington in 1814 made him so unpopular that he resigned and retired to private life. He died April 1, 1843.

THE SETTLEMENT OF MARIETTA.

Some time prior to the appointment of the officers, on August 29th, Dr. Cutler met the directors and agents of the Ohio Company once more at the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern" in Boston and reported to them that he had made a contract with the Treasury Board for a million dollars worth of land at seventy-five cents an acre and on the following day the plat of the proposed city on the Muskingum was settled upon and proposals for sawmill and corn mill sites invited. Rufus Putnam was chosen as the leader of the pioneers and boat carpenters from Danvers were sent ahead and by the last of January, 1788, they had reached the Youghiogheny. Putnam and the main party with surveyors and engineers joined them on February 14, 1788. They found no boats and no boards to build any, no person able to hollow out a canoe, the sawmill frozen up and smallpox prevailing. However. they set to work and by April 2nd, the "Mayflower," a forty-five ton galley, first known as the "Adventure" floated out upon the stream. On April 7th, this historic boat accompanied by the "Adelphia" a three-ton ferry and three log canoes reached the Muskingum. Here they were greeted by the garrison at Fort Harmar which had been built there in 1785 for the protection of the surveyors and which with Fort McIntosh at the mouth of the Big Beaver were the only stations then held by the government north of the Ohio. Among others who greeted them was the famous Captain Pipe fresh from participation in the burning of Colonel Crawford. The site selected for the town was a level plain thirty feet above the Muskingum on the eastern side of the stream opposite the fort, at the point where the mound builders had left so many of their remains. The town name selected in Boston was Adelphia but at the first meeting of the directors held on the ground, July 2nd, the name Marietta was adopted in honor of Marie Antoinette, the friend of the struggling Colonies. Here the land was cleared and one hundred acres planted with corn and huts were built, as was the custom, from the planks that had made their boats. On the top of the ancient fortifications of the mound builders, whose parapets, twenty feet high still remain, was built a stockade including a building two stories in height with blockhouses at the angles; this was called the Campus Martius. In the spring the changeable quality of the climate, an entire novelty to the settlers, manifested itself. There was intense heat and much insect life followed by cloudbursts which deluged the rivers and caused them to rise as they had never seen rivers rise before. A sudden fall in the temperature made them fear the approach of winter in the mid-summer; however their crops leaped into life and the game which was at hand furnished them with food and plenty. Emigrants began to arrive and in considerable numbers. In May came Col. John May, the first journalist of the colony and in June two of the judges, Parsons and Varnum.

Lieutenant Denny, whose diary has been quoted so extensively before, joined the forces at Fort Harmar on May 29th. He was much impressed with the character of the settlers "many of whom were of the first respectability,—old Revolutionary officers." On July 4th, Independence Day was celebrated when venison, bear and buffalo meat regaled the appetite and Judge Varnum delivered a patriotic address in the course of which he referred to the expected visit of the Governor. "We mutually lament that the absence of his Excellency will not permit us, upon this joyous occasion, to make those grateful assurances of sincere attachments, which bind us to him by the noblest motives than can animate an enlightened people. May he soon arrive. Thou gently flowing Ohio, whose surface, as conscious of thy unequaled majesty, reflecteth no images but the grandeur of the impending heaven, bear him, oh, bear him safely to this anxious spot! And thou beautiful, transparent Muskingum, swell at the moment of his approach, and reflect no objects but of pleasure and delight!"

The great episode of the arrival of the Gov-

ernor took place five days later on July 9th. On this day intense excitement prevailed throughout the settlement and at the fort on the opposite bank. The officers assumed their newest uniforms and the soldiers' muskets and trappings were polished to the highest degree of cleanliness. The distinguished citizens,—many of those in the number were distinguished citizens,—collected about the Campus Martius awaiting the arrival of their hero. General Harmar and his officers proceeded to the landing where amidst the ruffling of drums and the booming of the Federal salute of fourteen guns they received the Governor as he stepped from his twelve-oared barge of state. He was accompanied by Major Doughty of the artillery and Judge Parsons and Secretary Sargent. The party proceeded in solemn state to the fort where it was to remain until the formal opening of the civil government.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

On Tuesday, July 15, 1788, civil government was established in the territory west of the river Ohio. General St. Clair attended by Judges Parsons and Varnum and Secretary Sargent made his public entry into the city of Marietta being escorted across the river in a barge of state to the accompaniment once more of drums and guns. A bower had been erected under which he was received by Gen. Rufus Putnam and all other citizens with the most sincere and unreserved congratulations. He was escorted by the townspeople to the Campus Martius whereupon all took their seats in solemn array. After a short period of silence his Excellency arose and addressed himself to the assembly in a concise but dignified speech. He expressed his great pleasure at meeting them upon so important an occasion and informed them that he had brought with him a most excellent constitution for the government of the Territory to which he invited their attention. The Governor's address was followed by the reading of the Ordinance by Secretary Sargent and also of the commissions of the various officers. After this formality had been concluded the Governor spoke at length of the importance of good government; of his desire to administer the trust confided to him in such manner as to merit their approbation; of the relations of the Northwest Territory and the general government and of the opening of a new country under such favorable auspices and of the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Indians. "Endeavor to cultivate a good understanding with the natives without much familiarity; treat them on all occasions with kindness and the strictest regard to justice; run not into their customs and habits which is but too frequent with those that settle near them but endeavor to induce them to adopt yours. Prevent, by every means, that dreadful reproach, perhaps too justly brought by them against all the white people they have yet been acquainted with, that, professing the most holy and benevolent religion, they are uninfluenced by its dictates and regardless of its precepts. * * * The present situation of the country," he concluded, "calls for attention in various places, and will necessarily induce frequent absence, both of the judges and myself, from this delightful spot; but at all times and places, as it is my indispensable duty, so it is very much my desire to do everything within the compass of my power for the peace, good order, and perfect establishment of the settlement; and as I look for not only a cheerful acquiescence in, and submission to necessary measures, but a cordial co-operation, so I flatter myself my well-meant endeavors will be accepted in the spirit in which they are rendered, and thus our satisfaction will be mutual and complete."

A contemporary account states that "during the address of His Excellency, a profound veneration for the elevated station and exalted benevolence of the speaker; the magnitude of the subject; the high importance of the occasion; the immense consequences resulting; the glory, the grandeur of a new world unfolding; heaven and earth approving, called forth all the manly emotions of the heart. At the close, peals of applause rent the surrounding air, while joyful echo reverberated the sound. Every citizen felt to the extent of humanity, and affection herself impressed upon the mind, in characters never to be obliterated: long live our Governor!"

At the conclusion of the Governor's address, Gen. Rufus Putnam congratulated him on his safe arrival in a few appropriate remarks and presented to him a formal address on behalf of the citizens.

Immediately after the conclusion of the formalities Governor St. Clair and the two judges who were present entered upon the duties of their office and set to work forming a code of laws for the government of the Territory. The Ordinance provided that the laws should be selected from the statutes of the thirteen original States; the judges however did not strictly follow this practice but whenever they could not

find laws suited to the condition of the Territory they supplied the want by enactments of their own. This practice was acquiesced in by Governor St. Clair but with considerable reluctance on his part. The laws which were not selected from the statutes of the States finally failed to receive the approval of Congress but with two exceptions were continued in force because necessary until the second grade of the government was established in 1795 when the Governor and council formally enacted a code of laws. Salmon P. Chase in his preliminary sketch called attention to the fact that although the government and judges may have exceeded their authority it must be concluded that this was done without any desire to abuse it as is shown by the fact that all the laws, with the exception of two, were confirmed and reenacted by the first Territorial Legislature.

The first law created providing for the organization of the militia was prepared by Judges Varnum and Parsons and presented to St. Clair for his approval. The beautiful harmony which had hitherto prevailed comes to an end at this the time of the first official action in the Northwest Territory. Governor St. Clair submitted with great deference some observations to the two judges which he thought might appear to them worthy of consideration. If these observations left anything of the original law without criticism it is not apparent. Thereupon the judges submitted a law relating to real estate which brought forth an elaborate veto from the Governor. This veto induced an elaborate correspondence between the judges and Governor as to their respective authorities in which apparently the Governor's view prevailed. Fortunately despite the warmth of the correspondence the personal relations between the Governor and judges remained of the most cordial nature. The laws which were finally approved by St. Clair and the two judges were ten in number and related to the establishing of militia; establishing of General Courts of Quarter Sessions, and of Common Pleas, and for the appointment of sheriffs; establishing a Court of Probate; fixing the terms of the General Court; describing the forms of oaths of office and respecting crimes and punishments; regulating marriages; fixing fines for infraction of militia rules; creating the office of coroner; and limiting the time of civil actions and for instituting criminal prosecutions.

The signature of John Cleves Symmes appears on the law of August 30th, establishing a Court of Probate but on no other. This must have been signed by him at the time of his visit to the Western country in the summer preceding the settlement between the Miamis. These laws took the place of the code of laws which in the absence of constituted authority were drawn up by Col. Return Jonathan Meigs, father of the judge of that name.

Judge Manning F. Force in "The Bench and Bar of Ohio" speaks of this code of laws as follows: "Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, Sr., became the law-giver *protempore* by common consent. He drafted a code or system of regulations on ordinary foolscap which was carefully tacked up for ready reference on the trunk of a large oak from which the rough bark had been removed. It is creditable to the self-restraint of the emigrants that history has recorded no infraction of these regulations which were read and approved by all."

A comment of Judge Force in the same article upon the matter already referred to of the power to adopt a new law seems pertinent: "The court as a Legislative Council was empowered only to adopt laws selected from the statutes of the original States and had no authority to enact new statutes. The Congress assumed that the code and statutes of the original States were sufficiently comprehensive and elastic to meet all conditions; whereas the experiences of broad minded intelligent men encountering the actualities of a new settlement convinced them that original legislation was imperative. It may be regarded as singular in the light of subsequent history that great men in the Congress of the confederacy, who were the especial guardians of the rights of States and the champions of local self government, should be so careful to reserve for themselves in the general government the prerogative of vetoing or nullifying local legislation by the settlers of the Territory; or that they failed to apprehend the marked dissimilarity in the physical conditions and wants of the emigrants in the new Territory and those of the citizens of Virginia and Massachusetts. But men of the past were jealous of power and that was one hundred years ago."

The laws which were adopted at this time had been regarded so far as those relating to crimes and offenses are concerned as very strict and even cruel. As there was no jail, minor offenses were punished by fines, whipping and confinement in the stocks. This latter emblem of terror remained in use in Ohio until 1812. It may be as well to conclude here the matter of State judiciary down to the time of the sessions of the first Terri-

torial Legislature. As soon as a sufficient number of States had ratified the constitution of the United States and Washington had assumed the reins of government thereunder it was thought to be the duty of the executive to issue new commissions to officers whose commissions, having been issued by the Continental Congress were held to have expired with that government. For that reason President Washington in a letter dated New York, August 18, 1789, nominated Arthur St. Clair and Winthrop Sargent, Samuel Holden Parsons, John Cleves Symmes and William Barton as Governor, Secretary and judges respectively of the Northwest Territory. The nominations were confirmed by the Senate but Mr. Barton declined the appointment and George Turner was appointed in his place. George Turner seems to have made but little impression upon his time and served until his removal from the State in 1796, when he resigned.

THE JUDGES OF THE TERRITORY.

In November, 1789, the Chief Justice, Judge Parsons, was drowned while attempting to pass the falls of Beaver. He had an interest in a tract on the Mahoning and being anxious to prove that the navigation of the falls in canoes was practicable, undertook to pass the falls in a canoe and was cast out and drowned. Lieutenant Denny in a letter to General Harmar, November 22, 1789, conveys the first information of this disaster:

"I am very sorry, indeed, that I have to inform you of the loss of one of the most serviceable members of the Western Territory, General Parsons. He left the old Moravian town up Beaver early on the 17th, on board a canoe, accompanied only by one man. Sent his horses down by land. About one o'clock that day, as we entered the mouth of the creek we met the wreck of a canoe, with a good deal of her cargo drifting down, all separately. Part of the loading we took up. When we got to the blockhouse, Mr. McDowell told us they had taken up a piece of the canoe, a bundle of skins, and had seen a pair of saddlebags, which were well known to be the Judge's, and the same evening the man arrived with the horses, and told us he left the Judge early that morning about twenty-five miles up the creek, that he intended to dine that day with Mr. McDowell at the blockhouse, and the man knew the property which we took up to be part of what was in General Parsons' canoe, leaves no doubt of his being lost in attempting the falls of Beaver. The canoe was very much shattered, and bottom uppermost, when we met her. Mr. McDowell has made search on both sides of the creek, above and below the falls, but can make no further discovery, more than finding part of the canoe at the foot of a remarkably dangerous fall in the creek, which strengthens the belief that there the old gentleman met his fate."

General Butler in a letter November 25th, written to General Irvine, mentions this occurrence:

"I am sorry to inform you that I have every reason to fear our old friend Gen. Parsons is no more. He left this place in company with Capt. Hart, (who is sent to explore the communication by the way of Beaver Creek to Cuyahoga and the lake), on the 5th inst., in order to see the Salt Springs, and from whence he had returned, and was coming down Beaver creek in a canoe. On Tuesday, the 17th inst., he had sent a man with his horses from the place where he had encamped the night before, and directed him to tell Lieut. McDowell, who commanded the blockhouse below the falls of Beaver, that he, Gen. Parsons, would be there to dinner. A snow had fallen in the night, which retarded the progress of the man with the horses. At one place on the Beaver shore, he saw where a canoe had landed, and a person got out to warm his feet by walking about, as he saw where he had kicked against the trees, and then tracks to the canoe again. The man did not get down till evening, but about noon, the canoe, broken in pieces, came by the blockhouse, and some articles known to belong to Gen. Parsons were taken up, and others seen to pass. Lieutenant McDowell had diligent search made for the body of the General, but made no discovery. There was one man with a broken leg in the canoe with the General, who was also lost."

Gen. Rufus Putnam was appointed March, 1790, to succeed Judge Parsons and served until December, 1796, when he resigned to accept the position of surveyor-general of the United States. He was succeeded by Joseph Gilman. The vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge Turner was filled by the appointment of Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., in 1798. Judges Gilman, Symmes and Meigs served until the State was admitted into the Union in 1803.

Joseph Gilman was from New Hampshire, where he was born in 1736. He was chairman of the Committee of Safety for his State during the Revolution and impoverished himself in his efforts to equip the soldiers. He was a member of the Ohio Company and settled in Marietta in 1789 with his wife and son, B. Ives Gilman. He was appointed judge of Probate and Quarter

Sessions by General St. Clair and from that position was selected for the Supreme Court. He was regarded as a careful, upright and very studious judge although not a profound lawyer. His strong common sense and absolute determination to get at the right of propositions submitted to him usually led him to good conclusions. He died in 1806.

Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., was a son of the first law-giver of Ohio and was born in Middletown, Connecticut, in 1765. He graduated at Harvard at the age of twenty and studied law in his native State and came to Ohio in 1788. He was appointed by St. Clair in 1790 as a commissioner to the British commander in Detroit. He was an active participant in Indian wars and attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. After the incorporation of the State he was elected by the Legislature as one of the judges and the first chief justice of the State of Ohio where he served two years after which he was appointed to the District of Louisiana. In 1807 he was appointed judge of the United States District Court of Michigan and soon afterwards elected Governor of Ohio. The Supreme Court held that he was ineligible on account of his residence in Louisiana and Michigan. The Legislature thereupon elected him to the United State Senate for the unexpired term of John Smith, who had resigned because of the charges against him of complicity in the Burr conspiracy. In 1809 he was again elected Senator but in the following year the people elected him to the governorship which position he retained until 1814. He was Postmaster-General under President Madison and served from 1814 to 1823. He died at Marietta in 1825, leaving behind him a name and a career which have always been among the most cherished possessions of the State.

Judge Force tells an interesting story as to the origin of his peculiar name. "His grandfather Jonathan Meigs courted an attractive Quakeress near Middletown, Connecticut and suffered a nonsuit on two occasions. He was a persistent suitor however and pleaded earnestly for a new hearing and a reversal of judgment. Again unsuccessful, he had turned from the presence of his idol and mounted his horse and was slowly riding away, when the Good Spirit moved the heart of the gentle Quakeress to set aside the judgment thrice decreed and grant the prayer of the petitioner. Hastening to the cabin door, she shouted, 'Return Jonathan, Return Jonathan!' The happy lover returned, a marriage followed and the 'Return' prefixed to his own good Bible name 'Jonathan' was applied to their first born at his christening and descended with manifest family pride to the second generation and some collateral branches. Few men in the annals of the Ohio Company or the history of the Northwest Territory and the erection of the Ohio State government occupied a position of dignity, responsibility and usefulness equal to that maintained by the Meigses, father and son." (The Bench and Bar of Ohio, Vol. I, p. 8.)

There is no record of any public acts of the Legislative Council during 1789. The following year the council consisting of Sargent, the Secretary and the acting Governor, and Symmes and Turner sat at Vincennes during the summer. In November St. Clair took Winthrop Sargent's place and the council sat at Cincinnati. In 1791 the council published at Cincinnati seven acts approved by them during the summer and in 1792 the sessions were again at Cincinnati. In 1795 the council sitting at Cincinnati revised the code of laws eliminating those to which Congress had objected and published the revision as certified to by Governor St. Clair and Judges Symmes and Turner. This publication was printed by William Maxwell printer at Cincinnati and is known as the "Maxwell Code." It is regarded as the first book printed in this city. The council again sat at Cincinnati in 1798 and enacted a number of new laws which were the last legislative acts of the territorial council.

THE ERECTION OF WASHINGTON COUNTY.

On July 27, 1788, Governor St. Clair by proclamation erected the county of Washington which embraced the eastern half of the present State of Ohio and within the next few days he commissioned justices of the peace, and judges of the Court of Common Pleas and of the Court of General Quarter Sessions for the county of Washington. He also appointed officers of militia and a judge of Probate. Thereupon on Tuesday, October 2, 1788, there was held at Marietta the first duly appointed Court of Common Pleas with Generals Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper and Archibald Crary sitting as judges. The population on the Ohio at this time had increased to one hundred and thirty-two souls, most of whom seemed to have received commissions either in the military or civil government. The occasion was

one of great interest and was attended with great pomp and ceremony. The citizens including the Governor and the territorial officers and the military from Fort Harmar assembled on the point and a procession was formed at the head of which marched Col. Ebenezer Sproat, sheriff, with drawn sword and wand of office, "with all the dignity and impressiveness of his prototype, the sheriff of Middlesex at a Harvard commencement." (Moore). A path was cut through the forest to the hall, the northeast blockhouse of the Campus Martius. General Force remarks that the parade was observed with interest by the Indians of the neighborhood and it is recorded that these same Indians were more impressed by this event than by any losses in battle that they had suffered for many years.

"As the photographer had not yet arrived with his art the scene lacks the modern luminous illustration obtained from snapshots of the kodak in the hands of the enterprising amateur; fortunately the graphic description by the local historian which has been preserved and handed down needs no artistic illustration. The procession was led by the high sheriff, Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, with drawn sword in his right hand and in his left the wand of office. He was a commanding figure, six feet, four inches in height and symmetrically proportioned. He had borne a conspicuous part in the numerous battles of the Revolution and had the bearing of a soldier. The United States officers from Fort Harmar with their bright uniforms and glistening swords added to the martial aspect of the scene. The imposing procession made up almost entirely of generals and colonels and majors and captains who had by their courage and patriotism established the right of self government of this continent marched to celebrate the dawn of judicial history in the little colony. When all were assembled in the hall the solemn services were opened by prayer by the Reverend Manasseh Cutler. The court was organized by reading the commissions of the judges, the clerk and the sheriff, after which the latter by proclamation declared it open for business." (Force.)

The opening of the court by Colonel Sproat was in these words: "O, yes! a court is opened for the administration of evenhanded justice, to the poor and the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case."

A week later the first Court of Quarter Sessions was opened in the residence of Colonel Battelle in the southeast blockhouse. Colonel Meigs read the commissions to the sheriff. Colonel Sproat once more commanded the solemn attention of all. Generals Putnam and Tupper were the justices of the quorum assisted by Isaac Pierce, Thomas Lord and Colonel Meigs, the son. At this term of court Paul Fearing the first lawyer admitted to the bar in the Northwest Territory presented a certificate, received from Judges Parsons and Varnum, and took the oath as a member of the bar. He was appointed court counsellor for the United States in the county of Washington.

Fearing was from Massachusetts and a graduate of Harvard, but came to Marietta in June 1778. He was not naturally a ready speaker and his first argument in the Supreme Court has been frequently quoted: "May it please your honors—may it please your honors—I have forgotten what I intended to speak." In spite or perhaps by reason of the brevity of this argument he became a very successful lawyer, serving a term as judge of Probate and finally in 1810 became one of the associate judges. He was a member of the Legislature in 1789 and 1790 and was elected to Congress in 1801.

At the session of the Court of Quarter Sessions just described the charge was given to the grand jury with much dignity and propriety by Judge Putnam after which the grand jury retired for thirty minutes. On its return the jurors presented a written address to the court which was read and filed. Judge Putnam delivered a reply to the address and as there were no suits before the court and no person accused of any crimes the court adjourned without day.

In addition to these solemn matters of state there were diversions of more pleasing character to occupy the attention of the settlers. The blockhouse was appropriated for the use of the Governor and his family and there was much entertaining. Directors of the company gave a dinner to the Governor and the officers of Fort Harmar on August 20th. The twelve-oared barge, the solemn vessel of state, conveyed the party from the fort to the landing on the other side of the river where the guests including a number of ladies were received with great courtesy. At this dinner were served the greatest variety of game, fish, vegetable and fruit among them peaches grown from pits planted by Major Doughty when he erected Fort Harmar in 1785, "very fine and luscious."

Emigrants kept passing on the way down the river and to Kentucky. Rufus Putnam in one of

his letters speaks of seven thousand who had gone down the river since the settlement had been begun. On one of the boats Colonel May counted twenty-nine whites, twenty-four negroes, nine dogs, twenty-three horses, cows and hogs besides provisions. On August 27th, Judge Symmes with his family stopped on the way to the new purchase at the Miami. On September 9th, Lieutenant Denny records the arrival of Gen. Richard Butler, commissioner on the part of Pennsylvania to the Indians accompanied by Cornplanter and about fifty Senecas. With them came a man who afterwards became the first mayor of the city of Cincinnati. "They were escorted from Fort Pitt by Captain Ziegler's company of recruits. They were received with a salute of three rounds of cannon and music. Ziegler is a German, had been in Saxon service previous to our late war with England. Takes pride in having the handsomest company in the regiment and to do him justice his company has always been considered the first in point of discipline and appearance. Four-fifths of his company have been Germans. The majority of the present are men who served in Germany."

That Captain Ziegler was as successful in other particulars as in the drilling of his soldiers is indicated by the entry in Lieutenant Denny's diary of February 22nd of the next year. "Married this evening, Captain David Ziegler, of the first regiment, to Miss Sheffield, only single daughter of Mrs. Sheffield, of Campus Martius, city of Marietta. On this occasion I played the Captain's aid, and at his request, the memorandums made. I exhibited a character not more awkward than strange, at the celebration of Captain Ziegler's nuptials, the first of the kind I had been a witness to."

CAPTAIN BRANT AND LOUISA ST. CLAIR.

This little episode in the life of Captain Ziegler which terminated so happily was not the only case of romance which had for its scene Marietta and Fort Harmar, if the gossips of those days can be believed. On the very day that St. Clair was appointed to the governorship he was directed to take steps to negotiate with the Indians. The only Indian chief who held aloof at this time as has been already stated was Brant the leader of the Mohawks and of the new confederation of Western tribes.

Brant had a son known as Captain Brant and this son's name has been connected with that of the daughter of Governor St. Clair in the legends of the St. Clair family. In the winter of 1790 the Governor arrived at Marietta with his son Arthur, at that time twenty-one years of age, and three daughters. The eldest of these daughters, Louisa, was about nineteen years of age and is described in Hildreth's "Pioneer History" as "a healthy, vigorous girl, full of life and activity, every way calculated for a soldier's daughter; fond of a frolic, and ready to draw amusement from all and everything around her. She was a fine equestrienne, and would mount the most wild and spirited horse without fear, managing him with ease and gracefulness; dashing through the open woodlands around Campus Martius at full gallop, leaping over logs or any obstruction that fell in her way. She was one of the most rapid skaters in the garrison; few, if any of the young men equaling her in speed and activity, or in graceful movements in this enchanting exercise. Her elegant person and neat dress showing to much advantage, called forth loud plaudits from both young and old. The broad sheet of ice on the Muskingum, near the garrison, for a few days in the winter, afforded a fine field for this healthy sport. She was also an expert huntress; and would have afforded a good figure of Diana in her rambles through the woods, had she been armed with the bow instead of the rifle. Of this instrument she was a perfect mistress; loading and firing with the accuracy of a back woodsman, killing a squirrel from the highest tree, or cutting off the head of a partridge with wonderful precision. She was fond of roaming in the woods, and often went out alone into the forest near Marietta, fearless of the savages that occasionally lurked in the vicinity. She was as active on foot as on horseback, and could walk for several miles with the rapidity of a ranger. Her manners were refined; her person beautiful with highly cultivated intellectual powers, having been educated with much care in Philadelphia. Born with a healthy, vigorous frame, she had strengthened both her body and mind by these athletic exercises when a child; probably first encouraged by her father, who had spent the larger portion of his life in camps. She was one of those rare spirits, so admirably fitted to the times and the manners of the day in which she lived."

According to the story referred to, during the negotiations Louisa St. Clair visited at his camp at Duncan's Falls, nine miles below Zanesville, young Brant, son of the famous chief of that

name. She rode on a pony and was dressed in Indian style carrying a short rifle slung to her body. She prevailed upon a ranger whom she met to accompany her until they came within sight of the Indian camp. There she dismissed the ranger and dashed off on her pony and was soon a prisoner in the hands of the Indians. She was brought before Brant who appeared in full panoply of war. She had met him before while he was a student on a visit from college to Philadelphia and upon seeing her he became quite excited and took from her and read a message which was reported to be from her father. After he had read the paper she demanded a guard back to Marietta as she had risked her life to see him. The young Indian accompanied her home and she introduced him to her father. The negotiations which she trusted would follow came to nothing, but Brant had fallen in love with Louisa St. Clair. It is said that he renewed his suit for her hand a number of times but without success. The story goes that at the time of St. Clair's defeat Brant led the Chippewas and told the warriors to shoot the General's horse and not him. St. Clair had four horses killed under him but escaped without injury. This story which is sufficiently romantic unfortunately lacks consistency in the matter of dates.

THE TREATY OF FORT HARMAR.

The great event of the fall and winter following the settlement of Marietta, was the treaty of Fort Harmar. The Indians were restless under the occupation of the white men and their attacks upon the settlers were continued. One of the great inconveniences resulting from these attacks was the fact that the surveys had to be practically abandoned. Governor St. Clair in writing to Parsons in September, speaks of this as being necessary because of the disturbance in the minds of the Indians on the subject of lands. General Harmar in October felt obliged to detach a captain's command with Captain Hutchins the geographer for his protection to the mouth of the Scioto in order to survey the exterior lines of Messrs. Cutler and Sargent's purchase. The importance of this matter of survey made all interested in the enterprise of settling the Northwest Territory very anxious especially as they were now in active competition with the State of Kentucky for settlers.

General Harmar writing from Fort Harmar, December 15, 1788, to the Secretary of War, speaks as follows:

"My calculation is, that before Christmas the two exterior lines of Messrs. Cutler and Sargent's purchase will be completed. The geographer is at present sick at Fort Pitt. If he was able to come down and take the latitude of the northern corner of the tenth township of the seventh range, Mr. Ludlow, who is a smart active young fellow, could run the northern boundary; the purchase money could then be paid, that business finished, and in the spring the next affair would be, to take up Judge Symmes' purchase. Several chiefs of the different nations arrived at this post the day before yesterday. The inhabitants of Kentucky, I am informed, have it in contemplation to declare themselves not only independent of the State of Virginia, but of the United States altogether."

The reference in the last sentence of General Harmar's letter is to the efforts of Connolly at Louisville. Connolly was upon the half-pay list of England but at that time was tampering with the people of Kentucky endeavoring to induce them to throw themselves in the arms of Great Britain for protection and support or if that could not be brought about to induce them to accept the hospitalities of the Spaniards or in any manner to cause a breach with the new nation. At this time the Spaniards were offering one thousand acres of land gratis to every American who would move into the West or Florida and Colonel Morgan who obtained a grant on the Spanish side opposite the mouth of the Ohio was endeavoring to induce the Kentuckians to avail themselves of the Spanish grant. Fortunately the schemes of Connolly and Morgan failed.

In the meantime the warrior chieftains were beginning to assemble at Fort Harmar for the purpose of holding the conference. They began coming as early as September 19th, but it was not until December 13th, that they arrived in any great numbers. On the 14th there was a meeting in the council house to welcome each other and on the 15th the council was opened. On the 29th the Indians' cause was stated by the old Wyandot chief Shendatto. He described the origin of his race and how the thirteen fires had gotten possession of his country. In two instances by treachery "the first he said was in a bargain made with them for just as much ground as an ox hide would cover—merely to build one fire on. The Americans cut the hide into strings and claimed all the ground they could encompass therewith. The second case was a bargain for such an extent of country in a certain direction as a white man would travel to and back in one

day. A surprising walker was found who went as far and back again the same day as any of their swiftest men could do in two." He insisted that the Ohio River was the proper boundary and presented a large belt of wampum with a black strip running through the middle representing the Ohio River. On the 6th of January the Governor stated his side of the case and explained to the Indians by simile how they had forfeited their country. He had all the time insisted upon the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney. He reminded the Indians they had taken up the hatchet against the United States and joined the English in the late war. The English had ceded to the United States the country south of the lakes and the Indians by their actions had forfeited their rights. The United States wanted peace but if the Indians wanted war they should have war. The views of St. Clair prevailed and the treaties were agreed to on the 9th and signed on the 11th. On the 13th the goods were given out to the different nations of Indians and in the afternoon the officers of the fort attended the funeral of Judge Varnum. The treaty was proclaimed by St. Clair on January 24, 1789, and was supposed to be to the satisfaction of all concerned. It was soon learned however that Brant had not lost his influence and that the Indians to the Northwest particularly the Shawanees were by no means satisfied.

THE SETTLEMENT OF GALLIPOLIS.

While the settlers at Marietta were holding courts and making treaties and giving dinners and planting trees another colony a little lower down the river was endeavoring to find a resting place. When Cutler's little bit of politics which resulted in the increase of the grant three times the size originally contemplated was understood by his associates it did not receive the approval of all. Cutler and Sargent retained an interest in the lands ceded to the Scioto Company. This they shared with Putnam, Parsons and others including Joel Barlow the poet, and the apothecary John Craigie, whose house in Cambridge is one of the historic buildings of this country, having been the headquarters of Washington and the residence of Longfellow. Barlow sailed from New York for Paris where he arrived in June, 1778. Here during the following year he formed a company to which he sold three millions of acres of the Ohio west of the seventeenth range. To advance this speculation he circulated a prospectus which Cutler had written and printed at Salem in 1787. This prospectus was misleading in that it represented a settled country both in the "Seven Ranges," and in the lands of the Ohio and Scioto companies. The uncertainty of the Revolutionary times tended to aid the schemes of the promoters and as a result a large number of French were induced to start for America. The French government suspected the snare and tried to warn the victims by caricatures but were unsuccessful. One hundred thousand acres of land were sold and among the purchasers were a number who had been prominent as founders of the National Assembly. Brissot, who had been in America two years before and was a member of the assembly, in his speeches as in his book published the next year warned the loyal aristocrats who showed a tendency to fly from what was coming and thus seeking "to preserve their titles, their honors, and their privileges they would fall into a new society (in America), where the titles of pride and chance are despised and even unknown" and pointed out to the poor that they would find in America an asylum where they could obtain property. As a result on October 20, 1790, the first of the emigrants from France arrived at Gallipolis where a house had been built for them by Putnam. The transaction seems involved in fraud and misrepresentation throughout in which the names of Putnam, Cutler and even General Knox were used in a way that did not reflect credit upon their sagacity. The settlers were made up of all kinds of people except laborers. "There were carvers and artists with no annual salon to look forward for. There were gilders and friseurs with no expectation of a drawing room. There were carriage makers going to a country without a road. There were artisans to make tools without a farmer to wield them." They seemed to be unable to help themselves or make any progress and as a result there was great dissatisfaction concluding with a financial panic involving Duer, Craigie and many men of Ohio. The settlement persisted however and to-day is the county seat of Gallia County.

Another settlement made north of the Ohio was that at Massieville, now Manchaster, twelve miles above Maysville, where in December, 1790, Daniel Massie from Virginia, a surveyor and land operator, led thirty families. They built a stockade and block house to protect their station which was one of the greatest dangers on the river.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY VISITORS TO THE OHIO COUNTRY.

McBride — Bouquet's Soldier — Croghan — Findley — Boone — The McAfees — Floyd — Clark — Rogers — Benham — Lytle — Bird — McCaddon — The Blockhouses — Vickroy — Laughery — McCracken — Galloway — Kenton — Hindman — Purviance Party — Baxter and Hall.

As early as 1754, a party headed by James McBride descended the Ohio River as far as the mouth of the Kentucky River, and after a partial examination of the country returned with an account of their discoveries.

If the story reported by the late Dr. A. E. Jones, in his "Early Days of Cincinnati," as told to him by Joseph Coppin, who came here in 1805, be true, it would seem that in 1764 there were visitors to the present site of Cincinnati. According to this account, Coppin stated that "soon after his arrival in Cincinnati he with some other boys were looking at some men digging a drain in front of the old red tavern, which stood on Water street below Main, near where the suspension bridge lies on this side. The old tavern had a porch along the entire front, and on it sat a very old man, the oldest loking man he had ever seen; his hair was as white as snow, literally.

"He got up and leaned on the bannister a few minutes, looking at the men digging in front, and then tottered to where the men were at work. Leaning upon his cane, he asked what they were digging for. They told him they were making a drain. 'Well,' said he, after looking over at Licking and all around him, as if getting the points of the compass, 'within six feet of where you are digging there is a man buried,' and pointing with his cane said, 'dig right there and you will find it; if it is not rotten, you will find a bullet hole over the right eye.' Rather to gratify the old man, than from any confidence in what he said, they dug where he had indicated, and sure enough, about three feet under ground, they found the skeleton, and the bullet hole over the right eye, in the skull; and the ball rattled in the skull when they pulled it up. Astonished, he was asked how he knew the skeleton was there. He replied: 'In 1764 I was a British soldier in General Bouquet's army when he made his expedition on the Muskingum, and after we returned to Fort Pitt, a squad was sent down the Ohio to see if the French had established any trading posts north of the falls. We landed right here one evening, and pitched our tent there,' pointing to a certain spot with his cane. 'We built our fire here to cook our supper, and while sitting around the fire, eating, a shot was fired from the direction of the corner of Main and Front streets, and one of our men was killed. As it was dark we were afraid to move far away to bury him; we put out our fire, and dug his grave and buried him where you found his skeleton.' This was a burial 'away back,' and is probably the first white man buried within the limits of our city." (Early Days of Cincinnati, p. 33.)

In the following year, 1765, came Croghan's trip down the Ohio on his errand to Vincennes and Detroit, as commissioner for Sir William Johnson. It will be remembered on the 29th of May he passed the Little Miami River and the following day the Great Miami, commenting on the level character of the country on both sides and the rich and well watered bottoms. It was on this trip that he was captured and carried to Vincennes by some young Indians who were

ignorant of the serious character of their offense until some of their elders told them of the danger they incurred while meddling with an emissary of Sir William Johnson.

In 1767, John Findley or Finlay, an Indian trader, from North Carolina, led another party through the Cumberland Gap up along the banks of the Kentucky River. Impressed with the country, he returned to the banks of the Yadkin, and there communicated his discoveries to the celebrated Col. Daniel Boone. Boone was so much impressed by the flattering account given by Findley, that in 1769, in company with James Robertson, a young Scotch Irishman, he undertook to explore the wilderness, and after great hardship and fatigue, reached the neighborhood of the present city of Lexington, where he remained until 1771, having been joined in the meantime by his brother, Squire Boone. During this expedition he explored the fertile lands of the Elkhorn and Kentucky rivers. Much impressed with the beauties of the country and full of schemes in regard to future explorations and settlements he returned in 1771 to the Yadkin Valley.

In 1773 Boone again started west with a party, having in it the first women and children who passed the Cumberland Mountains. They tarried for a short time with a few families settled west of Holston and along the Clinch River, but in October they were attacked by the Indians, and turned back. It was apparent that an Indian war was coming, and the following year Boone was sent to give warning to the various wanderers, hunters and surveyors scattered through this remote country. His farthest point on this trip was the rapids of the Ohio.

In the year 1773, about the beginning of June, the three McAfee brothers named James, George and Robert, from Botetourt County, Virginia, set out on an exploring tour for the West with the intention of settling opposite the mouth of the Licking if they found the country such as it had been described to them. If it turned out to be unavailable, their plan was to push on for the waters of Salt River, where they had acquaintances from their own neighborhood in Virginia. They struck the river near the Kanawha, where they procured dugout canoes in which they embarked with a considerable equipment of rifles, blankets, tomahawks and fishing tackle. On several occasions on their trip they met some Shawanee Indians and succeeded in keeping on friendly terms with them, but on one occasion while talking with the chief Cornstalk they were startled to see a band of the young braves coming from an attack on the settlements with a number of stolen horses. The rivers they found filled to the banks by an unprecedented rise and the Ohio was still rising. "In this stage of water they made rapid progress, keeping the current of the river as a measure of safety from the savages, who, watching the approach of boats, frequently lay hid on the northern bank; and by the time they reached the mouth of Licking river, the Ohio had swelled to such a degree, as to spread itself at this point—to use their own expression—'full from hill to hill.' This, in reference to the Cincinnati side, meant the abrupt bank which, at a distance of one hundred feet south of Third street, followed the line of that street, nearly, from Broadway to John street, and even further west. This, no doubt, was the great flood whose extreme height was marked at the time on a tree, below Fort Washington, and pointed out by the Indians as the greatest height to which the river had ever risen. As nearly as could be ascertained, it was twelve feet higher than the subsequent rises of 1832 and 1847, the greatest known since, on which occasion the Ohio did not overflow Covington or Newport. The McAfee party, ignorant of the character of the country and the extraordinary nature of the freshet, concluded it would not answer to settle lands subject to such inundations, and, as they had contemplated, went into Kentucky, where, after first re-visiting Virginia, they finally settled. One of these brothers was the father of General Robert McAfee, author of a history of the War of 1812 and afterward Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky, and still later U. S. *charge* to Bogota." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 46.)

During the next year many surveying parties wandered through Kentucky and along the upper Ohio. Among these was one headed by John Floyd, afterwards to play some important part in the history of Kentucky. His party consisting of eight men came down the Kanawha in April. They traveled in a canoe and shot bear and deer and caught great pike and catfish for food. They made surveys for Colonel Washington and Patrick Henry and other prominent Virginians and on their trip learned from other parties of surveyors that an Indian war was threatened. At the mouth of the Kanawha some twenty or thirty men were found who wished to go further down the river, and about one dozen of these joined Floyd's party which now filled

four canoes. On their trip down the Ohio they came across other parties who joined them and also met a number of Indians none of whom molested them. This party passed the Miami country in the early part of May. Floyd's contingent went to the falls. After much surveying and hunting they were obliged to return to the settlements on Clinch River because of the war with the Shawanees.

Mr. Roosevelt distinguishes three kinds of explorers, the hunters represented by Boone, settlers represented by the McAfees and the surveyors to which class Floyd and his party belonged. Floyd's experience shows how these parties were continually meeting other parties and again dividing up. His party started out with eight men, afterwards increased to 37 and on his return home he was accompanied by three men.

In 1775, Boone again started West to open a trail to the Kentucky side of the mountains, blazing and cutting out a way, afterwards known as the "Wilderness Road." This was to form a means of communication between the Cumberland Gap and the new colonies just settling in Kentucky. On April 18th he built a fort which was called Boonsborough. Later in the year he brought his wife and children and a number of other families to this post. The settlements in Kentucky were being continually harassed by wandering hordes of savages, most of whom, fortunately however, lived north of the Ohio. They showed a hostile spirit to the early settlers on all occasions and attacked them whenever an opportunity offered. The settlers defended themselves with courage and seldom ventured to go from one village to another, except in parties.

Boone's daughter, who was in a canoe in company with two other girls on the river near Boonsborough, was captured by one of the wandering bands of savages. Boone started in pursuit with a party of seven men, including the three lovers of the captured girls, and after following the trail for a day and two nights they overtook the kidnappers and recovered their captives, returning with them in triumph to the fort. The story of this episode as given in the various accounts is quite romantic. Two of the girls were in complete despair when captured, but the oldest of the three, Betsey Callaway, felt confident that they would be followed and rescued.

"To mark the line of their flight, she broke off twigs from the bushes, and when threatened by the tomahawk for doing this, she tore off strips from her dress. The Indians carefully covered their trail, compelling the girls to walk apart as their captors did in the thick cane and to wade up and down the little brooks. Boon started in pursuit the same evening. All next day he followed the tangled trail like a bloodhound, and early the following morning came on the Indians camped by a buffalo calf, which they had just killed and were about to cook. The rescue was managed very adroitly; for had any warning been given, the Indians would have instantly killed their captives according to their own invariable custom. Boon and Floyd each shot one of the savages and the remaining three escaped almost naked, without gun, tomahawk or scalping knife. The girls were unharmed, for the Indians rarely molested their captives on the journey to their home towns unless their strength gave out, when they were tomahawked without mercy." (Roosevelt, The Winning of the West, Vol. I, p. 326.)

Betsey Callaway and her lover, Samuel Henderson, were united in marriage three weeks after their return to their fort, by Squire Boone. This was the first wedding that ever took place in Kentucky. Both the other couples were married within the next year or more. An oil painting representing this capture hangs in the rooms of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

In 1778, in the early part of January, Boone with 29 others went to the Blue Licks, to get salt for the garrisons. In the following month the party was surprised and captured by the Indians. These Indians were Miamis, upwards of eighty in number, and were led by two Frenchmen, Baubin and Lorimer. Boone surrendered on condition that the party should be well treated, which promise was well observed. He was taken first to Old Chillicothe, the chief Shawanee town of the Little Miami, and afterwards to Detroit, where he was well treated by Hamilton, commanding the Englishmen, who tried to ransom him for £100 sterling, as the price of his liberty. The Indians refused to give him up, as they had become very much attached to him and he was taken back to Chillicothe as their prisoner. Here he remained for about two months or more and so won the good graces of the Shawanees by his good humor and wonderful ability as a hunter as well as his tact in shooting contests with Indians, that he was adopted into the tribe.

In June he learned that a large war party was gathering to march against his own village and he determined to escape for the purpose of warning his friends. He succeeded in outwitting his

GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE.

GEN. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

GEN. JOSIAH HARMAR.

Indian companions. One morning before sunrise he made straight for home, making the journey of one hundred and sixty miles in four days, during which time he was able to obtain but one meal. His escape so disconcerted the war party that no immediate attack was made, and Boone anxious to learn the course of events again crossed the Ohio with a party of 19 men. He defeated a small party of Indians in a skirmish on the Scioto, and learned that the main body had marched against Boonsborough, to which point he hurriedly retraced his steps, reaching the village before the enemy got there. In the siege which followed, the Indians were unsuccessful.

During Boone's captivity he had gained considerable knowledge about the valleys of the Miamis, which naturally was communicated to other pioneering spirits among the Kentuckians. Another party that added to this knowledge was that with Colonel Bowman, in 1779. Bowman was county lieutenant, and he took with him one hundred and sixty Kentuckians, including such famous Indian fighters as Logan and Harrod The town of Chillicothe was surprised and a number of cabins burned, and horses captured, but the Indians in the end collected themselves in a central blockhouse, and the cabins surrounding them, and achieved a victory, driving the whites off and following them in retreat. The result of this expedition was very unsatisfactory to the Kentuckians, but much knowledge had been gained concerning the Miami country, the distance and size of the Indian settlements and the number and quality of their warriors.

In May, 1778, another man who was to become very prominent in the history of his country passed up the Miamis, George Rogers Clark. He left the Red Stone settlement taking with him not alone one hundred and fifty troops but a large number of private adventurers and settlers with their families. After touching at Pittsburg and Wheeling for stores, his clumsy flatboats drifted down the Ohio until on the 27th of May he reached the falls. This spot he selected as the proper place for a settlement and a starting point from which he could attack the British posts to the west. Some of the families settled on an island near the falls and in the autumn moved to the mainland. The site of this settlement became afterwards known as Louisville, named in honor of the French King, who was then the ally of the Colonies in their struggle for independence. It was from this settlement that Clark started on his celebrated expedition against the French villages of Illinois then in possession of the British,—Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes.

During this same summer was fought the first serious battle with the Indians in the neighborhood of Cincinnati. Colonel Rogers with a party of almost one hundred men had been sent by the Governor of Virginia to New Orleans for arms for his colony and upon his return up the Ohio in pirogues, as he rounded the bar opposite the present site of Fulton near where Dayton is now located, he saw a party of Indians, who were in fact under the command of Girty and Elliott, coming out of the Little Miami in rafts and canoes and crossing the Ohio to land upon the bar. Colonel Rogers in view of the fact that he had 79 well armed soldiers with him determined to attempt the capture of these Indians whom he saw striking for the deep forests. He had no conception of the size of the party but upon landing and marching into the woods he was astonished by an attack of over five hundred Indians, as the result of which he and 70 of his men were killed and his boats and stores were captured and plundered.

In this party was one Maj. Robert Benham, afterwards a well known citizen of Cincinnati. He was badly wounded through the hips and was unable to walk but he succeeded in dragging himself under a large fallen tree where he remained concealed until the Indians had departed. Here he lay suffering from his wounds without food or water for two days before he made any effort to move; in spite of the proximity of the river in clear view he was unable to reach any of the water for the lack of which he was almost perishing. Seeing a raccoon coming along the tree under which he lay hidden, he shot at it and killed it. The noise of the shot evidently attracted the attention of some other unfortunate and he heard a voice calling to him. In accordance with the custom of the pioneers he loaded his gun before answering and remained concealed in his hiding place. The second time a voice was heard calling "Where and who are you? Are you a white man or an Indian? I am a wounded white soldier starving and helpless." Benham answered giving his name and stating that he was unable to move and asked him to come to him. The other man was found to be one of his comrades who had been shot through both arms but was able to walk but could not use his hands and for this reason was suffering for the lack of food and water. Benham with his hands put the rim of his coonskin cap in the soldier's mouth who took it to the river

and bending over the water's edge filled it with water and brought it back to him. In this way each supplied the other with water. The game was very plentiful and Benham who loaded his rifle shot the game which when it had fallen would be kicked to him by his comrade; then Benham dressed and cooked it. If game did not come near enough, the man with the use of his legs would walk long distances and chase the game toward Benham for him to shoot. In the same way he kicked fuel towards him. They lived this way for more than six weeks until their wounds were sufficiently healed to allow them to go down to the mouth of the Licking. Here they built a little shanty of bark and remained until a passing boat filled with emigrants took them off and carried them to the falls.

In 1780, Gen. William Lytle, afterwards so many years a resident of Cincinnati, where he lived until March, 1831, emigrated with his father from Pennsylvania.

"They descended the Ohio, with doubtless the largest fleet of boats and the greatest number of immigrants that ever left the upper country at one time—the boats numbering sixty-three, and the fighting men alone with the party exceeding one thousand. At Maysville, two or three boats with a few families landed and remained. The residue started off early on the morning of the 11th of April, and at 10 o'clock, the next day, two boats which were ahead as pilots signaled that an encampment of Indians had been formed on the northern or Indian side of the river, and opposite the mouth of the Licking, just where Broadway intersects Front street. The shore at that time was a high bluff, rendering the savages clearly visible. Three boats in a concerted order landed half a mile above. It was arranged that half the fighting men should be in readiness to spring to the shore the moment the boats should touch it: they were to form and march down to where the Indians were. The number of these hardly exceeded one hundred and fifty, while their opponents reached five hundred. Discovering a force so greatly superior moving rapidly upon them, they fled in so much haste and disorder, as to leave most of their movables behind. They followed the bank till they reached what now is called Mill creek, up the bottom of which they were pursued beyond the present site of Cumminsville. Several of the Indians were mounted, and they fled faster than their wearied pursuers could follow them on foot. The whites then returned to the boats and floated without interruption to Beargrass creek,—Louisville." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 46.)

In May of this same year, Capt. Henry Bird, with some six hundred Indians and a few Canadians and some small pieces of artillery, came down the Miami River and crossed over to Kentucky, surprising and capturing two small stations on the south fork of the Licking. In this expedition the Indians carried off many horses and much plunder, requiring their prisoners to carry the booty on their backs; the women and children they tomahawked.

This expedition of Bird had been fitted out at a charge of three hundred thousand dollars, and in the number were the Girtys, as well as Logan with a band of celebrated savages. It is probable that Bird's first intention was to attack the settlement at the falls of the Ohio, at which point, Clark with two hundred men fully equipped was at that time located. His Indians, however, disturbed his plans; they killed his cattle, grew insubordinate, and at length refused to advance to the falls. It was at this time that the diversion up the Licking was made. Mr. Winsor suggests that he might have inflicted serious mischief on the river by stopping to waylay the emigrant's boats, for something like three hundred of them averaging fifty feet in length and carrying ten persons each, it is supposed, reached the falls during the season. Clark aroused to immediate action by this outrage took the field. His well known determination was shown in the manner in which he gathered together some of his men.

"In May this adventurous leader had performed one of the feats which made him the darling of the backwoodsmen. Painted and dressed like an Indian, so as to deceive the lurking bands of savages, he and two companions left the fort he had built on the bank of the Mississippi, and came through the wilderness to Harrodsburg. They lived on the buffaloes they shot, and when they came to the Tennessee River, which was then in flood, they crossed the swift torrent on a raft of logs, bound together with grape vines. At Harrodsburg, they found the land court open and thronged with an eager, jostling crowd of settlers and speculators, who were waiting to enter lands in the surveyor's office. Even the dread of the Indians could not overcome in these men's hearts the keen and selfish greed for gain. Clark instantly grasped the situation. Seeing that while the court remained open he could get no volunteers, he of his own responsibility closed it off hand, and proclaimed that it would not be opened until after he came

back from his expedition. The speculators grumbled and clamored but this troubled Clark not at all, for he was able to get as many volunteers as he wished. The discontent and still more the panic over Bird's inroad made many of the settlers determined to flee from the country, but Clark sent a small force to Crab Orchard, at the mouth of the Wilderness road, the only outlet from Kentucky, with instructions to stop all men from leaving their country, and to take away their arms if they persisted; while four-fifths of all the grown men were drafted, and were bidden to gather instantly for a campaign." (Roosevelt, The Winning of the West, Vol. II, p. 104.)

The mouth of the Licking, the subsequent site of Cincinnati, was selected as the gathering place. His troops were brought to this point from the falls in a light skiff which he built for the purpose. Benjamin Logan was the second in command. McGarry, who was one of the subordinates in command, persisted in landing with a small party of men on the north or Indian side of the river, where he was attacked by Indians and some of his men were injured. John McCaddon, of Newark, Ohio, in a letter written to the *American Pioneer,* May 16, 1842, writes as follows:

"On our way up the river to where Cincinnati now stands, Captain Hugh McGary, a well known Indian hunter, and memorable for his participation in the unfortunate issue of the battle of the Blue Licks, in 1782, with a party had placed himself on the Indian side of the river, alleging that they lived better than we did, as they kept their hunters out to procure the meat. The main body followed the Kentucky shore. One day as we halted for dinner, McGary's men, as usual, halted opposite to us. When we were ready to march, they concluded to come over to us, as they discovered fresh Indian tracks. They had got but a few yards from the shore, when they were fired on from the top of the bank. Colonel Clark's barge was instantly filled with men, but before they were able to cross, they heard the Indians giving the scalp halloo, and saw them disperse. At the place where Cincinnati now is, it was necessary to build a blockhouse, for the purpose of leaving some stores and some wounded men of McGary's company. Although I did not cut a tree or lift a log, I helped to build the first house ever built at Cincinnati, for I was at my post guarding the artificers who did the building."

Riflemen from the interior stations, among them Kenton, Harrod and Floyd, met the party at the mouth of the Licking. Almost the entire population had turned out, the women and boys remaining to guard the wooden forts, and they had come to the appointed place, some on foot and some on horseback and others came down the Licking in canoes. Their stock of provisions was quite small, each man having a couple pounds of meal and some jerked venison or buffalo meat.

About a month after the probable date of Bird's stop at the mouth of the Licking, Clark, on the 2nd of August, with his troops, to the number of nine hundred and seventy, started up the Ohio. He carried a large number of men in skiffs, which were poled up against the current, while many others marched along the bank. His cannon was carried on a pack horse, and after going some distance up the stream, the party crossed the river and the boats were left in guard of forty men, while the rest started overland against the town of Old Chillicothe, some fifty or sixty miles distant. This village, after marching through several days of heavy rain, they found on the 6th of August, had been destroyed by fire and was still in flames. He hurried on to Piqua, on the Little Miami, which he reached about ten in the morning of the 8th of August. This was a substantially built town, laid out in the manner of the French villages, with strong log houses surrounded by strips of cultivated land, with a well built blockhouse in the middle. The army was here divided; part of it, having been sent around under Logan, crossed the Ohio above the town for the purpose of making an assault from the rear. Clark crossed directly below the town and attacked from the front. Logan had trouble in finding a ford, and gradually worked his way about three miles up stream, and did not get over the river until the fighting had been finished. Clark plunged boldly in the river at the head of his men and almost reached the town before his attack was discovered. Girty with several hundred Indians were the defenders. A scouting party of warriors had been sent out to watch the whites, but were hardly able to get into the village to warn the squaws and children to get out of the way. The warriors formed in the thick timber back of their cabins, but after a short skirmish, on the approach of the second division, fell back. The retreat soon became a rout. In the march back to the river, an Indian was discovered in a tree top, who killed one of the McAfees, who was captain of one of the companies from Salt River. The attacking soldiers then halted to await news of Logan's body, but soon were attacked by a large

body of Indians, who had slipped up upon them. A severe skirmish followed, the combatants fighting from behind trees, but the Indians were finally driven back to the town and into a blockhouse. The defense became very vigorous at this time and the loss to the Americans was quite serious until the cannon was brought into the action which soon drove the defenders from under cover. The greater part, however, escaped under the protection of the noisy demonstration of a few of their number and Logan came up just in time to take a few of the stragglers.

A nephew of Clark, Joseph Rogers, who had been a prisoner among the savages during the battle, attempted to escape. He was observed by the whites, but mistaken for an Indian was shot, dying in a few hours. Clark was able to have some conversation with him before his death. Clark retraced his steps to the mouth of the Licking, where he disbanded his force and then returned to the falls.

Another witness to the building by Clark at this time of the blockhouse opposite the Licking is one Thomas Vickroy, an assistant at a later time in the survey of the site of Pittsburg. His statement is as follows:

"In April, 1780, I went to Kentucky, in company with eleven flat-boats with movers. We landed, on the fourth of May, at the mouth of Beargrass creek, above the falls of Ohio. I took my compass and chain along to make a fortune by surveying, but when we got there the Indians would not let us survey. In the same summer Colonel Bird came from Detroit with a few British soldiers and some light artillery, with Simon Girty and a great many Indians, and took the forts on the Licking. Immediately afterward General Clark raised an army of about a thousand men, and marched with one party of them against the Indian towns. When we came to the mouth of the Licking we fell in with Colonel Todd and his party. On the first day of August, 1780, we crossed the Ohio River and built the two blockhouses where Cincinnati now stands. I was at the building of the blockhouses. Then, as General Clark had appointed me commissary of the campaign, he gave the military stores into my hands and gave me orders to maintain that post for fourteen days. He left with me Captain Johnson and about twenty or thirty men, who were sick and lame. On the fourteenth day, the army returned with sixteen scalps, having lost fifteen men, killed. They reported the death of Rogers, Clark's cousin, who fought that day with the Indians." (Western Annals, p. 324.) Abraham Thomas in his reminiscences also speaks of the building of a stockade fort during the expedition of 1780. In the second expedition, in 1782, they crossed the Ohio at the present site of Cincinnati where their stockade had been kept up and a few people lived in log cabins about the foot of Sycamore street. His story corroborates those of McCaddon and Vickroy.

The following year, 1781, Clark once more visited the neighborhood of the Licking. After many appeals to Virginia, for an army for an expedition against Detroit, which for the most part met with little success, he finally succeeded in gathering together a force of about four hundred with three field-pieces, with which in the latter part of July he floated down the river. He was followed by a party of 107 mounted volunteers, from Westmoreland, under their county lieutenant, Archibald Laughery (Loughery or Lochry). This party started down the Ohio in flat-boats but landed on a small island or sandbar, some ten miles below the mouth of the Great Miami, on August 24, 1781, for the purpose of butchering and cooking a buffalo that they had killed.

A letter to Clark which had been intercepted had revealed the situation to George Girty, who with Joseph Brant, the celebrated Indian chief, surprised Laughery's party, who were all huddled together. The whole party were slain or captured at small loss to the Indians and most of the prisoners including the colonel himself, who were unable to march, were afterwards murdered in cold blood. Clark knew nothing of Laughery's situation or of his fate until after he reached the falls. The party under Brant and Girty were part of the body of several hundred gathered to resist Clark, and after their victory they moved up the Great Miami and joined with another party of rangers and Indians under McKee, who was coming down from Detroit. They then started on a march to attack Clark, but when within thirty miles of the falls they found that he was well established behind his stockade and gave up the idea of an assault. (Western Annals.)

Clark again passed through the Miami region in 1782. He had been holding his post at the falls endeavoring to make it a rallying place for boats on the Ohio and had already been the means of establishing quite a vigorous trade along the river. One of the river merchants, Jacob Yoder, in the spring of the year, brought

some merchandise clear from the seaboard to the Monongahela and old Red Stone. On that stream he floated down the river to the falls, and in search of an ultimate market, still further down to New Orleans.

This had been a year of many a bloody calamity suffered at the hands of the Indians and late in the fall Clark once more called together the able-bodied men to make ready for another blow. The response to his call was quick and thorough. Pioneers gathered from all sides with supplies of every character. The force consisted of two divisions, one under Colonel Logan, which met at Bryan's Station, the other under Colonel Floyd, which met at the falls. These two forces united at the Licking, from which point Clark with one thousand and fifty men, marched rapidly up the Miami one hundred and thirty miles, before the Indians discovered his approach. The attack was almost a complete surprise.

"We surprised," says Clark, "the principal Shawanese town on the evening of the 10th of November. Immediately detaching strong parties to different quarters, in a few hours two-thirds of the town was laid in ashes, and everything they were possessed of destroyed, except such articles as might be useful to the troops. The enemy had no time to secrete any part of their property which was in the town. The British trading post (Loramie's Store), at the head of the Miami, and carrying place to the waters of the lake, shared the same fate, at the hands of a party of one hundred and fifty horse, commanded by Col. Benjamin Logan. The property destroyed was of great amount, and the quantity of provisions burned surpassed all idea we had of the Indian stores. The loss of the enemy was ten scalps, seven prisoners, and two whites retaken; ours was one killed and one wounded. After lying part of four days at their towns, and finding all attempts to bring the enemy to a general engagement fruitless, we retired, as the season was advancing, and the weather threatening. We might probably have got many more scalps and prisoners, could we have known in time whether we were discovered or not. We took for granted that we were not, until, getting within three miles, some circumstances happened which caused me to think otherwise. Col. John Floyd was then ordered to advance with three hundred men, to bring on an action or attack the town, while Major Wells, with a party of horse, had previously been detached by a different route, as a party of observation. Although Col. Floyd's motions were so quick as to get to the town but a few minutes later than those who discovered his approach, the inhabitants had sufficient notice to effect their escape to the woods, by the alarm cry which was given on the first discovery. This was heard at a great distance, and repeated by all that heard it, consequently our parties only fell in with the rear of the enemy."

This expedition, though attended with little loss, practically closed the Indian wars in the West. The principal resources of the savages were cut off. Their towns were destroyed, and they were convinced that the white settlements could not be broken up. No formidable invasion of Kentucky was afterward attempted.

On the return of this expedition, Colonel McCracken of the light horse suggested that as many as should survive the day fifty years should meet and exchange greeting and farewells to each other, opposite the mouth of the Licking River, that being the point where they first struck the Indian territory.

McCracken, who proposed the arrangement, was the first one disabled from ever carrying it out. He had received a wound in the arm, from a rifle bullet, which being neglected produced mortification and terminated his life on the litter which bore him, as the party descended Key's Hill, at the head of Main street, now known as Mount Auburn, just as the troops were entering upon the site of the future Cincinnati proper. It is supposed that McCracken had some presentiment of his fate in a dream which he had the night before he left the spot on his way northward with the command. This was the occasion for his request, that all his associates who survived fifty years should meet at the place and celebrate the earlier gathering and mark the spot which he felt convinced would be the site of his grave.

In 1832, an attempt was made on the part of the survivors, Gen. Simon Kenton, Maj. James Galloway, John McCaddon and a few others who were still living to comply with the arrangements made fifty years before. They were to meet on the 3rd or 5th of November, as the 4th came on Sunday this year, for the purpose of laying a corner-stone for the monument, which should mark the intersection of several streets on the site of old Fort Washington.

In an address issued by Kenton and Galloway, at this time, occurred the following words:

"We will no doubt all recollect Captain McCracken. He commanded the company of light

horse, and Green Clay was his lieutenant. The captain was slightly wounded in the arm at Piqua town, when within a few feet of one of the subscribers, from which place he was carried on a horse litter for several days; his wound produced mortification, and he died in going down the hill where the city of Cincinnati now stands. He was buried near the blockhouse we had erected opposite the mouth of Licking, and the breastworks were thrown over his grave to prevent the savages from scalping him."

Major Galloway, in answer to his invitation to attend the 45th anniversary of the settlement of Cincinnati, in 1833, says:

"In October, 1782, I accompanied General Clark on an expedition against Pickaway and Loramie's town, and was within a few feet of the lamented William McCracken when he received the wound of which he died on his return, while descending the hill near which Cincinnati now stands, and was buried near a blockhouse opposite the mouth of the Licking."

The party which gathered on the occasion of the celebration in 1832 was a very small one by reason of the fact that this was the cholera year in Cincinnati. But a few old men, survivors of most exciting days and events met under conditions of great depression and sorrow to keep the promise made to one of their brothers a half century before. The city gave them a dinner at one of the hotels, but the other part of the program had to be omitted.

In the face of statements of these men,—Vickroy, McCaddon, Thomas, Kenton, and Galloway, —there certainly can remain no doubt as to the existence of a blockhouse on the site of Cincinnati as early as 1780. What became of this structure it is impossible of course to do more than surmise. There seems no reason to suppose that the blockhouse referred to in 1782, was other than one of those erected by Clark's party in 1780. The suggestion that they were destroyed by the Indians immediately after they were abandoned by their builders seems without foundation. There was no trace of them, however, so far as can be judged from the fact that they are not mentioned at the time of the later settlement of the city. They with the breastworks erected to guard the scalp of Captain McCracken, from spoliation by the savages, in all probability had entirely disappeared at the time of the landing of the Ludlow and Patterson party.

Other visitors to the Miami region, of whom there is no record, came in 1785, almost four years prior to the time of the landing of the Symmes party. They explored the whole Miami bottoms as far up as Hamilton, and selected spots for the purpose of establishing preemption rights. One of the company, who came from Washington County, Pennsylvania, John Hindman, is said by Mr. Cist to have been living as late as 1845, within a few miles of Hillsboro, Ohio, and his narrative is given in the "Cincinnati Miscellany," published under date of June, 1845:

"My father, John Hindman, was a native and resident of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where I was born in 1760, and at the age of 20 left that neighborhood for Washington County, where I remained four years. In the month of March, 1785, I left the State of Pennsylvania, taking water at the mouth of Buffalo creek with a party, consisting of William West, John Simons, John Seft, and old Mr. Carlin and their families. We reached Limestone point, now Maysville, in safety, where we laid by two weeks. The next landing we made was at the mouth of the Big Miami. We were the first company that had landed at that place. The Indians had left two or three days before we landed. We found two Indians buried as they were laid on the ground, a pen of poles built around them, and a new blanket spread over each one. The first we found was near the bank of the Ohio, and the second near the mouth of White Water. Soon after we landed, the Ohio raised so as to overflow all the bottoms at the mouth of the Big Miami. We went over therefore to the Kentucky side, and cleared thirty or forty acres on a claim of a man by the name of Tanner, whose son was killed by the Indians some time afterwards on a creek which now bears his name. Some time in May or June we started to go up the Big Miami, to make what we called improvements, so as to secure a portion of the lands which we selected out of the best and broadest bottoms between the mouth of the river and where Hamilton now stands.—We started a north course and came to White Water, supposing it to be the Miami; we proceeded up the creek, but Joseph Robinson, who started from the mouth of the Miami with our party, and who knew something of the country from having been taken prisoner with Col. Laughery and carried through it, giving it as his opinion, that we were not at the main river, we made a raft and crossed the stream, having the misfortune to lose all our guns in the passage. We proceeded up to where Hamilton

now is, and made improvements wherever we found bottoms finer than the rest, all the way down to the mouth of the Miami. I then went up the Ohio again to Buffalo, but returned the same fall, and found Gens. Clark, Butler and Parsons at the mouth of the Big Miami, as commissioners to treat with the Indians. Major Finney was there also. I was in company with Symmes when he was engaged in taking the meanders of the Miami River at the time John Filson was killed by the Indians."

It is interesting to note the fact that the young man named Tanner, referred to in this item, was not slain at the time, but survived to pass through more adventures.

The publication of Hindman's narrative brought forth a letter on July 12, 1845, from a writer who gave further information in regard to this boy Tanner, who it seems was captured by the Indians, and lived with them for a period of almost thirty years. He married an Indian wife and had six children by her.

The conference of Generals Clark, Butler and Parsons with the Indians is described at length at a subsequent point.

In March, 1788, three boats containing Samuel Purviance, from the prominent city of Baltimore, with four or five gentlemen from Maryland, Mons. Ragant and two other Frenchmen and eight or ten other persons engaged on a scientific exploring expedition were captured near the Big Miami, and a large part of the party killed. The fate of Mr. Purviance was never determined although a long and unsuccessful search was made for him by General Harmar.

Probably the latest visitors to the city of Cincinnati, prior to its final settlement, were a party of hunters, five men in all from the station near Georgetown, Kentucky, who landed in September, 1788, at the edge of Deer creek in two canoes. They hid their canoes among the willows and weeds that grew thick and rank upon that little stream and then proceeded to ascend the creek along the left bank. "At the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the mouth, in the shade of a branching elm, they halted for refreshment, and sat down to partake of the rude repast of the wilderness. The month was September, the day clear and warm, and the hour almost sunset. Having partaken of their evening meal, the party, at the suggestion of a man named Hall—one of their number—proposed, as a matter of safety and comfort, that they should go among the northern hills, and there encamp until the morning's dawn. His proposition was acceded to, and the party started on their journey. Emerging from a thicket of iron weed, through which a deer-path was open, and into which the party walked single file, they entered one after another upon a grassy, weedless knob, which, being elevated some distance above the tops of the blossomed weeds around, had the appearance of a green island in the midst of a purple sea. The hunters did not pause for a moment, but entered the narrow avenue one after another.

"As the last man was about to enter the path, he fell simultaneously with the crack of a rifle, discharged from among the weeds on the western slope. The whole party dashed into the thicket on either side and 'squatted,' with rifles cocked, ready for any emergency. Quietly in this position they waited until nightfall, but everything around being still, and no further hostile demonstrations being made, one after another, they again ventured out into the path and started toward the opening, observing, however, the utmost caution.

"Hall, a bold fellow, and connected by ties of kindred with the man who had been shot, whose name was Baxter, crawled quietly upon his hands and knees to the spot where his comrade had fallen, and found him dead, lying with his face downward, a bullet having entered his skull forward of the left temple. Baxter had fallen some ten feet from the thicket's entrance, and Hall, after getting out of the thicket, rolled slowly to the side of the dead man, lest he should be observed by the skulking enemy, as, in an upright position, notwithstanding the gloom of nightfall, he would have been. He lay for several minutes by the side of the corpse analyzing, as it were, the sounds of the night, as if to detect in them the decoying tricks so common to the Indian. There was nothing, however, that, even to his practiced ear, indicated the presence of an enemy; and he ventured at length to stand erect. With rifle ready, and eye-ball strained to penetrate the gloom that hung like a marsh-mist upon the purple fields around, he stood for several seconds, and then gave a signal for the approach of his companions. The party cautiously approached the spot where Hall stood, and after a moment's consultation in whispers agreed to bury the unfortunate man, and then pursue their journey. Poor Baxter was carried to the bank of the river and silently interred under a beach, a few feet from the bluff, the grave being dug by the tomahawks of his late companions.

"Having performed the last sad duties to the

departed, the party prepared to leave, and had advanced, silently, a step or two, when they were startled by a sound upon the water. 'A canoe!' whispered Hall. A suspicion flashed upon his mind, and he crawled to the spot where the canoes had been hidden, and found one of them gone.

"Quick to decide, and fired with a spirit of vengeance, he proposed to his comrades that immediate pursuit be made. The proposition was agreed to, and, in less than five minutes, three of the hunters, armed and determined for their mission, were darting silently through the quiet waters in the direction of the sound which they had recently heard. About one hundred yards below the mouth of Licking, on the Kentucky side, they came within rifle-shot of the canoe, fired at the person who was paddling it, scarcely visible in the dim starlight, and a short exclamation of agony evidenced the certainty of the shot.

"Paddling up alongside, the canoe was found to contain but a single person, and that an old Indian, writhing in death's agony, the blood gushing from his shaven brow. In the bottom of the canoe lay a rifle, and near it a pouch of parched corn, and a gourd about half filled with whisky. It was this Indian, evidently, who shot Baxter, and it seemed equally evident that he was alone upon the war-path. The savage was scalped, and his body thrown into the river.

"Hall and his party returned to the mouth of the creek, again hid the canoes, encamped near Baxter's grave for the night, and with the morning's dawn started upon their journey home.

"Forty years afterward, some boys, digging for worms at the mouth of Deer creek, just below the bridge, discovered a skeleton with a bullet-hole in the skull, and the ball itself inside. It is supposed this was the remains of the unfortunate Baxter." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 50.)

CHAPTER IX.

FORT FINNEY.

Butler's Trip Down the Ohio—The Fort on the Point—Conferences with the Indians—Clark's Presence of Mind—The Treaty.

The occasion referred to by Hindman in his narrative, where he speaks of finding Generals Clark, Butler and Parsons at the mouth of the Big Miami, as commissioners to treat with the Indians, was the celebrated conference which took place at Fort Finney. This, with the exception of the transient blockhouses built by the war parties of Kentucky on the site of Cincinnati, which have already been referred to, was the first work for human habitation built by whites between the Miamis, of which we have a record. It stood in the peninsula formed by the junction of the Great Miami with the Ohio, about three-fourths of a mile from the mouth and near the southeast corner of the farm of the late John Scott Harrison.

Henry Howe says that as late as the winter of 1866, some remains of this fort were still to be seen. It is this fortification which is later referred to by Symmes, under the name of the "Old Fort" and it was built in the fall and winter of 1785, at the time of the conference referred to in Hindman's narrative.

It so happens that we have a complete report of this conference from two eye witnesses and participants and also that these two reports have been supposed to present certain features of disagreement. Judge Hall, too, in his book "The Romance of Western History" gives an account of the conference, which has been assailed as inaccurate in details.

The participants were people of such importance and the proceedings were so characteristic of negotiations with the Indians, and the narratives of the parties reflect so much light upon the first settlement between the Miamis that a somewhat extended account of the matter may not seem uninteresting.

BUTLER'S TRIP DOWN THE OHIO.

Gen. John Richard Butler, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, had been appointed in the early fall of 1785, as one of the three commissioners, to act with two others, Gen. George Rogers Clark and Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons, in an attempt to make a treaty with the Northwestern Indians. His journal with reference to the matter is very complete and full of interest. On September 9, 1785, he records his parting from his family. He proceeded in company with "the Hon. Col. James Monroe, a member of Congress from the State of Virginia, a gentleman very young for a place in that honorable body; but a man well read, very sensible, highly impressed with the consequence and dignity of the Federal Union, and a determined supporter of it in its fullest latitude."

At Fort McIntosh, which was thirty miles below Fort Pitt and near the mouth of Beaver creek, a very short distance from the Old Logs Town of Christopher Gist, the party was joined by Lieutenant, afterwards called Major Denny, and a number of troops. Here he heard reports of General Clark, who was a little distance below Scioto on his way to the falls of the Ohio, and also the account of the murder of one of the settlers on Fish creek, a few days since. The conduct of the Indians was reported as very extraordinary.

"They came to the door and knocked very

early in the morning, the man rose out of bed and was shot through the door which broke his thigh; on his falling, the door was broke in by the Indians, who tomahawked him and two children; the woman in fright lay still. They told her not to be uneasy, that they would not leave the house, as they would soon be back again, but did not intend to injure her; that they were Cherokees and would never make peace. She asked why they troubled her, that the Indains had made peace with Gen. Clark last fall; they said not they, that if they could meet Gen. Clark they would kill him also."

At the Mingotowns, Butler met Joseph Ross and his settlers whom he warned to leave the place. Ross insisted that he intended to vindicate himself and neighbors before Congress. This was one of the squatter settlements on the north side of the Ohio which gave the authorities so much trouble.

This journal contains almost daily mention of parties passing to and fro on the river, who were met by Butler and also of squatters who had settled on the north side of the Ohio, contrary to the proclamation of Congress. General Butler in each case warned the settlers that they were violators of the law, but with what result we are not informed.

On passing the mouth of the Muskingum, he examined it with reference to establishing a post there and concluded that the most eligible point was on the Ohio side. He therefore wrote from there to Major Doughty, recommending the place, with his opinion of the kind of work most proper; this was the site of Fort Harmar, across the Muskingum from the present city of Marietta. This letter which contained other remarks on the fort he left fixed to a locust tree.

Colonel Monroe, owing to the low stage of the river which made the voyage more tedious than expected, "finds himself much straightened for time in this tour, being one of the Judges of the Federal Court, which is to sit at Williamsburgh on a trial between the States of New York and Massachusetts-bay on the 15th of November, for which reason he proposes to take a boat and push night and day for Limestone, and from thence to Lexington, through the wilderness into Virginia. His company is of the most desirable kind, being polite, friendly and sensible, generally cheerful, and always edifying."

Monroe, who of course it is not necessary to state is best known as President Monroe, took with him the lightest boat, a sergeant and four soldiers and Lieutenant Denny, "a good young gentleman, as far as Limestone, where the Colonel will leave him and the party, who with Lieut. Denny will wait to join us."

As the journey progressed, General Butler became more impressed, and on October 12th speaks as follows:

"The lands here are really beautiful, and very rich; the majestic Ohio rolling gently along within the most delightful banks that ever enclosed a river; and in a few years must be the happy abode of thousands who with moderate industry may obtain the greatest profusion of the necessaries of life; the soil being so abundantly rich and fertile, and the climate inferior to none on the globe."

On the next day he bursts into the following rhapsody:

"The nearer we approach the Kanhawa, the more magnificent is the appearance of the river. Here might the Poet exercise his genius in the descriptive song of future times, and the joy of his soul, with rapture hand down to nations yet unborn to the present fathers, whose joyous hearts will bound with pleasure to see so ample, delightful, and healthy a country for their rising generations, who, far from the tyrannic hand of kingly power, governed by the mild and wholesome laws created by their fathers, and fashioned to their own liking by future legislators, may enjoy the blessings of peace, plenty, and domestic ease; secure in their persons and property, may cultivate the arts and sciences to such perfection as to become rivals not only of Athens and Rome, but be the patterns of mankind throughout the globe for learning, piety and virtue. Here may the industrious and broken hearted farmer, tired with the slavery of the unfortunate situation in which he was born, lay down his burthen and find rest on these peaceful and plenteous plains; here may Iberia, Britain and Scotia, pour out their superabundant sons and daughters, who with cheerful hearts, and industrious hands, will wipe away the tear of tyrannic toil, and join the children of America in the easy labors of comfort and plenty, and bless the providence of that power who hath directed them to such a land; yes, they will be good, respectful, and grateful citizens, the greatest enemies of kingly power, and will support with you, ye heroic sons of Independence, and your children's children, those honors, those blessings earned by your toils, blood, and treasure; and sing the praises of God in temples yet

to form, who led you to the battles, and conquest of the unwise and tyrannic George the Third. They will also in the anniversary song transmit your virtues and heroism to the children of future time, whose hearts shall beat high in emulating their progenitors, and keeping sacred the scroll of Independence. Passed two Islands about nine o'clock."

Who that has had knowledge of Ohio's sons, can doubt the prophetic power of General Butler. These islands were sixteen miles above the mouth of the Great Kanawha.

On the same day he writes:

"This delightful country involuntarily draws from my pen praises; it is fine, it is rich, and only wants the cultivating hand of man to render it the joyous seat of happy thousands. Here are the wild animals provided for the assistance of the first settlers. Here are the finest and most excellent sites for farms, cities, and towns. This seems provided as a reward for the adventurous and industrious, by the Divine hand, whose good providence appears in all his works. Here we have nothing to do but spring from our boats among flocks of turkeys, kill as we please, for sport or gust; the bear growls in your hearing, and the deer, timid by nature, bounds along before your eye; in short, there is no end to the beauty and plenty. I have just stepped from my boat and killed at one shot two fine turkeys, and our whole party feasts on fine venison, bear meat, turkeys and catfish, procured by themselves at pleasure."

On the following day he was nearly bitten by a copper snake, as he was engaged in a turkey hunt.

At the mouth of the Big Sandy creek, a hunter, the celebrated Mr. Zane, killed a buffalo and just about fifteen miles below three more buffalo, "one of which seems to be a real curiosity for size.

"The head weighed one hundred and twenty-nine pounds, and the tongue six, total, one hundred and thirty-five pounds. The head was cut off as close as possible, being cut off at the large joint, so that the neck was but a small addition to its weight. The leg and shoulder when set upright was as high as my head, which is five feet eight and a half inches, this when on the body, including that extraordinary protuberance called the hump, Mr. Zane assured me, is higher than his head, which is six feet (eighteen hands); and it was agreed by all who saw this amazing wild animal that it weighed at least fifteen hundred pounds. Part of the beef of these fine animals was delivered to the troops and part salted for future use.

"I cannot help here describing the amazing plenty and variety of this night's supper. We had fine roast buffalo beef, soup of buffalo and turkeys, fried turkeys, fried catfish, fresh caught, roast ducks, good punch, madeira, claret, grog and toddy, and the troops supplied in the most abundant manner. They are all cheerful, and generally in perfect health, and enjoying the bounties of heaven, the land and the water. The industry and judgment of one man could certainly supply many families. Mr. Zane killed this day, on the lowest computation, three thousand weight of as fine beef as need be used, all in about four hours' hunting. What a plenty for two large families for one whole year."

This paragraph may be well recommended to the attention of the Cuvier Club.

General Butler's enthusiasm is not even disturbed by the site of Portsmouth, and the "sweet and delightful little river Sciota, whose charming banks are not only beautiful to a wonder, but the richest and most luxuriant soil in my knowledge."

Buffaloes were very plenty here and the indefatigable Mr. Zane was in his element. At Limestone, Lieutenant Denny, who had preceded them with Colonel Monroe, rejoined the party. The party left Limestone early in the morning of October 19th, and between that point and the Little Miami seemed to have had considerable trouble with sand bars. On the 20th Mr. Zane killed a small bear.

On Friday, October 21st, appears the following:

"Sailed at half-past two o'clock; passed the mouth of Little Miami at three o'clock. It is so low there was no water running: above the sand bank, which is off its mouth, the sand is quick, and the little water which issues from it passes through the sand.

"The bottoms, both above and below, is very flat and low, and I think inundated with small floods. About two miles below is a piece of high ground, which I think will be the site of a town, as will be the case at the mouths of all the principal rivers and creeks of this great country. I find Capt. Hutchins' map very defective in his delineations of creeks. I think his courses and distances good, and may say really perfect, but he has certainly missed several large creeks, both above Limestone and be-

tween that place and little Miamis. Below the mouth of this little river about two miles, is a very large bank of sand at which Mr. Zane came in for people to bring in two deer.

"Pushed on to the mouth of Licking Creek, which is a pretty stream; at the mouth, both above and below, is very fine bottoms. The bottom below the mouth seems highest and most fit to build a town on; it is extensive, and whoever owns the bottoms should own the hill also. Passed this at five o'clock, and encamped two miles below on the north side.

"There is great plenty of limestone and coal appears on every strand. Here is a very fine body of bottom land to a small creek four miles below Licking creek.

"I am informed that a Capt. Bird of the British came in the year 1780 from Detroit, down the big Miamis, thence up the Ohio to the mouth of Licking Creek, thence up it about fifty miles with their boats; at this place they took their artillery and cut a road fifty miles into the country, when they attacked several small stations and took them; they then carried off the poor distressed people with their little ones to Detroit in triumph."

Mr. Ford calls attention to the fact that this was the most distinguished party of people that had yet visited the neighborhood. The creek four miles below must have been Bold Face creek, which enters the river at Sedamsville.

The country some miles below the Licking is described as follows:

"One mile below this is a bar of sand in the middle of the river; the channel is on the north shore. Here are the dreadful effects of a tornado, on the hill, on the north side, from the top down, every tree and the surface of the earth has been washed or blown off. On the south shore there is about four acres of land, the timber of which is totally blown down and destroyed. One mile below this is a small creek which I think will be sufficient for mills part of the season, as it comes out of a hilly country; it has thrown out a great body of gravel, &c., which forms a kind of Presque Isle, on the south side of the river. * * * Two miles below this comes in a small creek, just above which is most excellent land on the face of a beautiful hill. The river is beyond description, deer and turkey sporting before and on each side in great abundance—saw above twenty deers before twelve o'clock. Put in to dine about eleven o'clock about twelve miles below Licking creek."

"Sailed at half past one o'clock, the wind ahead. Here is some very fine land covered with pine, ash, and other rich timber. Pushed on to the Great Miami, above the mouth of which I ordered the whole to camp about five o'clock in the evening. I went out with Major Finney to examine the ground for a post."

This was on Saturday, October 22, 1785.

On the following day General Butler with some of his officers went down to call upon General Clark "who lodged at a place called a station, which is a few families collected for mutual safety to one place, and a little fort erected." Clark was below the Great Miami, and favored locating there although it did not come within the resolution of Congress, which authorized the commanding officer of the troops to take post at any proper situation between the Miami and the Muskingum rivers. This little disagreement is significant, as there seems to have been a little feeling at all times between Butler and Clark, which may account for some of the variations in the narrations about the later events of the conference.

The biographer of Major Denny says in his memoir, prefixed to the "Military Journal" of Major Denny:

"When the United States Commissioners were at Fort Finney, waiting for the Shawanees to come into the treaty, General Clark kept aloof from his colleagues. There appeared to be some jealousy and coolness between them. But to the young commandant, Lieutenant Denny, he was like a father. He invited him to pass his evenings at his tent; threw off his reserve, and talked about his own adventures. He told him that frequently, at night, when his soldiers lay upon their arms, he has crept, on all fours, to the neighboring lick, with only his tomahawk, for fear of alarming the Indians, watched for the deer to pass and selecting a young one, killed it, and carried it back to the bivouac for the supper of his men. He was a stout, rather short, square man, with a high, broad forehead, sandy hair, blue eyes, and heavy, shaggy eyebrows. With his personal prowess, hardihood and capacity for detail, there was always comprehensive wisdom in his plan and purpose. He raised his force and supplies promptly. He knew exactly, and therefore never overrated the dangers in the way. He marched quietly to his distant object and took it by surprise. There was no martial pageant, no ostentatious and pompous parade. He threaded the forest silently —or on his Chickasaw ponies galloped across

the prairies, and gave the first notice of his presence to the savages by his flag supplanting that of their great allies. Hence that prestige, that renown amongst them which was of such value to carry on hostilities or dictate a peace. When he was present, the great warriors never noticed any other General."

THE FORT ON THE POINT.

Butler, after examining the situation suggested by Clark, determined to locate above the Great Miami; and on the 25th of October, after Mr. Zane had been sent with a boat and four men to Licking creek to hunt buffalo, work was begun on the permanent stopping place.

"Major Finney began to lay out and clear the ground for four blockhouses and quadrangular work, which was pushed on with great alacrity by himself and officers."

Within three days Butler is able to record that "the commanding officer, Major Finney, his officers and troops are really indefatigable. They have got two blockhouses in a tolerable state of defense, and a third well forward. This night Lieutenant Doyle with a party takes post in one of them, and we hope in a few days to be secure even against enemies."

Maj. Ebenezer Denny is a little more specific in his description. His "Military Journal" is not so flowery as that of General Butler but quite accurate in details. His entry of October 22nd reads:

"Arrive at the Great Miami. Best ground for our station about a mile above the mouth, where the boats were brought and everything unloaded. All hands set to work chopping, clearing, &c., and preparing timber for blockhouses and pickets; and on the 8th instant had ourselves inclosed. Hoisted the United States flag, and christened the place Fort Finney, in compliment to Captain Finney, the commanding officer. Our work is a square stockade fort; substantial blockhouses, two stories, twenty-four by eighteen feet in each angle; curtains one hundred feet of stout pickets, four feet in the ground, and nine feet above; situated one hundred and fifty yards from the river, on a rising second bank. A building, eighteen by twenty feet, within the east and west curtains, for the accommodation and reception of contractors' stores and Indian goods; and one small, but strong building, centre of north curtain, for magazine. A council house, twenty by sixty, detached, but within gun-shot. Commissioners and their followers pitch their tents within the fort, and erect wooden chimneys. Season very favorable, but growing cool. Men employed finishing the blockhouses, and clearing off the timber and brush to some distance outside."

General Butler, in his diary, notes from day to day the presence of Indians in the neighborhood, who were naturally much disturbed by the settlements, and reports many conversations with representatives of the various tribes in the neighborhood. Mr. Zane in the meantime continued his slaughter of buffaloes, deer and turkeys, and the troops seemed well provided and quite contented.

On Monday, the 7th, sailing on the river was tried with success, as the effect of the wind was found to be more than the common drift of the current. In the various excursions from the fort many bones of large animals were found, which are discussed at considerable length and the conclusion is reached that they were granivorous.

General Parsons, another commissioner, arrived on the 13th and brought with him reports of Indian attacks at various points up the river.

On the 17th, the place for the encampment of the Indians who were expected was selected on the bank of the Miamis, about three miles north of the post.

"I observe the Miama is a very fine, and will be a useful, river, as it has a great deal of good water, at almost all seasons; but the bed being broad it is generally shallow, but this may be helped as the bottom is not very, or generally, rocky, but gravelly, and by throwing a curtain of rocks, starting down the river on one or both sides of a shoal, so as to collect the water to a focus, whereby a channel fit to take up boats may be made, this will continue always good with a small annual repair after the spring freshes, and will render the boat navigation of this and all other streams of a similar kind useful at all seasons—as in low water it will be practicable, and in high water easy and certain."

Later after examining the bottom between the Miami and Ohio, he says:

"I find a great body of the low land which overflows, will make good corn and pasture fields, and is not injured by the floods, which may be still improved by preserving the timber on the rivers and banking, and that there is an excellent piece of ground for a town near the hills, which never is flooded. The hills will

not only afford timber and stone for building, but is in most places fit for fields, orchards and gardens; most delightfully situated, the town may be sufficiently near the two rivers, to add beauty to them, and be delighted with the majesty and elegance of their meandering currents. I also find that the land is very fine along the Ohio for about one mile, to the first narrows and to the foot, and many places to the top of the ridges, which are all covered with fine ash, walnut, oak, hickory, vines, and other rich timbers."

These descriptions, as well as those of Judge Symmes, written a little over three years later, are the most interesting, as showing how little the founders of the city, in determining as to the future site, were affected by what impressed both General Butler and Judge Symmes.

The peninsula in the southwestern part of the county seemed the natural place for the great city of the Miamis, and it was not until the practiced eye of Major Doughty saw the advantages of the present site of Cincinnati as a location for Fort Washington that the first plan had to be abandoned.

CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS.

For some days the journals of both General Butler and Major Denny were filled with incidents connected with the camp life, which served to while away the time, while awaiting the arrival of the Indians. The commissioners from time to time took trips through the neighborhood, sometimes to Big Bone Lick and at other times to the falls of the Ohio. The Indians that were in the encampment were ever ready to accept the hospitality of the whites in the shape of liquor and returned it with entertainments of their own devising.

On November 24th, General Butler refers to the efforts made by certain disaffected parties to prevent any considerable gathering. "The messengers and Indians both agree that Girty and others are in the Shawnee towns using every persuasion in their power to stop the Indians from coming, but from present appearances I expect a great number of them."

The following day he records the conference between the Delaware and Wyandot chiefs, in the presence of two young Shawanees, which resulted in the promise of the latter to endeavor to bring their people to the council.

On the 30th, the friction between Butler and Clark is indicated by the following entry:

"During our conversation, General Clark sent in to us a private letter from Mr. Croghan of Louisville, which arrived by Captain Howell, on Saturday, the 26th inst., of which I took a copy. What he meant by detaining this letter so long and shewing it at this time, I am at a loss to say. * * * In truth, though, he has always been consulted on every public measure, and none adopted without his concurrence, there has appeared a mysterious something in his conduct which I cannot comprehend, nor am I certain he can comprehend it himself, as I cannot remember a single proposition of his, which has not been either agreed to, or himself convinced of its being improper, but he is very modest and makes but few."

On the 5th, the three commissioners left on a visit for the falls of the Ohio, while Captain Finney and Major Denny, with a party of soldiers, took a trip to Big Bone Lick, thirty miles down, where they collected some very large bones.

On the following day, Major Denny gives an account of a trip to the Indian camp:

"Spent this day in the Indian camp by invitation; treated with attention. It was a high day among them, a frolic and feast; several games played—exceedingly active at the game our boys call shinny or common. About forty young men were paraded for this game, equally divided; the ground had been cleared for the purpose. At the centre was a painted post, decorated with pieces of cloth suitable for leggings and breech clouts; the winning side got these. Their ball, the size of a man's head, made of deer's hair, covered with skin; their sticks, four or five feet long, resembling a racket. The ball was thrown in the air—all endeavored to catch it upon his racket; a fellow would take it in this way and keep it until another more smart overtook him or knocked it abroad, when another scramble took place. They insisted on my joining in one of these games. Several other games were played; some with beans and dishes or bowls, in imitation of backgammon. Our dinner was served upon skins spread on the ground. Had walked to the camp, but must ride back; girl and horse got for me."

Two of the commissioners, General Butler and General Parsons, returned in a little over a week, General Butler very much disgusted with the lack of consideration with which they had been treated at Louisville. General Clark did not return with them, although he expected to

follow in a few days. At this time about one hundred Indians, principally Wyandots and Delawares, with whom the treaty at Fort McIntosh had been made, had gathered; the Shawanees, for whom the present treaty was particularly intended, seemed to hang back, although several messages were received as to their intentions of coming in a few days.

General Parsons, in a letter to Captain Heart, at Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum, dated Fort Finney, at the mouth of the Great Miami, December 20, 1785, says:

"Since we have been here every measure has been taken to bring in the Indians. The Wyandots and Delawares are here; the other nations were coming, and were turned back by the Shawanese. These at last sent two of their tribe to examine our situation, and satisfy themselves of our designs. With these men we were very open and explicit. We told them we were fully convinced of their designs in coming; that we were fully satisfied with it; that they were at liberty to take their own way and time to answer the purposes they came for; that we were desirous of living in peace with them, and for that purpose had come with offers of peace to them, which they would judge of, and whether peace or war was most for their interest; that we very well knew the measures the British agents had taken to deceive them. That if they came to the treaty, any man who had filled their ears with those stories was at liberty to come with them, and return in safety. But if they refused to treat with us, we should consider it as a declaration of war on their part, &c.

"These men stayed about us eight days, and then told us they were fully convinced our designs were good; that they had been deceived; that they would return home, and use their influence to bring in their nation, and send out to the other nations. Last night we received a belt of wampum, and a twist of tobacco, with a message that they would be in when we had smoked the tobacco. From our information, we are led to believe these people will very generally come in, and heartily concur with us in peace. I think it not probable the treaty will begin sooner than January.

"The British agents, our own traders, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, I am convinced, are all opposed to a treaty, and are using every measure to prevent it. Strange as this may seem, I have very convincing proofs of its reality. The causes I can assign, but they are too many for the compass of a letter. Notwithstanding all treaties we can make, I am convinced we shall not be in safety until we have posts established in the upper country."

Major Denny speaks much to the same effect:

"Those with us, about one hundred, are principally Wyandots and Delawares, with whom the treaty at McIntosh was held. The Shawanees are the fellows the present treaty was intended for; they seem to hang back. Indians treated very kindly—dancing parties in our council house almost every afternoon; the men jump, stamp and exert themselves much, but all keep good time; females glide round and have a gait or step peculiar to themselves. An old fellow has a keg, with skin drawn over each head—sort of drum, on which he beats time—considerable regularity—dance in a circle round the fire—can't dance without something to make their hearts warm, and generally break up pretty merry. Very few went home sober, but those who did were sure to get drunk at night. They would come next day and peremptorily demand a quantity of rum; on being refused they set homeward very much offended, declaring that the next day should move them off, never to be seen as friends again. This day our clothing came."

General Butler records something of the same character in his journal of the 21st. The half-king, and the Crane, and several young fellows came into the fort drunk, and wanted more rum, and upon being refused they became very ill-natured and threatened to leave. General Parsons and General Butler retired to their tent, but the drunkard followed them, insisting upon more rum, and after a time the half-king again returned, when he spoke as follows:

"Brothers, I am a little drunk, and I feel sorry that you left me in your dinner tent, it hurt me more than the not getting rum. I intend to set off to-morrow with all my people, and I thought it best to tell you before I go." After some discussion and a glass of wine, the half-king felt better and concluded to remain. This difficulty about the supply of rum seemed to be almost of daily occurrence.

Major Denny on the 21st, in a letter to Colonel Harmar, seems to be in doubt as to whether General Clark would return:

"Our reason for thinking he will scarcely return is, that while here he had received almost daily complaints from the people on the frontiers of Kentucky, against the Indians, and reflecting on him for trifling, as they think, with some of the savages, while others are plundering them.

The people are very ripe for a campaign into the towns."

The precautions that were taken is indicated by the following remark: "Major Finney is determined they shan't act Pontiac with him, for every precaution is taken at that time."

On the 23rd, Major Denny records the arrival of Clark, "as a very agreeable surprise, as few of us expected him."

At a later day a deputation, including a delegate from the Delaware Indians, was sent at the suggestion of the celebrated Captain Pipe, to carry a speech to the delinquent Western nations.

On New Year's Day open house was kept by the Indians, to whom was sent a kettle of toddy, some cooked meat and bread, as well as wishes for a good new year. "This they took very kind, and set to, heart and hand, men and women, to get drunk. In order to get them soon away, we told them when they were ready to go home, they should have a small keg of milk (brandy) home with them, which hurried their departure. The cavalcade was curious—men and women, two on a horse, all rode in the same manner, without the least attention to the delicacy of the female sex."

The officers treated themselves to six bottles of claret, so that one can believe that the day was a success all around.

On this day a passing boat brought to shore a party, including an old man and his two sons, named Hindman, who told a most marvelous story of the capture of the older man by the Shawanee Indians. Neither General Butler nor Major Denny, both of whom record the incident, seem impressed with the truth of the story, and Butler states:

"Hindman, we find on examination, to be an ill-disposed man, and one of the party who murdered the Moravian Indians. This he confesses himself, and has declared he thinks robbing the Indians of their horses justifiable."

This Hindman, possibly, was the man whose narrative was recorded by Mr. Cist, as heretofore referred to.

The Shawanees finally gave indications of their approach, and on Saturday, January 14th, they were received. Major Denny was not impressed with the manner of their reception:

"Our commissioners knowing them to be a very proud nation, thought it best to pay them the same honors, and ordered preparations in a style rather degrading to the United States, which was, that a party of soldiers should cook and serve out provisions to them in the council house. Now with them, the most decrepit old women are made choice of for that business; and nothing could have occasioned greater laughter than the appearance of soldiers carrying kettles of provisions to them. When the Indians saw them they cried out, 'There come the old women with warriors' coats on,' etc. And who knows but they conceived us all old women clad in uniform."

General Butler's account is more cheerful in tone:

"Shortly after these arrangements they appeared, in number about 150 men and 80 women, in very regular order; the chiefs in front, beating a drum, with young warriors dancing a peculiar dance for such occasions. This is so particular that I shall here describe it: the oldest chief leads, and carries a small drum, on which he beats time and sings; two young warriors, who dance well, carrying each the stem of a pipe painted, and decorated with feathers of the bald eagle, and wampum, these are joined in the dance by several other young men, who dance and keep time to the drum; the whole of the party painted and dressed in the most elegant manner, in their way, which is truly fantastic, but elegant, though savage. The chief who headed this party is called Melonthe. These were followed by the chief warrior Aweecanny, and last the warriors armed; then come the head woman, called Ca-we-chile, in front of all the women and children. When they came near the council-house, Aweecanny got on a stump, and ordered the whole to halt. They then sung for some time, when he gave a signal, and the song ceased. He then ordered the armed men to make ready, which they did, then to fire, which was performed in the Indian style, which is a running fire; this was repeated three times, on which our troops returned the salute, with three vollies from a platoon, well performed, the drum beating an American march. We then entered and took our seats; they then arrived, and after dancing a short time at the door, by way of salute, they entered at the west door, the chief on our left, the warriors on our right and round on the east end till they joined the chiefs; the old chief beating the drum, and the young men dancing and waving the feathers over us, whilst the others were seated; this done, the women entered at the east door, and took their seats on the east end, with great form. This over, the chief enquired who were the commissioners, which the young warrior, John Harris, told them, and pointed us out. After a short song, the

chiefs called on Kekewepellethe, a Wagatommochie man, who immediately rose to address us. His speech was short, but pathetic and sensible. * * *

"I find at the commencement of a treaty of peace the chiefs or kings shake the hands of those who have to treat with them, but the warriors and women not till the business is concluded; the reason they give is that the heads of the people should be on an easy and familiar footing, but that the warriors and women, who are the strength of the nation, more distant till peace is certain."

The attachment of the young Shawanees to the British is remarked by General Butler. On the 20th, a party of twenty Delawares, headed by their chieftain, called by Major Denny, Bohengeehalus, and by Butler, Pacanchichiles, arrived. The impression that General Clark had made on the Indians was shown by the conduct of this chieftain.

Major Denny says: "Bohengeehalus is esteemed one of the greatest warriors now among all the Indians. After he had seated himself he discovered General Clark, and knowing him to be a great warrior, rose and saluted him very significantly—instead of taking hold of each other's hands, they gripped nearly at the shoulder, and shook the left hand underneath the right arms."

General Butler, in reporting the speech of this chieftain, says:

"His first address was to the Great Spirit, returning thanks for the preservation of his own and Gen. Clark's life through the war, and for putting it once more in their power to see each other, adding that he felt very happy at the prospect which now opened to his view, and thanked God for giving us this great day to meet and declare the pleasure he felt."

The Shawanees naturally had to show their expertness at dancing, but the most pleasant one, according to Major Denny, was the social dance:

"As many young men as please, form a ring round the fire, move, dance and sing love songs; the girls looking on for some time—at length they rise one after the other, as the spirit moves them, and seize a partner. The couple stick to each other, dancing and performing every possible gesture, but still keep in the ring, singing and beating time to their music. Now, while busily engaged, the parties exchange some articles of dress, or other things, as a token of their regard. The girls were very fond of getting a few of us engaged in this dance."

They also entertained the whites with their war dance, which was a much more exciting performance.

The Shawanees occupied the long house in dancing for ten days, but the serious business of the conference began on January 26th, at which time a speech for the Board of Commissioners, prepared by General Butler, was read and explained to the chiefs of the Shawanees.

Major Denny records: "Business opened this day by an excellent speech from our commissioners to all the Indians—about four hundred present. The boundary lines, designating the lands alloted the several nations, were particularly described and pointed out on the map. They were told that as they had joined the English and taken up the hatchet against the United States, and the war having terminated in favor of the latter, and that the English, also, to obtain peace, had ceded the whole of the country on this side of the lakes to the Americans; that they, the Indians, must now look up to the Americans, and ought to be thankful if allowed to occupy any part of the country, which by the war they had forfeited; nevertheless, more perhaps than they expected would be done for them, but they must leave hostages for their good behavior, etc."

The Indians, after this, retired, as was their custom, for a private conference, and on the 27th met the commissioners again:

"Their head warrior, Kickwaypalathey, replied to the speech of yesterday; denied the power and right which the United States assumed; asked if the Great Spirit had given it to them to cut up and portion the country in the manner proposed. The Ohio River they would agree to, nothing short; and offered a mixed belt, indicating peace or war. None touched the belt —it was laid on the table; General Clark with his cane pushed it off and set his foot on it. Indians very sullen. Commissioners told them it was well, that the United States did not wish war, that two days yet would be allowed to consider of the terms proposed, and six days more with provisions to return home; but after that to take care, for they would certainly feel the force of the United States. Council broke up hastily. Some commotion among the Shawanees. Returned same afternoon and begged another meeting, when their old king, Molunthy, rose and made a short speech, presented a white

string, doing away all that their chief warrior had said, prayed that we would have pity on women and children, etc."

General Butler, in describing the same occurrences of the same day, omits this dramatic episode, but there is nothing whatsoever in his account to contradict the statement, which is so circumstantially made in Major Denny's journal. It is clear that this episode, which occurred at the private conference, was not regarded by him as the proper thing for record. This same scene is described in the "Encyclopædia Americana," which is supposed to be based on the notes of an old officer, who was present at the time. This account was as follows:

"The Indians came in to the treaty at Fort Washington in the most friendly manner, except the Shawahanees, the most conceited and warlike of the aborigines, the first in at a battle, the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest warriors set off in all their paint and feathers, and filed into the council-house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States stockade mustered seventy men. In the centre of the hall, at a little table, sat the commissary general, Clark, the indefatigable scourge of these very marauders; General Richard Butler and Mr. Parsons. There was also present a Captain Denny, who, I believe, is still alive, and can attest this story.

"On the part of the Indians, an old council-sachem and a war chief took the lead. The latter, a tall, raw-boned fellow, with an impudent and villainous look, made a boisterous and threatening speech, which operated effectually on the passions of the Indians, who set up a prodigious whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify they were prepared for either event, peace or war. Clark exhibited the same unaltered and careless countenance he had shown during the whole scene, his head leaning on his left hand, and his elbow resting on the table. He raised his little cane and pushed the sacred wampum off the table, with very little ceremony.

"Every Indian at the same time started from his seat with one of those sudden, simultaneous, and peculiarly savage sounds, which startle and disconcert the stoutest heart, and can neither be described nor forgotten.

"At this juncture Clark arose. The scrutinizing eye cowered at his glance. He stamped his foot on the prostrate and insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so, apparently involuntarily. They were heard all that night, debating in the bushes near the fort. The raw-boned chief was for war, the old sachem for peace. The latter prevailed, and the next morning they came back and sued for peace."

It is plain, however, that what happened on that day was regarded by Denny as the influence which practically concluded the whole matter, for his journal contains but one more entry relating to the conference, that of February 1st, reciting the conclusions and signing of the treaty.

In writing to Colonel Harmar, his intimate friend, on January 8th, he reiterates the general line of speeches as recorded by him:

"Twenty-sixth, our commissioners delivered a speech to the Shawanees, setting forth their business, etc., and acquainting them of the country which would be allowed them. Next day a reply was made, in which they burlesqued the dividing of lands, and asked if the Great Spirit directed the Americans to cut and divide the land as was proposed; no, they did not understand that part. The Ohio, they thought, was the fittest line, and if we were satisfied they would agree to let it remain the boundary. At hearing this we began to entertain different notions of matters, but the affair was soon cleared up. The commissioners did not attempt to touch the string which was given, and without rising, determined on an answer, which was, that if they did not agree with the terms proposed, in two days, they should then be furnished with six days' provisions to carry them home, and no harm should be done them during that time; but after that take care, for they would certainly feel the force of the United States. Council was not broke up more than fifteen minutes when a messenger came for the commissioners. After they had assembled, the chief took a white string and destroyed the whole of his former speech."

General Butler in his account is obviously describing the speech made after the resumption of the conference:

"Having met them, they recapitulated the speech, in order to be fully satisfied that they understood it, which we found they did. On our informing them so, they replied they were fully convinced our observations were just—that they had been led into folly by the British—that they were sensible they had done wrong, but they hoped for pity from the thirteen fires, and that they hoped these things would be forgotten."

The rest of the speech making was made up of an explanation of the charge made by a Delaware chieftain, a few days before, that the Shawanees had attempted to turn back the deputation of Twightwees and other Wabash and Miami Indians who were on their way to the treaty.

On the two following days, General Butler describes at length the speeches which resulted in the treaty. It was apparent that in each case it was necessary first to deal privately with the Shawanees, and afterwards in full council with the other Indians. General Butler does not report the proceedings of any of the private conferences, but gives at length the proceedings of the general councils. He was more diplomatic than Clark, who was a man of action rather than of words, and in the lengthy speech-making which was so essential a part of the conference, Butler naturally took the prominent part.

That something had passed to raise the feelings of all to a high pitch, is clear from the statement of Sunday, January 29th, that one of the Shawanee captains, responding to the address, "that he hoped we would forget all that was passed;" and that they would return the prisoners and bury the hatchet.

There is nothing in Butler's account to which this could possibly refer, and this circumstance is still stronger evidence that at a private conference, to which Denny's account obviously refers, something had happened to excite much feeling.

THE TREATY.

A treaty was drawn up by General Parsons. It provided for hostages to insure the return of prisoners; the acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the United States; the giving up of Indians, who might commit murders or robbery, to the punishment by the United States with a reciprocal provision as to citizens of United States violating the law; mutual agreements as to information in case of any war; the defining of the limits of the United States at the west of the main branch of the Miami, with the proviso that any Indian settling on the Miami lands should be without the protection of the United States.

The presentation of this treaty on January 30th gave rise to another scene. The captain of the Shawanees objected to the terms in regard to hostages:

"Brothers, you seem to grow proud, because you have thrown down the King of England; and as we feel sorry for our past faults, you rise in your demands on us. This we think hard, you need not doubt our words; what we have promised we will perform. We told you we had appointed three good men of our nation to go to the towns and collect your flesh and blood; they shall be brought in. We have never given hostages, and we will not comply with this demand. *A black string.*"

The commissioners, however, refused to recede, and General Butler delivered the address indicating their decision. He called attention to the fact that on previous occasions, the Shawanees had given hostages to Colonel Bouquet and Lord Dunmore, and that even then they had broken the faith. They had joined the British King against us, in spite of which Congress offered them country and peace. He notified them that their terms would not be altered and that the United States would protect its citizens.

"We plainly tell you that this country belongs to the United States—their blood hath defended it, and will forever protect it. Their proposals are liberal and just; and you, instead of acting as you have done, and instead of persisting in your folly, should be thankful for the forgiveness and offers of kindness of the United States instead of the sentiments which this string imparts, and the manner in which you have delivered it. We shall not receive it or any other from you in any such way. (I then took it up and dashed it on the table.) We therefore leave you to consider of what hath been said, and to determine as you please.

"We then left them and threw down a black and white string. In the afternoon the Shawanees sent a message requesting we would attend in the council-house; on which we went in. Kekewepeelethe then arose and spoke as follows:

"'Brothers, the 13 Fires—We feel sorry that a mistake has caused you to be displeased at us this morning. You must have misunderstood us. * * * Brothers, everything shall be as you wish; we came here to do that which is good, and we agree to all you have proposed, and hope, in future, we shall both enjoy peace, and be secure. (A white string.)'"

This was followed by mutual delivery of white strings and on the following day, after agreeing to hostages, the whole party took hold of the belt of peace and the treaty was finally concluded on Wednesday, February 1st. General Butler enumerates as present at these conferences, 448

Indians, of whom 83 were Wyandots, 47 Delawares, and 318 Shawanees.

On February 8th the commissioners left Fort Finney, with the exception of General Clark, who returned to the falls on the following day. Majors Finney and Denny with the troops remained behind.

Major Denny's journal describes the life of Fort Finney, until his final departure to a new fort, at the mouth of the Muskingum, called Fort Harmar, on July 23rd.

The editor of "The Olden Time," in which General Butler's journal was printed in 1847, and Mr. Ford, in his "History of Cincinnati," seem convinced of the inaccuracy of the statement concerning General's Clark's part in the episode of the 27th. It is probable Neville Craig was evidently not informed of the statement made by Major Denny, and he criticises the article in the "Encyclopædia Americana" for various inaccuracies which were apparent on the face of the article. Mr. Craig seems to feel that there is an issue raised between General Butler and General Clark, and states that the calling the correctness of General Butler's narrative into question is to charge him with deliberate falsehood. Mr. Ford, who was familiar with Major Denny's journal, which was not published until 1860, seems to adopt the reasoning of Mr. Craig and states that no such affair appears to have occurred. This statement is undoubtedly made by reason of what seems to him an inconsistency between the statement of Butler and the statement of Denny. There can be no question as to the reliable chaaracter of Butler's statement, and the same is if anything more true of Major Denny. The suggestion that General Butler did not report what took place at the private conferences, because of his regard for the confidential character of the conference, and perhaps because of his slight tendency to underestimate the services of Gen. George Rogers Clark, seems to clear up the whole matter. In fact the subsequent speeches as recorded by him presuppose some scene which is not recorded in Butler's journal. There is nothing inconsistent in this with the statement of the subsequent dramatic incident in which General Butler took a leading part. The times were ripe for trouble and that two episodes of this character should have occurred is not at all extraordinary.

The respect in which Clark was held by the Indians who knew him from many a bitter experience, is clearly shown by both journals, and had much influence in bringing the rebellious Shawanees to terms. Clark's own obvious willingness to take up arms and the knowledge that he was a mighty man in war, and that he was being urged to drop diplomacy for the field of battle undoubtedly did much to prevent a disastrous conclusion of the conference.

Judge Hall, in his book, "The Romance of Western History," describes as a legend of North Bend the scenes of this meeting, giving as his authority an anonymous writer in a Pittsburg newspaper. This anonymous writer gave the name of Major Denny as his informant, and Judge Hall says that the story was confirmed by General Harrison.

There is no improbability that Major Denny, in his latter years, in telling the story, gave it in much more detail than in his "Military Journal." By reason of its excellent presentation of the character of Clark, and because of the fact that the whole episode has always been a part of the familiar history of the Miami country, and that Judge Hall's eloquent narration is one of our pioneer classics, it is worth repetition here.

The location described is as follows:

"In the year 1786 there stood upon the margin of the Ohio, near the mouth of the Miami, a small fortress over which waved the flag of the United States. The banner was that of a confederacy, which had just emerged from a successful struggle with one of the most powerful nations of the world, and over which the illustrious Washington ruled as Chief Magistrate. In the eye of a military engineer the fort would hardly have deserved that name, as it was a temporary structure, intended only to protect its small garrison against a sudden attack by an Indian force. It was composed of a series of log houses opening upon an interior area or quadrangle, with a blockhouse or citadel in the centre, while the outer sides, closely connected, formed a square inclosure or rampart, without apertures except a single entrance and a few loop-holes from which to discharge firearms. The whole presented the appearance of a single edifice, receiving light from the centre and forming barracks for the garrison, as well as breastworks against a foe. The forest was cleared away for some hundred of yards around, leaving an open vista extending to the water's edge, while a few acres enclosed in a rude fence and planted with corn and garden vegetables, for the use of the soldiers, exhibited the first rude attempt at agrienlture in that wild and beautiful region.

"The little fortress alluded to was established at the outlet of the fertile valley of the Miami, and near the track by which the war parties approached the Ohio, in their incursions into Kentucky. The position was also that selected by Judge Symmes and others, the purchasers from Congress of a large tract of country, as the site of a future city; though a trivial accident afterward changed the locality, and placed the Queen City of the West at a point twenty miles farther up the Ohio. It was near the head of that great bend of the Ohio, now widely known as North Bend,—a spot which has become classic ground to the American, as the residence of that excellent man and distinguished statesman and soldier, the venerated and lamented Harrison. The fort was garrisoned by a small party of soldiers, commanded by a captain, who was almost as much insulated from the rest of the world as Alexander Selkirk in the island of Juan Fernandez.

* * * "For several days previous to that appointed for holding the council, parties of Indian warriors were seen arriving and erecting their temporary lodges at a short distance from the fort. An unwonted bustle disturbed the silence which usually reigned at this retired spot. Groups of savages, surrounding their campfires, passed the hours in conversation and in feasting; the tramp of horses and the barking of dogs were heard in every direction. The number of Indians assembled was much greater than was necessary, or was expected; and their disposition seemed to be anything but pacific. Irritated by recent events, and puffed up by delusive promises of support, they wore an offended and insolent air. Their glances were vindictive, and their thirst for vengeance scarcely concealed. No one acquainted with the savage character could doubt their intentions, or hesitate for a moment to believe they only waited to ripen their plan of treachery, and at a moment which should be most favorable to their purposes, to butcher every white man in their power.

"The situation of the garrison was very precarious. The fort was a slight work, which might be readily set on fire, and the number of Americans was too small to afford the slightest chance of success in open fight against the numerous force of the Shawanoes. The only hope for safety was in keeping them at a distance; but this was inconsistent with the purpose of meeting them in council, to treat for peace.

"Both parties held separate councils on the day previous to that appointed for the treaty. That of the Indians was declamatory and boisterous. The caution with which they usually feel their way, and the secrecy that attends all their measures, seems to have been abandoned. They had probably decided on their course, and deeming their enemy too weak to oppose any serious opposition, were declaiming upon their wrongs, for the purpose of lashing each other into that state of fury which would give relish for the horrid banquet at hand, by whetting the appetite for blood. The American commissioners saw with gloomy forebodings these inauspicious movements, and hesitated as to the proper course to be pursued. To treat with savages thus numerically superior, bent on treachery, and intoxicated with an expected triumph, seemed to be madness. To meet them in council would be to place themselves at the mercy of ruthless barbarians, whose system of warfare justified and inculcated every species of stratagem, however disingenuous. To close the gate of the fortress, and break up the negotiation, would be at the same time a declaration of war, and an acknowledgment of weakness, which would produce immediate hostilities. * * *

"An apartment in the fort was prepared as a council-room, and at the appointed hour the doors were thrown open. At the head of the table sat Clark, a soldier-like and majestic man, whose complexion, eyes and hair all indicated a sanguine and mercurial temperament. The brow was high and capacious, the features were prominent and manly, and the expression, which was keen, reflective and ordinarily cheerful and agreeable, was now grave almost to sternness.

"The Indians, being a military people, have a deep respect for martial virtue. To other estimable or shining qualities they turn a careless eye or pay at best but a passing tribute, while they bow in profound veneration before a successful warrior. * * *

"Such was the remarkable man who now presided at the council-table. On his right hand sat Colonel Richard Butler, a brave officer of the Revolution, who soon after fell, with the rank of brigadier general, in the disastrous campaign of St. Clair. On the other side was Samuel H. Parsons, a lawyer from New England, who afterwards became a judge in the Northwestern Territory. At the same table sat the secretaries, while the interpreters, several officers and a few soldiers, stood around.

"An Indian council is one of the most impos-

ing spectacles in savage life. It is one of the few occasions in which the warrior exercises his right of suffrage, his influence and his talents, in a civil capacity; and the meeting is conducted with all the gravity and all the ceremonious ostentation with which it is possible to invest it. The matter to be considered, as well as all the details, are well digested beforehand, so that the utmost decorum shall prevail and the decision be unanimous. The chiefs and sages, the leaders and orators, occupy the most conspicuous seats; behind them are arranged the younger braves, and still further in the rear appear the women and youth, as spectators. All are equally attentive. A dead silence reigns throughout the assemblage. The great pipe, gaudily adorned with paint and feathers, is lighted and passed from mouth to mouth, commencing with the chief highest in rank and proceeding, by regular gradation, to the inferior order of braves. If two or three nations be represented, the pipe is passed from one party to the other, and salutations are courteously exchanged before the business of the council is opened by the respective speakers. Whatever jealousy or party spirit may exist in the tribe, it is carefully excluded from this dignified assemblage, whose orderly conduct and close attention to the proper subject before them might be imitated with profit by some of the most enlightened bodies in Christendom.

"It was an alarming evidence of the temper now prevailing among them and of the brooding storm that filled their minds, that no propriety of demeanor marked the entrance of the savages into the council-room. The usual formalities were forgotten or purposely dispensed with, and an insulting levity substituted in their place. The chiefs and braves stalked in with an appearance of light regard, and seated themselves promiscuously on the floor, in front of the commissioners. An air of insolence marked all their movements, and showed an intention to dictate terms or to fix a quarrel upon the Americans.

"A dead silence rested over the group; it was the silence of dread, distrust, and watchfulness, not of respect. The eyes of the savage band gloated upon the banquet of blood that seemed already spread out before them; the pillage of the fort and the bleeding scalps of the Americans were almost within their grasp; while that gallant little band saw the portentous nature of the crisis and stood ready to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

"The commissioners, without noticing the disorderly conduct of the other party or appearing to have discovered their meditated treachery, opened the council in due form. They lighted the peace pipe, and, after drawing a few whiffs, passed it to the chiefs, who received it. Colonel Clark then rose to explain the purpose for which the treaty was ordered. With an unembarrassed air, with the tone of one accustomed to command, and the easy assurance of perfect security and self-possession, he stated that the commissioners had been sent to offer peace to the Shawanoes; that the President had no wish to continue the war; he had no resentment to gratify; and that, if the red men desired peace, they could have it on liberal terms. 'If such be the will of the Shawanoes,' he concluded, 'let some of their wise men speak.'

"A chief arose, drew up his tall person to its full height, and assuming a haughty attitude, threw his eye contemptuously over the commissioners and their small retinue, as if to measure their insignificance, in comparison with his own numerous train, and then stalking up to the table, threw upon it two belts of wampum of different colors—the war and the peace belt. * * *

"The chiefs drew themselves up, in the consciousness of having hurled defiance in the teeth of the white men. They had offered an insult to the renowned leader of the Long Knives, to which they knew it would be hard for him to submit, while they did not suppose he would dare to resent it. The council-pipe was laid aside, and those fierce, wild men gazed intently on Clark. The Americans saw that the crisis had arrived; they could no longer doubt that the Indians understood the advantage they possessed, and were disposed to use it; and a common sense of danger caused each eye to be turned on the leading commissioner. He sat undisturbed, and apparently careless, until the chief who had thrown the belts on the table had taken his seat; then, with a small cane which he held in his hand, he reached as if playfully towards the war-belt, entangled the end of the stick in it, drew it towards him, and then, with a twitch of the cane, threw the belt into the midst of the chiefs. The effect was electric. Every man in the council, of each party, sprang to his feet; the savages with a loud exclamation of astonishment, 'Hugh!' the Americans in expectation of a hopeless conflict against overwhelming numbers. Every hand grasped a weapon.

"Clark alone was unawed. The expression of his countenance changed to a ferocious sternness, and his eye flashed; but otherwise he was unmoved. A bitter smile was slightly perceptible upon his compressed lips, as he gazed upon that savage band, whose hundred eyes were bent fiercely and in horrid exultation upon him, as they stood like a pack of wolves at bay, thirsting for blood, and ready to rush upon him whenever one bolder than the rest should commence the attack. It was one of those moments of indecision when the slightest weight thrown into either scale will make it preponderate; a moment in which a bold man, conversant with the secret springs of human action, may seize upon the minds of all around him and sway them at his will. Such a man was the intrepid Virginian. He spoke, and there was no man bold enough to gainsay him—none that could return the fierce glance of his eye. Raising his arm, and waving his hand towards the door, he exclaimed: 'Dogs! you may go!' The Indians hesitated for a moment, and then rushed tumultuously out of the council-room.

"The decision of Clark on that occasion saved himself and his companions from massacre. The plan of the savages had been artfully laid; he had read it in their features and conduct, as plainly as if it had been written upon a scroll before him. He met it in a manner which was unexpected; the crisis was brought on sooner than was intended; and upon a principle similar to that by which, when a line of battle is broken, the dismayed troops fly before order can be restored, the new and sudden turn given to these proceedings by the energy of Clark confounded the Indians, and before the broken thread of their scheme of treachery could be reunited, they were panic-struck. They had come prepared to browbeat, to humble, and then to destroy; they looked for remonstrance and altercation; for the luxury of drawing the toils gradually around their victims; of beholding their agony and degradation, and of bringing on the final catastrophe by an appointed signal, when the scheme should be ripe. They expected to see, on our part, great caution, a skillful playing-off, and an unwillingness to take offence, which were to be gradually goaded into alarm, irritation and submission. The cool contempt with which their first insult was thrown back in their teeth, surprised them, and they were foiled by the self-possession of one man. They had no Tecumthe among them, no master-spirit to change the plan, so as to adapt it to a new exigency; and those braves who, in many a battle, had shown themselves to be men of true valor, quailed before the moral superiority which assumed the vantage-ground of a position they could not comprehend, and therefore feared to assail.

"The Indians met immediately around their own council fire, and engaged in an animated discussion. Accustomed to a cautious warfare, they did not suppose a man of Colonel Clark's known sagacity would venture upon a display of mere gasconade, or assume any ground that he was not able to maintain; and they therefore attributed his conduct to a consciousness of strength. They knew him to be a consummate warrior; gave him the credit of having measured his own power with that of his adversary; and suspected that a powerful reinforcement was at hand."

John Scott Harrison in his address at Cleves, September 8, 1866, referred to elsewhere in this volume, seems to have accepted this story as correct for he speaks of the fort as being "rendered somewhat famous in the early settlement of the country, as the place where the distinguished and gallant General George Rogers Clark held a treaty with several tribes of Indians in 1786, and on which occasion he displayed, in a remarkable manner, that cool intrepidity of character and recklessness of danger for which he was so distinguished."

He continues from this point and gives the story according to Judge Hall's own account. Harrison must have heard the episode discussed by his father and grandfather and would hardly have accepted it, even upon Judge Hall's version, unless it was generally believed to be a true one. The statement made by Mr. Ford that General Butler was really the chief personage in these transactions is a mistake on its face. Butler was undoubtedly a very brave man but at that time he was of small importance in the estimation of the country as compared with George Rogers Clark, who was regarded by many as the man who saved the Northwestern territory to the American people. Mr. Ford undoubtedly bases his criticism on that of Mr. Craig who had never seen Major Denny's journal, and who probably would have given a different version had he been familiar with that impartial account.

CHAPTER X.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH CONGRESS AND WITH SETTLERS.

BENJAMIN STITES—JOHN CLEVES SYMMES—THE TRENTON PROSPECTUS—SYMMES STARTS WESTWARD—MATTHIAS DENMAN—THE DENMAN PURCHASE—COL. ROBERT PATTERSON—JOHN FILSON.

BENJAMIN STITES.

The immediate occasion of the settlement of Cincinnati or at least the circumstance that attracted attention to this special locality, was a marauding trip of the Indians. In the year 1786 one Maj. Benjamin Stites, of Red Stone, Old Fort, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania, undertook a trading expedition down the Ohio. Major Stites was a native of New Jersey, born at Scotch Plains, in Essex County, but while still a young man he emigrated to Western Pennsylvania and settled on the Ten Mile creek, in Greene County. He became a captain of militia and took a very active part in the struggles with the Indians. His venture down the Ohio was one of the numerous expeditions so common at that time. For the demands of the growing settlements in Kentucky, he carried with him in his flat-boat, flour and whiskey and other wares such as were salable at the river towns. He floated down to Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky, which though still a small place was one of considerable activity. Here was a blockhouse and the settlement was on the line of the old buffalo trail to Maysville. The boats used by the traders are thus described by a historian of the river: "A typical flat-boat of these early years was 55 feet long, 16 feet broad, with a draught of three feet; a capacious hull, accommodating under its roof horses, cattle and wagons, as well as their owners. With a good stage of water, the voyage from Pittsburg, or Red Stone, Old Fort, twenty miles above on the Monongahela, to the falls of the river, now becoming a lively centre, occupied a week or ten days; with low water, when sand bars might obstruct, a month might be required. The sides required to be built high, to be loopholed, and made bullet-proof either by heavy timbering or the disposition of the cargo, for at many points there was danger of Indian attack. Of course, for these 'broad-horns,' there was no return against the current; they were broken up when the down stream voyage was ended, the material doing service in a thousand ways." (Hosmer's Mississippi Valley, p. 95.)

Not long before this time, General Butler, the commissioner to negotiate treaties with the Indians, recorded his impressions of this town in his diary, as follows:

"This I think to be a settlement of fine land, and believe the people will do very well, provided they have peace. There are about fifteen good cabins for families, kitchens, etc., included, and twenty-five houses. Here is a small creek, and from here a good wagon road to Lexington and other places. The people seem to be determined to defend this. Every man walks with his rifle in his hand, so inured are they to alarms. They are very civil, but possess that roughness of manner so universally attendant on seclusion from general society, where, and where only the graces are, or will be wooed, or the rough covering of the human disposition be rubbed off. This misfortune of the early settlers of new countries seems, as all other things, wisely disposed by

Providence; it fits them for the state they are in, and enables them to bear the hardships which refined men will not submit to in the first settling a country, and answers the grand purposes of extending a frontier, and introducing the rudiments of law in the wilds of America, and are fully entitled to their share of merit on a certain line; and in the first instance are the most useful people in the land and merit great encouragement for their hardship, dangers, and adventures." (The Olden Time, Vol. II, p. 45.)

Stites did not meet with great success at Limestone on this trip, and therefore he carried his goods a few miles back into the interior to a little village called Washington, where he had friends from his native town. The community was very much excited at this time, by reason of the numerous forays of the Indians, who came down the valley of the Miamis, crossed the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Licking and carried off the property, particularly the horses, of the Kentuckians. A specially wanton case of this character had occurred just prior to the arrival of Stites.

Stites was a man of great strength and courage and full of energy and also was possessed of considerable experience in Indian warfare. His enthusiasm was aroused and he volunteered to go with a party, which he was duly instrumental in raising, in pursuit of the thieves. He was selected as the leader of the party and he hastened across the country, following the trail of the Indians until the river was reached, just below where the town of Augusta now stands. From this point they kept the Kentucky side of the river down as far as a point almost opposite the mouth of the Little Miami, where it was learned that the savages had constructed a raft and crossed with their plunder, making for their towns, about the head waters of the Miamis. Stites and his party made a raft and crossed over to the Ohio or Indian side of the Ohio River, in all probabilities at a point not far from where Stites subsequently located his colony. Here was the trail of the Indians to the north through the so-called "Miami slaughter house, a name justified by the drenching of blood its soil had received before that time and was to receive in the future." The old war-path from the British garrison at Detroit crossed the Ohio at this point and this was the usual avenue of approach for the savages from the head waters of the Wabash, the Miamis and the country bordering upon the lakes, where were their towns and villages, while the southern section was now reserved for the hunting grounds. (This was but a few months after the conclusion of the treaty at Fort Finney.)

Stites followed the trail up the Little Miami to Old Town, or Old Chillicothe, an Indian village north of where Xenia now stands (not the site of the present city of Chillicothe). From this point the trail went to the head waters of the Little Miami, which it was thought prudent not to approach too closely. They went westward to the Big Miami, and in a more leisurely manner retraced their steps southward by way of Mill creek valley to the Ohio. This excursion, which was fruitless in immediate results, happening in summer, brought to the mind of the old Indian fighter the ambition to own and possess this beautiful land with its rich soil, magnificent forest and clear streams. It is asserted that before recrossing the river, he had made up his mind to go back to this valley with a colony and make there a permanent settlement. He realized that the time would not be long before a country so rich in promise would be eagerly sought by many others and that the race was for the quick. He closed out his business in Kentucky and started for New York where Congress was then in session. The story is told that his enthusiasm was so great that he walked the entire distance from Ohio. As walking was as speedy a means of locomotion in those days as anything within reach, the story does not seem improbable.

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

It seems likely that Stites at first made some efforts to negotiate in person, with those of influence and authority, but he soon found that he achieved no success; it was necessary for him to join with him some one of prominence. It was his good fortune to find a man suitable for his purpose, in the person of Judge John Cleves Symmes, whose name for all time thereafter was to be identified with the undertaking, and more than any other to be credited with the movement which resulted in the settlements that now constitute one of the richest and most important communities of the land.

Judge Symmes was at this time a member of Congress from Trenton, New Jersey. He had been born July 21, 1742, at River Head on Long Island, the oldest son of Rev. Timothy and Mary (Cleves) Symmes. In early life he was a teacher and surveyor, but some time before the Revolutionary War he removed to New Jersey. He was chairman of the Sussex County Commit-

tee of Safety, and entered the army as colonel of the third battalion of militia. He served through a large part of the war, and was at the battle of Saratoga. He was elected a delegate to the New Jersey State Convention, and was one of those who drafted the State constitution. Subsequently he became Lieutenant-Governor and member of the Council, and for two years was a member of the Continental Congress (1785-86). He served twelve years as a judge of the Supreme Court of his State, during part of which time he also attended to his duties in Congress. While on the bench he presided at the famous trial of James Morgan, the murderer of the patriot James Caldwell. Symmes had married a daughter of Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, was connected politically and socially with the most influential people of his time, and was the man of all men to aid Stites in his cherished plan.

Either at Trenton, as is asserted in one account, or in New York, during the session of Congress, Stites described to Symmes the beauties of the Miami country, and unfolded his plan. He proposed a purchase of a large body of land in the Miami country to be selected at the first eligible point west of the purchase of the Ohio Company and the Virginia Military Reservation; this naturally included the land lying on the Ohio River between the two Miamis. Symmes became intensely interested and with five companions he took a trip to the Miami country, in the summer of 1787, crossing the mountains and descending the Ohio River to the falls.

Colonel Harmar, who was at that time in command at the camp at the rapids of the Ohio, transmitted to the Secretary of War on June 15, 1787, what is probably the first official notice received of Symmes' plans. He states "Judge Symmes formerly a member of Congress is here and has it in contemplation to establish a settlement on the Wabash. I think it my duty to transmit you the enclosed proposals of his in order that you may be acquainted with his intentions." It will be remembered that this was prior to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 and at a time when all prospective settlers seem to have been held in suspicion by the authorities.

Symmes returned to the East fully as determined as Stites had been to secure his share of this fair land. Whatever may be the fact with regard to his thought of establishing a settlement on the Wabash, his final determination pointed to the lands between the Miamis. The time was ripe for such a settlement. Congress had passed on May 20, 1785, the act declaratory of the mode in which these possessions in the territory northwest of the Ohio would be disposed of by the government. This act was followed by the famous Ordinance of July 17, 1787, dedicating forever the land northwest of the Ohio to freedom. The reports of travelers, notably of Rev. William Wood of Kentucky and others, confirmed the accounts given by Stites of the Western country.

Wood had some few years before emigrated from some part of the Atlantic States to Washington in Mason County, Kentucky, just back of Limestone and had afterwards paid visits to the East. Dr. Drake mentions his visit at Scotch Plains, three miles from Plainfield, New Jersey, where Drake's father lived. Scotch Plains was the birth place of Stites and in the same county, Union, in which was located Springfield, where Matthias Denman lived. Wood was a Baptist minister, to which persuasion the Stites family and many of the early settlers, particularly those of Columbia, belonged.

Brownsville which was Stites' ostensible home at this time was simply the head of navigation down the Monongahela and Ohio and had been for some years the usual starting point for boats carrying emigrants down the Ohio to Kentucky. Around this landing place there had grown up a settlement of boat builders and traders in supplies. Stites was one of these and in his frequent trips to Washington he had met Wood who was well acquainted with the people of his own town. Wood gave such glowing accounts of Kentucky and the Western country that all in that section of New Jersey became interested, as is indicated by the personality of the settlers who finally left that neighborhood.

Another Baptist minister, Rev. Stephen Gano, had also visited Kentucky and the West and to quote Dr. Drake "his breath of praise still further fanned the flame; till at length the iron ties of affection for home and friends were melted, and a departure was determined upon." Gano it will be seen was one of those who took his family to the West. His son, John S. Gano, and his brother-in-law, Dr. William Goforth, after halting first at Washington, finally came to Cincinnati of which both became very prominent citizens. John S. Gano was in the first landing party at Columbia. (Drake, Pioneer Life in Kentucky.)

The interest aroused by the reports of these travelers was added to by the fact that before

the expiration of the year 1787, the terms offered by Congress had been accepted by the association of New Englanders calling themselves the Ohio Company, who under the leadership of Rufus Putnam shortly afterwards effected the settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum.

Symmes upon his return to the East organized a company of 24 men, among whom were Jonathan Dayton, Elias Boudinot, Dr. Witherspoon and Benjamin Stites, and in his own name on August 29, 1787, presented the following memorial to Congress:

"To His Excellency, the President of Congress—The petition of John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey showeth: That your petitioner, encouraged by the resolutions of Congress of the 23rd and 27th of July last, stipulating the condition of a transfer of Federal lands on the Scioto and Muskingum rivers unto Winthrop Sargent and Manasseh Cutler, Esqrs., and their associates, of New England, is induced on behalf of the citizens of the United States, westward of Connecticut, who also wish to become purchasers of Federal lands to pray that the honorable, the Congress, will be pleased to direct that a contract be made by the honorable, the Commissioners of the Treasury Board, with your petitioner, for himself and his associates, in all respects similar in form and matter to the said grant made to Messrs. Sargent and Cutler, differing only in quantity, and place where, and instead of two townships for the use of a university, that one only be assigned for the benefit of an academy; that by such transfer to your petitioner and his associates, on their complying with the terms of sale, the fee may pass of all the lands lying within the following limits, viz.: Beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami River, thence running up the Ohio to the mouth of the Little Miami River, thence up the main stream of the Little Miami River to the place where a due west line, to be continued from the western termination of the northern boundary line of the grant to Messrs. Sargent, Cutler & Company, shall intersect the said Little Miami River, thence due west, continuing the said western line, to the place where the said line shall intersect the main branch or stream of the Great Miami River, thence down the Great Miami to the place of beginning.

"John C. Symmes."

"New York, August 29, 1787."

There was endorsed thereon on October 2, 1787, the following:

"Ordered, that the above petition be referred to the Board of Treasury to take order."

On the day that this letter was written, Congress passed another act with relation to the contracts for public lands, and on October 23rd, an act authorizing the Board of Treasury to contract with any one for tracts of not less than one million acres of Western lands in a single purchase; the front of each on the Ohio, the Wabash or other river, should not exceed one-third the depth.

Symmes was much aided in his negotiations by Capt. Jonathan Dayton, at that time a delegate in Congress from New Jersey, and subsequently Speaker of the House of Representatives. The city of Dayton, Ohio, receives its name from this prominent Revolutionary character. Dayton carried on a correspondence throughout the negotiations with Symmes, and on many occasions was able to ward off unfavorable action. For some reason that has never become entirely clear, Symmes' proposals were viewed with considerable jealousy and there was a great deal of annoying delay and numerous objections which required the utmost tact to overcome. The original scheme contemplated the purchase of two millions of acres and this extent of territory was supposed to be included within the designated limits, although as a matter of fact the survey ultimately showed that the tract did not exceed six hundred thousand acres. The Board of Treasury, to whom the endorsement states that the petition was referred to take order, were the representatives of the Treasury Department, who were entrusted with the regulation of sales of public lands. This power was afterwards vested in the Secretary of the Treasury, and eventually in the General Land Office. The reference to the board "to take order," giving them discretionary power, was soon followed by negotiations with Symmes.

THE TRENTON PROSPECTUS.

Symmes at this time did not seem to be conscious of any serious objections to his plans and he began immediately to advertise the lands and to make grants conditioned upon a satisfactory conclusion of his negotiations with Congress. On November 26, 1787, he issued at Trenton his celebrated circular in pamphlet form, addressed "To The Respectable Public." This was

entitled "Terms of Sale and Settlement of Miami Lands."

The circular recites the negotiations with Congress and the conditions of the accepted grant. The tract was to be surveyed and the purchaser or purchasers within seven years of the completion of the survey, "unless the frequencies of Indian interruptions may render the same in a measure impracticable" shall lay off the whole tract at their own expense into townships and frational parts of townships, and divide the same into lots. The lot No. 16 in each township or fractional township was to be given perpetually for the purposes mentioned in the land ordinance of May 20, 1785. "Lot No. 29 to be perpetually given for purposes of religion." Lots 8, 11, and 26 were to be reserved for the future disposition of Congress. "One complete township to be given perpetually for the purposes of an Academy or College, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers, as nearly opposite to the mouth of Licking River as an entire township may be found eligible in point of soil and situation, to be applied to the intended object by the Legislature of the State." The price of the lands was fixed for the time at one dollar an acre, subject to a reduction for bad lands and incidental charges of one-third of a dollar per acre. Bounty rights in an amount not to exceed one-seventh of the entire purchase price were to be accepted in lieu of cash. For the purpose of raising money for the first payment, Symmes offered to issue land warrants for any number of acres not less than 160, permitting the purchaser to select his location from a map in Symmes' possession. The terms of payment were at the rate of 66 2-3 cents an acre but "after the first day of May next, the price of the land will be one dollar per acre, and after the first day of November next, the price will rise still higher if the country is settled as fast as is expected." This increased purchase price was to be applied to the making of roads and bridges. The purchasers were given two years in which to settle upon their location. In default of compliance with the conditions of settlement, forfeitures under certain conditions were provided for. The following is the comment upon this provision: "Perhaps some may think that two years is too short a time for making the settlement required; but if gentlemen will reflect on the danger from the Indians attending the first settlers, the great difficulties which those meet, who first occupied the desert, the extent of the Federal territory open in every quarter to emigrants, and that the value of land depends almost entirely on the number of its inhabitants, the subscriber believes that two years will be thought time sufficient for the purpose. The subscriber having been in the Western country is so fully persuaded of the great benefit that will result from this regulation, that he must cheerfully submit to it himself, and perhaps few will be more affected thereby." Ministers of the Gospel were cordially invited into the country to enjoy the use of lot No. 29 in each township. Schoolmasters "capable of discharging with propriety the duties of such instructors" were promised the free use and benefit of lot No. 16. "The subscriber hopes that the respectable public will not think it unreasonable in him, when he informs them that the only privilege which he reserves for himself, as a small reward for his trouble in this business, is the exclusive right of selecting or locating that entire township, which will be lowest down in the point of land formed by the Ohio and Great Miami Rivers, and those three fractional parts of townships which may lie north, west, and south, between such entire township and the waters of the Ohio and Great Miami. This point of land, the subscriber intends paying for himself, and thereon to lay out a handsome town-plat, with eligible streets, and lots of sixty feet wide in front and rear, and one hundred and twenty feet deep, every other lot of which shall be given freely to any person who shall first apply for the same, lot No. 1 being retained, lot No. 2 given away, and thus alternately throughout the town —upon conditions always, that the person so applying for, and accepting of, a given lot or lots, without evasion, build a house or cabin on each lot so given, within two years after the date of the first payment made to the Treasury Board, and occupy the same by keeping some family therein for the first three years after building. Every person who would accept of a town lot first, as aforesaid, shall have the privilege of cutting, on the subscriber's adjacent land, as much timber for building as donee shall need during the term of three years from the time when he first begins to build on his lot." Such was the scheme which was to build the great city that Symmes had in mind, as the emporium of the Miami Valley.

His prospectus, not unlike those of later date, continues with encouraging comments upon the land offered for settlement. "The subscriber

begs leave to add for the information of those who are unacquainted with the country that from his own view of this land, bordering on the River Ohio, and the unanimous report of all those who have traveled over the tract in almost every direction, it is supposed to be equal to any part of the Federal territory in point of quality of soil and excellence of climate, it lying in the latitude of about 38° north, where the winters are moderate and no extreme heats in summer. Its situation is such as to command the navigation of several fine rivers, as may be seen on the maps of that country; boats are frequently passing by this land as they ply up and down the Ohio." Other attractions offered are the absence of mountains, the level character of the country, stone quarries, the springs and rivulets and fine mill streams, the fact that the two Miamis were supposed to be navigable beyond the northern extent of the purchase, the accessibility of salt on the banks of the Licking River, and the easy means of transportation for provisions from the Pittsburg, Red Stone and Wheeling settlements or from Kentucky. Another alluring incident is the certainty of a clear title, which is supposed to be an advantage over the purchase of Kentucky lands. As title without the ability to defend one's occupancy is not of the greatest value, the circular continues: "The Honorable, 'the Secretary at War, General Knox, having assured the subscriber of his friendly disposition to support the settlers against the Indians, by replacing a garrison of Federal troops in the fort, which is still remaining on the land at the mouth of the Great Miami, must greatly facilitate the settlement and in some measure render safety to the first adventurers." The promise of good government and wholesome laws and the wisest regulations for promoting emigration, protecting and rendering happy those who become peaceable settlers therein, and the assurances that the subscriber will give his personal superintendence to the settlement, conclude this interesting document.

It is not strange that so promising an invitation to share in the location of the future metropolis of the West should find acceptors. It was most fitting, too, that the first warrant should have been issued to the man to whose far-seeing enterprise the credit of the undertaking is due. Without awaiting the conclusion of the negotiations with Congress, Symmes proceeded to issue certificates, the first of which reads as follows:

No. 1 MIAMI LAND-WARRANT.

This entitles Benjamin Stites
his Heirs or Assigns, to locate one
Section, in which the Fee of 640 Acres
shall pass, subject to the Terms of settlement.

Dated the sevent teenth Day of December A. D. 1787.
Signed by JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.
Countersigned by
BENJAMIN STITES
Speshel At the point betwixt the mouth
of the little miame and the ohio in the pint.

Stites obtained this warrant by virtue of his contract with Symmes, of November 9, 1787, which appears upon the records of Hamilton County (Book A, p. 3), as follows:

"WHEREAS, Congress, by their resolution of the 22d day of October, 1787, directed the Commissioners of the Treasury Board to contract with John Cleves Symmes for all the lands lying between the two Miami Rivers to a certain line which forms the northern boundary thereof, These may certify that if Captain Benjamin Stites shall raise certificates to pay for twenty thousand acres of the same, or any larger quantity, he shall have it at the price agreed with the Treasury board, which is five shillings in liquidated certificates per acre, making payment therefor, and in all things conforming to the conditions of the contract, with the Treasury Board and also with the articles or conditions of the sale and settlement of the land, which will be published by John C. Symmes. On Captain Stites purchasing 20,000 acres, of the land or any larger quantity, he shall have the privilege of appointing one Surveyor to assist in runing [sic] out the Country, so far as the proportion he purchases shall be to the whole Tract, which Surveyor shall be intitled to receive the same fees for his service as the other surveyor as the other Surveyor [sic] employed on that service shall receive. As soon as Credit or time of payment can be given, agreeable to the Contract, Capt Stites shall have the benefit thereof as all other purchasers shall have, but this is not till after the two first payments.

"JOHN CLEVES SYMMES."

"NEW YORK, 9th November, 1787."

This contract was followed by another contract, made at Brunswick, New Jersey, on December 17, 1787:

"Captain Benjamin Stites enters ten thousand acres and the fractions on the Ohio and little miami and is to take in Mr. John Carpenter as

one of his Company, to be on lines or sections on the Ohio and little Miami from the point. And ten thousand acres on equal lines or Sections at the Mill Stream falling in to the Ohio between the little and great Miami, which, when the Certificates therefor are paid and the record book opened shall be recorded to him and to such of his Company as join therefor.

JOHN C. SYMMES."

"NEW BRUNSWICK the 17th December, 1787."

After this there was added, without date of record, the following:

"The last ten thousand acres is to be taken in the following manner two Sections at the mouth of Mill Creek & the residue to begin four miles from the Ohio up mill creek, Captain Stites takes four Sections on the little Miami with the fractions next adjoining the ten thousand acres where it comes to the little Miami. And four Sections with the fractions next above the range of Townships taken by Daniel ———————— Esqr, on the little Miami." (Book A, p. 3, Hamilton County Recorder's Office.)

By the 8th of February, 1793, Captain Stites had paid in full for his land, as will appear from the following receipt:

"CINCINNATI, February the 8th, 1793.

"Received of Benjamin Stites, Esqr. at different payments Certificates of debts due by the United States to the amount of ten thousand six hundred and fifty-two dollars and twenty-three ninetieths of a dollar in payment for different parts of the Miami purchase lying, as may appear by location of Mr. Stites, ten thousand acres round Columbi, Seven Sections on the waters of Mill Creek for different people as will appear by the Miami records, and about three or four sections in the neighborhood of Coovlts Station, and in cash, orders and other articles to the amount of one hundred and fifty-eight pounds eight shillings and eight pence, for which lands, accommodate to the several locations I promise to make a Deed in fee simple as soon as I am inabled by receiving my deed from the United States.

"JOHN C. SYMMES."

"JOHN GANNO."

(Hamilton County Recorder's Office, Deed Book A, p. 3.)

The moneys and certificates received from Stites were used of course by Symmes in making his first payment. It was this fact which made the effort to compel Symmes to fix his eastern boundary upon a line twenty miles east of the mouth of the Great Miami, so embarrassing, as of course Stites' location was entirely outside this tract.

Symmes had supposed that the amount of land included in his first purchase would reach two millions of acres, and he soon became conscious of the fact that this was a larger undertaking than he had expected to engage in. For this reason, on the 11th of June, 1788, he addressed to the Treasury Board, the following communication:

"Gentlemen—Meeting with some difficulties which attend obtaining the general pleasure of the late Jersey line with regard to their bounty lands, so as to procure that credit therefor, in the discharge of my first payment in my late contract, which I had premised to myself, I beg leave to relinquish my former purchase, upon condition, however, that your honors be pleased to enter into a new contract with me for a part of the same lands, of 1,000,000 of acres fronting on the Ohio and extending inland from the Ohio between the Great Miami River and the Little Miami River, the whole breadth of the country from river to river, so far as to include on an east and west rear line, 1,000,000 acres, exclusive of the five reserved sections in every township, as directed in the ordinance of the 20th of May, 1785, and that the present grant be made on the principles laid down by the resolution of Congress of the 23d of October last."

Upon delivery of the foregoing by him to the commissioners, he received from them a statement showing how his account stood. He was charged with a million acres of land at two-thirds of a dollar an acre, and a calculation was then made showing the amount of cash and the amount of army rights that he would be obliged to turn in. His first payment was calculated to amount to $83,333 1/3. A few days later the board replied to his new proposition in the following letter:

"BOARD OF TREASURY, June 16, 1788.

"Sir—We are favored with your letter of the 11th instant relinquishing your pretensions to a contract for 2,000,000 acres of land, agreeably to the act of Congress of 29th of August, 1787, and proposing one for a million of acres to be

entered into on the principles laid down by the act of Congress of the 23d of October last. We can not agree to the boundaries as you have proposed, but are willing to contract with you for a million of acres within a tract bounded as follows: Beginning at a certain point on the north side of the river Ohio, that shall be found to be twenty miles distant along the courses thereof, from the mouth of the Great Miami River, thence extending down the said river Ohio, along the several courses thereof to the Great Miami River, thence up the Miami along the different courses of the same to such distance that a certain point shall be fixed due east from the same, from whence a direct line running nearly parallel with the general direction of the Miami, terminating in the aforesaid point on the Ohio at the place of beginning, shall include 1,000,000 of acres. We request an early answer to this letter, and are, sir, your most obedient humble servants,

"WALTER LIVINGSTON,
"ARTHUR LEE."

"JOHN CLEVES SYMMES, ESQ."

This boundary would leave Stites and a number of other purchasers entirely outside the Miami purchase. The controversy started at this time threatened for years to involve the Miami purchase in continual litigation. Three years later, July 19, 1791, Governor Arthur St. Clair issued a proclamation warning against purchases outside this land and defining the boundaries of the purchases very much as in this letter. The complications growing out of this matter were endless, and for many years Judge Symmes' life was embittered by them. At this time, however, he felt it wise to let the matter drift, although many conferences were had with the commissioners. He endeavored to convince them of the unreasonable character of their demand, especially in view of the lack of knowledge of the geography of the country which would make the settlement on an imaginary point of the river. There seemed to be no yielding, however, at that time on the part of the representatives of the government. Without any definite acceptance, he continued to temporize, by making payments as per vouchers, as follows:

"NEW YORK, July 12, 1788.

"This is to certify that the several payments paid into my hands by John Cleves Symmes, Esq., in public securities, up to this date, amount to upwards of seventy-two thousand dollars on account of the lands in the Western Territory which he purchased of the Honorable the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury.

"M. HILLEGAS, Treas."

"The Honorable Jonathan Dayton, Esq., has lodged in this office applications of individuals, who formerly belonged to the New York and New Jersey lines of the late army, amounting to 29,600 acres, to be received in the purchase of John Cleves Symmes, Esq., but that the said applications have not been critically examined, either as to the validity of the assignments or the rights of the claimants, although it is probable from a cursory examination that most of the claims are well founded. A particular examination will be made into this subject in a few days.

Signed "J. KNOX."

"WAR OFFICE, this 12th of July, 1788."

"This is to certify that the foregoing is a copy of the original lodged in the Treasurer's Office.

"M. HILLEGAS, Treas."

"NEW YORK, July 14, 1788."

Armed with these assurances of good faith, Symmes on July 14, 1788, presented to the board his answer to their letter of June 16th, as follows:

"Having been honored by the receipt of your letter of the 16th ultimo, beg leave in answer thereto to observe that my ardent wish is to adhere to the banks of both the Miamis in the boundaries of the one million of acres, as great inconveniences will arise to many of my associates if we are excluded the banks of the Little Miami, but if this shall be deemed by you inadmissible, the geography of the country between the two Miamis is too little known to afford sufficient information on the subject to enable me to say at this time what line could, with propriety, be drawn from the river Ohio to an imaginary point, to be fixed somewhere between the two Miamis so as to include one million of acres adjoining the Great Miami. I am, however, willing to be governed by reasonable principles, and, in order to treat with your honors on the question of boundary with that understanding which is so necessary, I beg the permission of your honorable Board to enter the premises with a number of settlers, and survey the land, which I will attempt to effect in the course of this season, that an accurate map of the country may be spread on your table on which you may delineate your pleasure. In the first instance I will defray

the expense of such survey, but shall expect a reimbursement of my expeditures from the United States, as the exterior lines of all their grants are to be run by them. In this I shall be much obliged if the geographer general may be instructed to appoint the surveyor to do this business. I am content that, for the present, any further progress on my second application be suspended. I have paid what I consider a sufficiency, both in money and army rights, to fulfill the first payment, and until we have better knowledge, I conceive any further stipulations of boundaries would be rather premature."

This obvious attempt at aggressive expansion did not meet the views of the commissioners. It was realized fully by them that the possession would probably be nine points of the law, and if Judge Symmes should enter upon the land for the ostensible purpose of surveying the same, he would be in a much better position to enforce his claims for the grant as he desired it. There was endorsed thereafter upon his letter, the following minute:

"On a conference on the subject of this letter, delivered by Mr. Symmes in person, the Board informed him that they could not recede from their proposition of the 16th of June, nor authorize him to enter on the premises previous to a payment on those conditions.

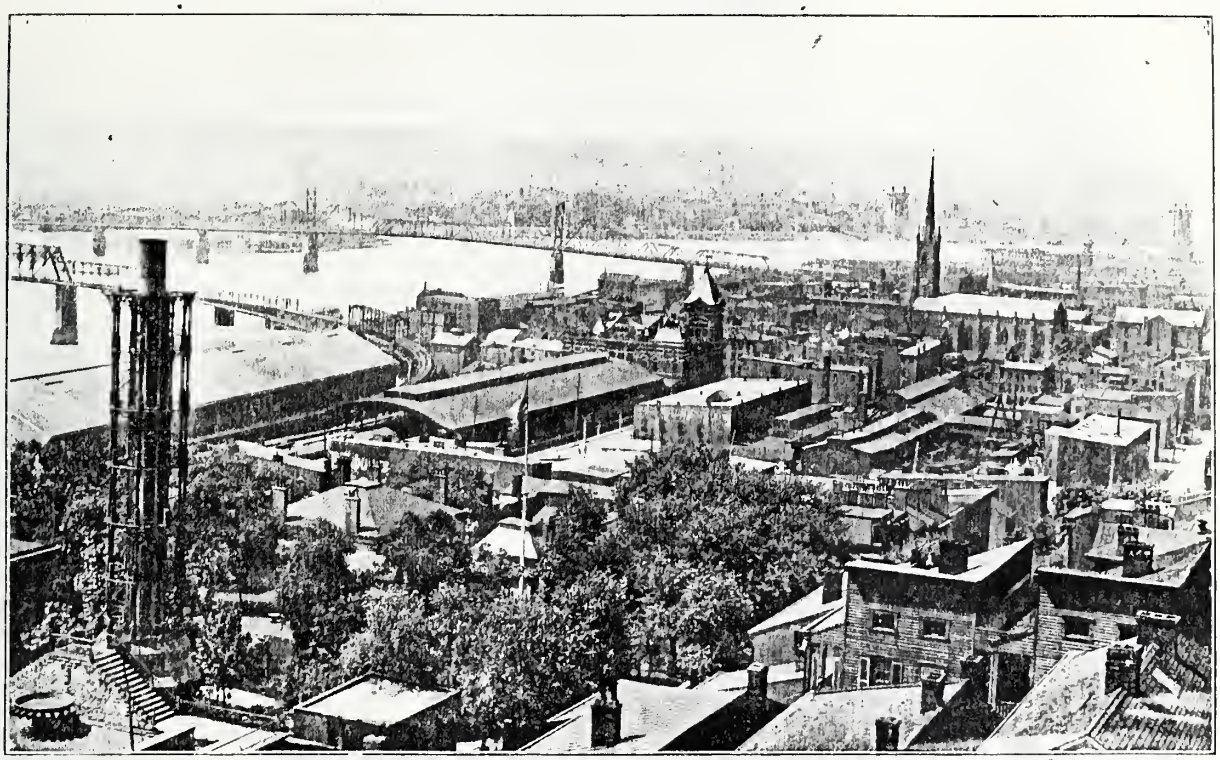
"WM. DUER."

Of course Symmes could not accede to the conditions referred to, by reason of his proceedings in selling warrants for locations to Stites and others whose payments he had used in payment of his obligations to the Treasury. He was further moved by the fact that these people had already begun preparations to take charge of the land and commence their settlements, and that his own force was assembling. One-half of it in fact had already crossed the Delaware, and the rest were ready to start, and looking to him for supplies. He discusses the situation in a letter to Elias Boudinot, one of his associates, under date of July 18, 1788, as follows:

"Last Tuesday I left New York despairing of settling my business to my mind with the Commissioners of the Treasury Board. I cannot comprehend the grounds of their extreme hesitation to close on my terms, as I conceive no possible detriment could accrue to the United States. Four thousand dollars and upwards are paid more than the cash part of the first payment, and the Hon. Capt. Dayton has lodged almost double the army rights that was required. On doing this and producing the Treasurer's receipt for the certificates and General Knox's certificate for the bounty rights paid in, I applied to the Board for leave to enter and survey the exterior lines and take the traverse of the Ohio and the two Miamis and lay before the Board a map of the country, that we might the better govern ourselves with regard to the line between the first million and the residue of my first purchase.. This seemed to be agreed the first day when the three commisioners only were present, but the secretary to the Board raised so many objections the second day that nothing was done. The gentlemen insisted that I should be explicit in my answer to their letter on the subject of boundary to the one million, which I was for that time obliged to decline. If I was confident that the East Jersey Company would succeed, I should be quite indifferent where the line was drawn between the first and second million, so that Capt. Benjamin Stites and others who have located on that side towards the Little Miami were indemnified and saved in their locations. But I fear the success of the East Jersey Company is not quite certain. I suspect others have their views upon the residue as well as your Company. I fear also a failure of raising the certificates necessary for the first payment before accounts are transmitted by the first emigrants of the quality and geography of the country. These reasons induced me to aim at making a lodgment before any express boundary was stipulated. I still mean to attempt this. I have General Knox's letter to General Harmar, to furnish me with a small detachment of troops. If my progress is not arrested by the Board, I shall soon make a lodgment on the land. In the meantime I shall confide in you and the other gentlemen composing the East Jersey Company, to ward off from me every measure that may tend to impede my establishing a settlement. I rely most confidently on the kind interposition of Capt. Dayton and our other Jersey Delegates, and I am much deceived if there be not many other gentlemen in Congress who wish to see a settlement established at Miami."

SYMMES STARTS WESTWARD.

In accordance with the statement in the letter to Boudinot, Symmes concluded to start westward. Stites had already preceded him and had



VIEW FROM MOUNT ADAMS.

THE SUSPENSION BRIDGE.

(From a Photograph, Copyright 1902, by Rombach & Greene, Cincinnati, Ohio.)

arrived at Limestone in July, some time before Judge Symmes, where he had joined the party of Rev. Stephen Gano, there since June 5th. The Judge left New Jersey in July, with a train of 14 four-horse wagons and accompanying the wagons were a number of persons on horseback. The party included sixty people, among whom were his own family. He traveled in a very leisurely manner across the country to Pittsburg, and thence to Wheeling, to which point he had sent his horses by land from Devou's Ferry, thirty-five miles up the Monongahela River; he himself with his people traveled down the Monongahela and Ohio on boats. He regretted afterwards that he had not used oxen in his teams instead of horses, as he would have saved much money by it, and recommended to his Eastern friends, who thought of coming to his country, that they should use oxen. "They are cheaper by one-half in the first purchase, not so much exposed to accidents,—the Indians have never disturbed them in any instance (except in the attack on Colerain, when the enemy took all the cattle for the supply of their small army) and after long service they are still of their original value." The road lay through a region which was not regarded in any sense as hostile, and his principal obstacles were rain and bad roads. Seven broken axle-trees represent his damage, by the time he had reached Pittsburg, which was August 20th. The members of his party were received with great hospitality by the people of this Western settlement, and the ladies of his party found the ladies of Pittsburg exceedingly polite and agreeable and felt much regret that they must leave them so soon.

Judge Burnet says that Congress upon learning of his departure had become alarmed and feared that his object was to get possession and then set that body at defiance. "Under that impression a resolution was offered, ordering Colonel Harmar, who was stationed with his regiment below Pittsburg, to dispossess him, and directing the expense to be paid out of the money deposited and the residue to be returned. Fortunately Dr. Boudinot and General Dayton, two of his associates, were in Congress at the time, and were able to make such explanations, as induced a withdrawal of the resolution, on their assurance that the contract should be executed, in due form without unnecessary delay. To comply with that engagement, they despatched Daniel Marsh, one of the associates, to go in pursuit of the Judge and induce him to return, or to execute a power of attorney, authorizing some of his friends to complete the contract for him. Mr. Marsh overtook him at Pittsburg, preparing to descend the river. Without any hesitation he gave a letter of attorney, authorizing his associates, Jonathan Dayton and Daniel Marsh, to execute the contract in such form as they might see proper. Mr. Marsh then returned, and the Judge proceeded to the Miami country.

"As soon as the power of attorney was received, the agents consulted with their associates, and on their advice executed a contract of three parts on the 15th of October, 1788, between the Commissioners of the Board of Treasury, of the first part, Jonathan Dayton and Daniel Marsh, of the second part, and John C. Symmes and his associates of the third part. By that contract the quantity of land named in his proposition to the Board of Treasury, was reduced to one million of acres; and the south boundary instead of running from one Miami to the other, according to the first proposition, terminated at a point on the Ohio River, twenty miles above the mouth of the Big Miami, which on survey was found to be within the limits of Cincinnati—thence northwardly, parallel with the general course of the Big Miami for quantity." (Burnet's Notes on Northwestern Territory, p. 414.)

Symmes undoubtedly was much annoyed at the reports he received at Pittsburg. In writing back from this point, he says:

"I shall now, sir, attempt a brief answer to your letters, but can do it much better after I have been on the Miami lands, as I shall then be master of the subject, which, at present, I do not pretend to be, so far as relates to the boundary line to be drawn. It gives me pain that any of my good friends should be *uneasy and discontented* that I should venture on the lands before every minutia of the business was settled with the honorable commissioners of the Treasury Board. I have their express terms and proposed boundary, and while I keep myself within their proposed limits no exception can possibly be taken by them. It is I, sir, that will have cause of complaint, if I confine myself to the twenty miles front, and not the honorable commissioners. Surely, therefore, they will never think of dislodging me from the ground which themselves have proposed for our settlement.

"I shall always have the caution not to exceed what I have their concurrence to. The land they grant, I accept. I think I ought to have

more, but still I confine myself till that question is settled. I thank you, sir, for your kind interposition with the two honorable gentlemen of the Board. I am sure, however, that those two gentlemen could not justly charge me with *impropriety of conduct*, when I told them expressly that I could not give a full and definite answer to their letter to me on the subject of boundary, but that I would answer it, conclusively, as soon as I was able to inform myself and them of the meanders and courses of the Ohio and Great Miami. This, I expect, a very short time will do."

The party staid at Pittsburg for two days and then started on their voyage down the Ohio with a fine stream of water as a result of heavy rain. They reached Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum, August 24th, at which point Lieut. Ebenezer Denny met them. He comments upon them in his "Military Journal" as follows. "Judge Symmes with several boats and families arrived on their way to his new purchase on the Miami. Has a daughter (Polly) along. They lodge with General and Mrs. Harmar. Stay three days and depart. If not mistaken, Miss Symmes will make a fine woman, an amiable disposition and highly cultivated mind about to be buried in the wilderness." The young woman who impressed Major Denny, who was thoroughly familiar with the wilderness to which she was bound, as he had spent the winter two years before at Fort Finney, at the lower end of Symmes' lands, subsequently became the wife of Peyton Short, and is said to have justified all that Major Denny said of her. The party left Marietta, August 27th, and proceeded to Limestone.

Stites was already at Limestone, having arrived there in July, after descending the waters of the Monongahela and Ohio, on a broadhorn boat. He and his party had been for some time engaged in cutting out clapboards to roof their new homes.

MATTHIAS DENMAN.

In the meantime another party was collecting to join with Symmes and Stites in their venture. The man who gave his name to this company was Matthias Denman, a Jersey man, residing at Springfield, Essex County, where he practically made his home until the time of his death. Denman is called by many the founder of Cincinnati, because of the fact that he it was that made the purchase upon which subsequently was located the city. This title, however, does not seem to be entirely justified as he was in no sense a pioneer, but simply a speculator in lands in the new country, and a member of the Jersey Company. He never lived on his purchase and contributed little if anything to the life of this community. After his early visits to this neighborhood, he returned to New Jersey, and so far as is known remained there until the day of his death. He sold his interests in Cincinnati in 1795. Francis W. Miller, the author of "Cincinnati's Beginnings," is said to have visited him in 1830, and Mr. Ford, in his history, says:

"That he was a man of some intelligence, enterprise and energy, may be inferred from the incidents of his connection with this enterprise in the then wilderness west; but we do not learn that he attained to any special distinction in his own State, or even where he was born or when he died."

D. F. Denman of Coshocton, Ohio, a grandson of Matthias Denman, has furnished for this work a sketch of the life of Matthias Denman which has been placed in the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. From this sketch it is learned that Denman came of an old English family, one of whom landed in Boston in 1635.

Matthias Denman was born at Springfield, New Jersey, February 13, 1751. The greater part of his early life was spent upon his father's farm. He learned the trade of making buckskin breeches, a very important one in those days, but he never followed this vocation but gave the greater part of his life to agricultural pursuits. He was a noted horseman and until the year of his death he was devoted to horseback riding. In September, 1770, he married Phoebe Baldwin, the daughter of Capt. Ennis Baldwin, who afterwards was a Revolutionary officer. Matthias Denman was one of the "Minute Men" during the Revolution. At the close of the war he bought a number of land warrants which were issued by Congress to soldiers and foreseeing to some extent the future of the Western country he determined to locate his warrants in what is now the State of Ohio. He thus became the owner of many thousands of acres in Coshocton, Licking and other counties in Ohio and in the northern part of Kentucky.

In the winters of 1787 and 1788 he became interested in the Symmes contemplated purchase and located the tract opposite the mouth of the Licking. He first associated with him in this

undertaking Robert Patterson and afterwards John Filson who selected the name Losantiville.

Mr. Denman in the sketch of his grandfather, says: "Judge Burnet in his 'Notes' disputes this and asserts the name of Losantiville was proposed but was not adopted. I think Judge Burnet mistaken as I know positively that Matthias Denman said that the town was so called until the coming of Governor St. Clair in 1790." This matter has been discussed at length in another chapter.

After the settlement Denman returned to his home in New Jersey. He never became a resident of Ohio although he naturally watched its development and growth with great interest until the infirmities of age prevented him. He made at least biennial and often annual trips to the West. These trips were made on horseback his favorite mode of travel. He visited Cincinnati in 1798, 1801, 1811 and 1824.

He died January 24, 1841, lacking but a few days of having completed his 90th year. During the last ten years of his life he became blind. He was buried in the Springfield Cemetery near the old Presbyterian Church which stands on the site of the one built before the Revolution and burned by the British soldiers in revenge for the part taken in the war by its minister, Caldwell, who had supplied the lack of wadding with the church hymn books and the statement "Now give them Watts, boys."

The portrait of Matthias Denman given in this work is from an old family painting owned by D. F. Denman.

THE DENMAN PURCHASE.

In January, 1788, Matthias Denman purchased of Symmes, the entire section 18 and fractional section 17, lying between the former section and the river, on the northwest side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Licking.

The purpose of Denman in making this purchase was not only to form a station and lay out a town but to establish a ferry opposite the mouth of the Licking River. The last named object in fact was probably the most important of the three, strange as this may seem to the present inhabitants of the city. As has already been said, the old Indian war-path from the British garrison at Detroit crossed at this point. This too was the usual route which the savages at the head waters of the Miamis and the Wabash took in their attacks on the Kentucky stations. It was along this line too that Gen. George Rogers Clark with his troops crossed the Ohio on his raids against the Indians and this would naturally be on the line of communication between settlements to be made on the Miamis and those established in Kentucky as there was at that time no other crossing nearer than the one at Limestone, now Maysville, Kentucky.

The boundaries of this purchase in a general way are as follows: Beginning at a point on the Ohio River almost due south of the junction of Broadway with Front street which would be almost at the point where the west line of Broadway continued would strike the river, thence north on the section line to a point a little west of the intersection of Hunt and Liberty streets at the point where Burnet avenue continued south would intersect Liberty street (this was about the northeast corner of the property known for so long a time as the homestead of Hon. George H. Pendleton); thence due west a mile along Liberty street to a point two hundred feet west of Central avenue, thence south to the river to a point south of the gas works and a little east of the point where Park street continued would strike the river, thence east along the river to the place of beginning. The eastern line cuts Third street a trifle west of the intersection with Ludlow, and Fourth street at the intersection with Lawrence, and Fifth street just west of Pike, Sixth at the Eggleston avenue intersection and Court a little east of its intersection with Gilbert avenue. The western line crosses John street between Clark and Hopkins, Court street a little east of Mound and runs a little east of Mound until at its junction with Fifth street the line passes through Hughes High School. The section line between section 18 and fractional section 17 begins at a point a little north of the intersection of Front and Broadway and runs due west cutting Sycamore south of Second street and Main at Second street, Walnut above Second, Pearl at Race, Central avenue below McFarland, Fourth at Smith, and striking the western line a little north of Fourth just south of Hughes High School.

This territory contains all of section 18 which would be a square mile or 640 acres and the number of acres in the fractional section 17 which in the warrant presented on behalf of Denman was estimated as 107.8 acres, while in fact it is claimed it contained nearer 160 or even more.

The records of Hamilton County show the entries relating to this location, as follows:

"May 22, 1790 Israel Ludlow in behalf of

Matthias Denman of New Jersey, Assignee of Joseph Halsey Junr presents for entry and location a warrant for one section of 640 acres of land by virtue of which he locates the eighteenth section in the fourth township East of the Great Miami in the first fractional range, being the first mile north from the Ohio River. No. of the warrant 538." (Hamilton County Recorder's Office, Mortgage Book 20, p. 36.)

"1791, April 4th. Captain Israel Ludlow, in behalf of Mr. Matthias Denman, of New Jersey, presents for entry and location a warrant for one fraction of a section or one hundred and seven & 8/10 of an acre of land, by virtue of which he locates the seventeenth fractional section in the fourth township east of the Great Miami River, in the first fractional range of townships on the Ohio River. No. of the warrant 192." (Mortgage Book 20, p. 49.)

There is appended to this record the following entry:

"Cincinnati stands partly on this fraction. There is a great deal more in this fraction than 107 8/10 acres, & nearer 160 acres, which has not been paid for all over 107 8/10 acres." (Mortgage Book 20, p. 49.)

Warrants, numbers 192 and 538, referred to are recorded in Book H, page 203, in the Hamilton County Recorder's Office.

Dr. A. E. Jones comments on these entries as follows:

"If these warrants represent the correct number of acres in fractional No. 17 and section No. 18, there were in the purchase and original town plat 747 8/10 acres, instead of 740 acres as has been stated, making the aggregate cost, at five shillings, or sixty-six and two-thirds cents per acre, New Jersey currency, $498.53½. But as the payment was made in Continental certificates, worth at that time only five shillings to the pound, the actual cost in specie was $124.63, or sixteen and two-thirds cents per acre; but the cost to Denman may have been, and probably was, much less, as he no doubt purchased these certificates at a heavy discount." (Early Days of Cincinnati, p. 22.)

Judge Burnet in speaking on this subject in his "Notes" says: "A misapprehension has prevailed as appears from some recent publications in regard to the price paid by the proprietors for the land on which the city stands. The original purchase by Mr. Denman, included a section and a fractional section, containing eight hundred acres, for which he paid five shillings per acre, in Continental Certificates which were then worth, in specie, five shillings on the pound—so that the specie price per acre was fifteen pence. That sum multiplied by the number of acres, will give the original cost of the plat of Cincinnati." (Notes on the Northwestern Territory, p. 49.)

Mr. Cist states that:

"It has been repeatedly asserted in print that the purchase cost $49.00 only, but the sum actually paid for it was almost $500.00; the price being five shillings—66 2/3 cts. per acre." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 10.)

Mr. Cist's statement is undoubtedly correct, but when viewed in the light of the suggestions made by Dr. Jones and Judge Burnet it is not hard to understand the grounds of the assertion often made that the original site of Cincinnati cost less than fifty dollars, or a little over sixteen cents an acre. Jonathan Dayton, one of the Jersey Company, writing to Symmes, March 20, 1790, seems to have been inclined to believe that Denman was making too much out of his bargain. He says:

"It seems that Denman has never yet covered with any warrant the section on which they are building Losantiville. I hear that he has been buying from Halsey and others two or three of your warrants on cheaper terms than he can get them from you or me, intending to lay one of them on that section. As he, neither by this nor any other means, has aided our second payment in the least, I think you would do rightly to prevent his covering the Losantiville section with any warrant but what he shall now buy from you, or me as your agent, and pay your price of s6/3 or s7/6 for, in certificates to be applied toward the next payment. You had better inform both him and me by letter of your determination in this matter, but not to mention from whom you gained your information."

Denman, as we have seen by the entries quoted above, presented warrants for the location of the sections mentioned covering the ground in the original plat of the town. These warrants were not both originally issued to him, but he obtained one of them at least by an assignment from Halsey, at a discount of course.

Symmes and Denman seem to have been in a continuous controversy with regard to the purchase of these sections. In his letter of August 15, 1789, Dayton writes Symmes: "It is proper to acquaint you that neither Stelle, Witham, Downer, Halsey, nor Denman has complied with the contracts entered into with you. * * * Denman refused to pay a single certificate, because as he informs me, you have been selling to others all the lands he located. If this be untrue, and any of Denman's locations are reserved for him, I wish you to acquaint me. Thus circumstanced as we are, you will readily perceive that we have made but little progress and derived little or no benefit from your different contracts towards making the next payment."

Symmes answers this charge in his letter of January 9, 1790: "The insidious reports which have been spread abroad of my selling the same lands several times over, while no failure appeared on the part of the first purchasers, are really vexatious to me. Mr. Denman, it seems, affects to avail himself of this pretext in order to excuse himself from the payment of those certificates which he assured me he would immediately pay to you on his return from this country. I shall not now say how true or false his allegations are of my selling to others the lands which he had located, but instead thereof I enclose to you the original locations, as he calls them, which in plain speaking are only applications, for indeed no man had a right to locate one foot after my arrival in this country, unless he produced a warrant to cover the same."

He states in this letter that the locations entered by Denman and Ludlow were about two hundred and forty thousand acres and that Denman had paid for two or three sections at most from which the two sections, 17 and 18, were to be taken out.

"Mr. Denman had paid me to the amount of about fifteen hundred dollars in certificates, but even part of these he had again drawn out of my hands by orders on me in favor of other people, and his section opposite Licking is to be paid for, out of these. By Mr. Denman's letters it does not appear that he ever wished to take any steps toward making payment for the vast tracts which he had applied for—suppose it could have been reduced to certainty in what quarter of the purchase they lay—but no mortal knew, or yet knows, where more than one acre in twenty lay of what he had pointed out in his applications."

Symmes' difficulties with prospective settlers are told in the same letter. He complains that many people applied to him for land and that the alternative was left to him either to consider the locations made by Denman for which he had not paid and for which there was no certainty that he would pay as void or to reject indiscriminately all applications until it should suit Mr. Denman to tell him whether he intended to make any further payments for the land or not. This latter course would have stopped all sales in the purchase until it suited the convenience of Mr. Denman to make payments for his own locations.

It was but shortly after this that Dayton sent Symmes the warning of March 20th, already referred to; however, in May, Denman, as has already been seen, presented a warrant which had been assigned to him by Halsey and which under the privilege claimed by him as one of the company he used to cover the Losantiville section.

Denman in the summer of 1788 made a visit to the West and probably to the site of his purchase, and on his way back he stopped at Limestone where he met Col. Robert Patterson, and afterwards, at Lexington, the schoolmaster, John Filson. He succeeded in interesting them in his project and finally entered into a partnership with them, the purpose of which was to obtain the services of Filson in surveying and staking off the tract and superintending the sale of the lots. Patterson was to obtain purchasers and settlers, and Denman was the capitalist of the partnership, who was to be responsible for all matters relating to the purchase from the company.

Filson was probably as well acquainted with the neighborhood as any other man, and Patterson was a man of very great influence. The agreement of partnership upon which so much of future wealth depended, was signed probably at Lexington, Kentucky, and as acknowledged by Patterson, was entered upon the records of Hamilton County, Ohio, October 6, 1803. It reads as follows:

"A covenant and agreement made and concluded this twenty fifth day of August, 1788, Between Matthias Denman of Essex County, New Jersey State, of the one part, and Robert Patterson and John Filson of Lexington Fayette

County Kentucky of the other part, Witnesseth, That the aforesaid Matthias Denman having made entry of a tract of land on the northwest side of Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Licking river in that district which Judge Symmes has purchased from Congress, and being seized thereof by right of entry to contain six hundred and forty acres and the fractional parts that may pertain, Do grant bargain and sell the full two-thirds thereof by an equal undivided right in partnership unto the af. said Robert Patterson and John Filson their heirs or assigns and upon producing indisputable testimony of his the said Denmans indisputable right and title to the said premises they the said Patterson & Filson shall pay the sum of twenty pounds Virginia currency to the said Denman or to his heirs or assigns, as a full remittance for monies by him advanced in pay of sd land, every other institution, determination and regulation respecting the laying off a town and establishing a Ferry at and upon the premises to be the result of the united advice & consent of the parties in covenant as aforesaid and by these presents the parties bind themselves for the true performance of these covenants to each other in the penal sum of one thousand pounds Specie, hereunto affixing their hands and seals the day and year above written.

"Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Henry Owen, Abn. McConnall.

"MATTHIAS DENMAN, [SEAL]
"R. PATTERSON, [SEAL]
"JOHN FILSON." [SEAL]

Recorded October 6, 1803 in Book D-1, page 65.

Immediately after the execution of this agreement, it was arranged for Filson to proceed as soon as possible with the planning of the premises and arranging generally for the donation of lots to first settlers and for religious and public uses. The first thing entered upon was the construction of a road from Lexington to the mouth of the Licking and the establishment of the ferry across the river. The interest of the public was sought in the following advertisement published in the *Kentucky Gazette,* at Lexington, on September 6, 1788.

"Notice.—The subscribers, being proprietors of a tract of land opposite the mouth of the Licking river, on the northwest side of the Ohio, have determined to lay off a town upon that excellent situation. The local and natural advantages speak its future prosperity, being equal, if not superior, to any on the bank of the Ohio between the Miamis. The in-lots to be each, half an acre, the out-lots, four acres, thirty of each to be given to settlers upon payment of one dollar and fifty cents for the survey and deed of each lot. The 15th day of September is appointed for a large company to meet in Lexington and mark a road from there to the mouth of the Licking, provided Judge Symmes arrives, being daily expected. When the town is laid off lots will be given to such as may become residents before the first day of April next.

"MATTHIAS DENMAN,
"ROBERT PATTERSON,
"JOHN FILSON."

COL. ROBERT PATTERSON.

To Denman's partners and particularly to Patterson belongs, more than to Denman himself, the title of pioneer in the Cincinnati enterprise. Col. Robert Patterson had been a gallant soldier of the Indian wars. He was born March 23, 1753, and was in the service of his State, defending it against the savages before he was 21 years of age. In 1774 he with six other young men settled at Royal Spring, near Georgetown, Kentucky, from which point, in April, 1776, they removed to a city where afterwards was the city of Lexington. Patterson was wounded shortly afterwards in a fight with the Indians, while on his way to Pittsburg to procure supplies, and was under the care of a surgeon for about a year. He joined the expedition of George Rogers Clark against the Illinois country in April, 1778, and returned to Kentucky in September. He settled for a time at Harrodsburg. During the next year, being then an ensign in the Kentucky militia, he proceeded to his former residence, and built and garrisoned a fort, and in April laid off the town of Lexington. The next month he was with Bowman, in his expedition against the Shawanee towns on the Little Miami. It is suggested that while on this expedition he passed over, for the first time, the country which he subsequently settled. In August, 1780, he took part in Colonel Clark's expedition against the Indian towns on the Little Miami and Mad rivers, and again two years later he marched with Clark in his expedition of vengeance after the defeat at Lower Blue Licks. On both these expeditions he must have passed over the ground where now stands the city of Cincinnati. In the latter expedition he served as a colonel. He

was second in command to Boone and narrowly escaped capture. In 1786 he was in another expedition under General Logan, against the Shawanees, and again passed over the same ground. By reason of these numerous visits, he probably was as well acquainted with the Miami country as any man then living, and in addition was known far and wide for his courage, intelligence, and affability.

He never lived at Losantiville, but returned to Lexington after a month's stay, from which point, in 1804, he removed to a farm in Dayton, Ohio, where he died at the age of 74, on August 5, 1827. He was described as being tall and handsome in person, and gifted with a fine mind, but he "like Boone, Kenton, and many others of his simple hunter and pioneer companions, was indulgent and negligent in business matters, and, like them, lost most of his extensive landed property by shrewder rascals." The description seems a little misleading, as there is no evidence of any rascality on the part of Colonel Patterson at any time in his life.

JOHN FILSON.

The other member of the trio has long been celebrated in legend as well as in history. The mystery which has always surrounded his disappearance, almost at the moment of his landing on the site of his proposed settlement, has never been cleared up and this fact together with his well known abilities has always contributed much towards keeping alive his name in the annals of Losantiville.

His life written by Col. R. T. Durrett, and published in a small volume put forth by the Filson Club of Louisville, which takes its name from the first historian of Kentucky.

John Filson was born near the Brandywine in Pennsylvania, about the year 1747, and came to Kentucky, probably in 1783, at the age of 36. He became acquainted with Daniel Boone and many other pioneers and obtained from them much information.

"The adventures of Boone were related by that hero directly to the enterprising schoolmaster, speculator, and verse-maker, Filson, who published them, and who is therefore not only the first historian of Kentucky, but the original biographer of the typical backwoodsman of literature. The narrative of Filson furnished the basis of Bryan's 'Mountain Muse,' one of the early attempts to put Western scenery and pioneer romance into verse."

In 1784, at Wilmington, he published his book on Kentucky, very few copies of which are now in existence. The complete title of this book was as follows:

"The Discovery, Settlement, and Present state of Kentucky; and an Essay towards the Topography and Natural History of that Important Country; by John Filson. To which is added an Appendix containing: I. The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boone, one of the First Settlers, comprehending every important Occurence in the Political History of that Province. II. The Minutes of the Piankashaw Council, held at Post St. Vincent's, April 15, 1784. III. An account of the Indian Nations inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States; their Manners and Customs; and Reflections on their Origin. IV. The Stages and Distances between Philadelphia and the Falls of Ohio; from Pittsburg to Pensacola, and several other Places. The whole illustrated by a new and accurate Map of Kentucky, and the Country adjoining, drawn from actual surveys. Wilmington, printed by John Adams, 1784."

These articles were afterwards published in London as an appendix to Imlay's book about North America.

Filson's "Adventures of Boone" are supposed to have been written at the dictation of Boone himself, and the following document was printed as an advertisement in Filson's book on Kentucky:

"ADVERTISEMENT.—We, the subscribers, inhabitants of Kentucky, and well acquainted with the country from its first settlement, at the request of the author of this book have carefully revised it, and recommend it to the public as an exceeding good performance, containing as accurate a description of our country as we think can possibly be given, much preferable to any in our knowledge extant; and think it will be of great utility to the public. Witness our hands this twelfth of May, Anno Domini 1784.

"DANIEL BOONE,
"LEVI TODD,
"JAMES HARROD."

Part of Filson's preface reads as follows:

"When I visited Kentucky, I found it so far to exceed my expectations, though great, that I concluded it was a pity that the world has not adequate information of it. I conceived that a proper description of it was an object highly in-

teresting to the United States; and, therefore, incredible as it may appear to some, I must declare that this performance is not published from lucrative motives, but solely to inform the world of the happy climate and plentiful soil of this favored region. And I imagine the reader will believe me the more easily when I inform him that I am not an inhabitant of Kentucky, but having been there some time, by my acquaintance in it am sufficiently able to publish the truth, and from principle have cautiously endeavored to avoid every species of falsehood. The consciousness of this encourages me to hope for the public candour, where errors may possibly be found."

In 1785, Filson proceeded from his home to Pittsburg, whence, after he had prepared his manuscript and map, he returned to the East and had them published there. In the next year he proceeded to Pittsburg in a Jersey wagon, and thence in a flat-boat down the Ohio, to the mouth of Beargrass creek, where Louisville now is; occupying some two months in the journey. Later in the same year, he went in a canoe to Vincennes, on the Wabash, and walked back through the woods to Beargrass. He repeated this journey of four hundred and fifty miles in the autumn. These excursions were undertaken for the purpose of collecting materials for a history of the Illinois country.

"On the first day of June, 1786, he set out from Vincennes for the Falls of the Ohio in a 'perogue,' accompanied by three men. The party was attacked by Indians, and compelled to land and take to the woods for safety. Filson, after many perils and sufferings, found his way back to Vincennes, exhausted by famine and sore with wounds. After this adventure, he returned safe to Kentucky, and against traveled over the long road to Philadelphia on horseback. In 1787 he once more appeared in the land of Boone, and advertised proposals in the Kentucky Gazette to start a classical academy in Lexington, the sylvan 'Athens of the West.' The project seems not to have been realized; but Filson was fertile in expedients, and soon he engaged in the important enterprise which fixed his name in history. In August, 1788, he went into partnership with Mathias Denman and Robert Patterson in the purchase of a tract of land on the north side of the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Licking, on which it was proposed to lay out the town of Losantiville, now Cincinnati. Filson invented the name Losantiville, which has been much ridiculed, but it is doubtful whether the word Cincinnati, which is either a genitive singular or a nominative plural, is not as absurd as the euphonious name compounded by the Lexington schoolmaster. Filson, who was a surveyor, marked out a road from Lexington to the mouth of the Licking, and, with his partners, arrived at the site of their town in September, and began to lay out streets, at least on paper. One of these was to be called Filson Avenue, but the name was changed to Plum street after Filson's tragic disappearance from the stage of affairs. The circumstances of his exit are shrouded in mystery. The supposition is that he fell a victim to the tomahawk and scalping-knife of some prowling savage. All that we know is he set out alone to explore the solitudes of the Big Miami woods, and was seen no more by his white comrades. Nor was any trace of his body ever found." (Venable's Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley.)

Professor Venable, from whose invaluable work the foregoing paragraph is quoted, himself one of the most charming writers, both of prose and verse, of the Miami country, has perpetuated the name of Filson in a poem, in which he incorporates the names and hopes of the pioneers, as follows:

John Filson was a pedagogue—
  A pioneer was he;
I know not what his nation was
  Nor what his pedigree.

* * * * * * *

John Filson and companions bold
  A frontier village planned
In forest wild, on sloping hills,
  By fair Ohio's strand.

John Filson from three languages
  With pedant skill did frame
The novel word Losantiville,
  To be the new town's name.

* * * * * * *

Deep in the wild and solemn woods,
  Unknown to white man's track,
John Filson went one autumn day,
  But nevermore came back.

He struggled through the solitude
  The inland to explore,
And with romantic pleasure traced
  Miami's winding shore.

Across his path the startled deer
  Bounds to its shelter green;
He enters every lonely vale
  And cavernous ravine.

Too soon the murky twilight comes,
The night-wind 'gins to moan;
Bewildered wanders Filson, lost,
Exhausted and alone.

By lurking foes his steps are dogged,
A yell his ear appalls!
A ghastly corpse upon the ground,
A murdered man he falls.

The Indian, with instinctive hate,
In him a herald saw
Of coming hosts of pioneers,
The friends of light and law;

In him beheld the champion
Of industries and arts,
The founder of encroaching roads
And great commercial marts;

The spoiler of the hunting-ground,
The plower of the sod,
The builder of the Christian school
And of the house of God.

And so the vengeful tomahawk
John Filson's blood did spill,—
The spirit of the pedagogue
No tomahawk could kill.

John Filson had no sepulchre,
Except the wildwood dim;
The mournful voices of the air
Made requiem for him.

The druid trees their waving arms
Uplifted o'er his head;
The moon a pallid veil of light
Upon his visage spread.

The rain and sun of many years
Have worn his bones away,
And what he vaguely prophesied
We realize to-day.

Losantiville, the prophet's work,
The poet's hope fulfills—
She sits a stately Queen to-day
Amid her royal hills!

* * * * * * *

The matter of the name Losantiville will be discussed at a later point, but in connection with Filson it may not be amiss to quote the comment of Judge Collins in his history of Kentucky.

"His fanciful name for the intended town was adopted—Losantiville, which he designed to mean 'the village opposite the month,' *Le-os-ante-ville*, but which more really signifies, 'the mouth opposite the village;'—who, or what induced the change from such a pedagogical and nonsensical a name to the euphonious one of Cincinnati is unknown; but in the name of millions of people who live in or within reach of it, or visit it or do business with it, we now thank the man and the opportunity. The invention of such a name was positively cruel in Mr. Filson; we hope it had no connection with his early death. Perhaps that is reason enough why no street in Cincinnati is named after him."

It may not be improper to comment on this quotation, that Professor Venable, as well as many others, evidently differs from Judge Collins as to the matter of taste concerning the name Cincinnati, that it is well known that on the first map of Cincinnati, Plum street was called Filson street, and that among the streets of the city to-day there is one—a very short one, it is true—to which the name of Filson is attached (Filson place on Mount Adams). In all *other* respects no exception can be taken to Judge Collins' comment.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LANDING BETWEEN THE MIAMIS.

The Landing of September 22, 1788—The Death of Filson—Israel Ludlow—The Contract of October 15, 1788—Symmes' Troubles with Congress—The Controversy with St. Clair—The Patent of 1794—The "College Township."

After the execution of the agreement with Patterson and Filson, Denman went back to Limestone to meet Symmes, intending to go down the river with him to join Filson and Patterson with their party, as announced in the advertisement, at the mouth of the Licking. As Judge Symmes did not arrive at the expected time, Colonel Patterson made a further announcement in the paper, postponing the date of the departure of the company to September 18th, in order to meet Judge Symmes, at this place on Monday 22nd. "The business will then go on as proposed."

The Landing of September 22, 1788.

On September 22, 1788, a large company of Kentuckians with Colonel Patterson and Filson at their head arrived on the ground and were there met by Judge Symmes, who with Israel Ludlow (who had been selected as chief surveyor for the Jersey Company) Denman and Stites, came down from Limestone. The exact date is stated by Judge Symmes himself, in his letter to Dayton, written from Limestone, Kentucky, October 12, 1788, in which he says: "On the 22d ult. I landed at Miami and explored the country as high as the upper side of the 5th range of townships."

The spot on which the two parties, now numbering some sixty people, are supposed to have met, is reported to have been where now is the Public Landing of Cincinnati. There took place the public dedication of the lands in accordance with Filson's plat. The 22nd day of September, 1788, therefore, can be accepted as the first definitely fixed historic date in the history of Cincinnati.

The immediate platting of the lots could not be proceeded with and the survey and the donation of lots was postponed until the first of the next year. The survey could not be commenced, nor Denman's section fixed, until the twenty-mile point of the river referred to in the agreement with Congress was ascertained.

Ludlow immediately entered upon the determination of this point and in a few days he and Denman "took the meanders of the Ohio from the mouth of the Little to the mouth of the Great Miami and also up the Great Miami about ten miles from the Ohio," showing by his measurement that Denman was within the line. He with Denman and a number of the party returned on the third day and camped on the ground, where possibly the old blockhouse erected by Col. George Rogers Clark, in 1780, was still standing. (Denman's Deposition of August, 1833.)

Filson is said to have spent a day or two in running the lines of the streets, marking the courses with notches in the trees. After this, Judge Symmes, accompanied by Patterson and Filson, and a large number of Kentuckians, rode up the country for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the topography and appearance of the lands, which he was endeavoring so hard to obtain from Congress. His purpose was,

starting from the front on the Ohio, opposite the Licking, to go north through the central portions pretty well back towards what by calculation was supposed to be the limit at the north of the area of the grant, and then go over to the Great Miami and take its meanders to the mouth. Others were to go down to the same point, taking the courses of the Ohio. He reached a point variously stated at from twenty to forty miles inland. On the banks of the Great Miami, they came upon an encampment of Shawanees, and the Kentuckians without any hesitation proposed to attack. Symmes was most anxious to preserve peace with the Indians, and had sent out every possible assurance to that effect, and therefore he restrained the disorderly company with him; as a result many of them in disgust deserted the party and went off homeward to the camp. Symmes relates the incident in his letter to Dayton, of May 18, 1789:

"After this, the greater part of them deserted me when about forty miles up the Miami, where I had ventured on their promises to escort me down that river, meandering its courses; which so disobliged me that I have been very indifferent ever since whether one of them came into the purchase or not, as I found them very ungovernable and seditious; and not to be awed or persuaded. To the disobedience of these men, I impute the death of poor Filson, who had no rest afterwards while with me, for fear of the Indians, and at length attempting to escape to the body of men I had left on the Ohio, he was destroyed by the savages."

The Death of Filson.

As a matter of fact nothing definite is known with relation to the actual fate of Filson, except that on the reassembling of the parties, he could not be found. To this day no man knows where or how he met his death.

Mr. Miller, in a somewhat fanciful sketch of an encounter between Filson and a solitary redskin, locates the probable place of Filson's death at a point not far from the northern boundary line of Hamilton County at the northeast corner of Colerain township, but there seems to be little authority for more than a guess on the subject.

Dr. Jones speaks of his fate as follows:

"Whether killed by savages immediately or carried far away into the interior to suffer all the tortures of savage barbarity, or bewildered and lost, and perished in the wilderness, can now never be known. It is, however, a singular, indeed, a remarkable fact, that although the settlers had intercourse with all the tribes of Ohio and the Northwest, from the time of the first settlement until their final removal from the State, no tidings could ever be gained of the fate of Filson; and from this fact it might be conjectured that he was not murdered by the Indians, but lost in the wilderness, and perished from hunger and exposure, and his body devoured by wild beasts, or, perhaps, may have been drowned in the Great Miami. Filson was a surveyor, and was to lay off the projected town, as well as act as a general agent for Denman and Patterson. His loss, therefore, was a serious impediment to the enterprise, and necessitated the employment of another surveyor." (Early Days of Cincinnati, p. 24.)

There is an especially sad feature about Filson's fate that has not been generally noticed. In the Clarke collection, now in the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati, there is an original letter written by Filson from Lexington, May 27, 1788, to his brother Robert in which after discussing his affairs at some length and the advisability of his brother's coming to Kentucky he says: "I have supported a good credit here, and have enough to support me. I renewed my studies last winter and greatly advanced my latin and this spring have begun to study Physic with Doctr Slater in this place, an eminent Physician who came here from London last year. two years I study, as soon as my Study is finished, I am to be married which will be greatly to our advantage. Stand it out 2 years my dear brother. You shall have negroes to wait of you."

This letter may serve to explain Filson's enthusiasm about land speculations. The practice of medicine involving as it did at least two years' delay may have seemed not sufficiently promising for the fruition of his hopes. History does not record the name of the young woman who was to bring so much happiness to Filson and his brother, including negroes to "wait of" them. The same letter throws a side light on the conditions in Kentucky at that time:

"The Indians are very troublesome, a few days ago Col' Joseph Mitchell who lived at the fouling (?) Springs on Potowmack & his eldest son fell a prey to the savages near the falls of Ohio. We are all warriors here. when I troubles will end I know not. four boats are taken this spring by the Indians."

The same brother wrote on the last page of a book owned by him the following words: "This

Book was given to me by my Brother John Filson who was killed by an Indian on the North Side of the Ohio October The first 1788 about five miles from the Great Miami River and 20 or 25 from the Ohio." This was a copy of Dilworth's "Arithmetic," owned by the late Robert Clarke, an enthusiastic collector and a leader among the historical workers of the West.

Colonel Patterson, in the case between Joel Williams and the city of Cincinnati, in 1807, testified that—

"When it became certain that John Filson would never return, they found it necessary to secure the services of another surveyor, and as Filson's brother and heir had said to him that he was satisfied his brother had been killed, and had paid nothing on his interest, he the brother would relinquish all claims to any interest in the land as Filson's heir, they, therefore, took Colonel Israel Ludlow as a partner, on the same conditions they had Filson, as a surveyor and general agent; and in this way Colonel Ludlow, who had come out as a surveyor for Judge Symmes, became a joint and equal owner with himself and Denman in the land purchased by Denman."

Previous to this time in testimony given December 27, 1803, Patterson was even more specific with regard to this matter. He says: "I was acquainted with the Brother of the said Filson who was heir at law to the said Filson and he informed me that as the said John Filson had paid nothing for the said land he did not set up any claim to the said town or consider himself as having any interest or concern therein." (Hamilton County Recorder's Office, Book D-1, page 74.)

Denman in August, 1833, testified that "the party then returned to Limestone where this deponent entered into an agreement with Robert Patterson and Israel Ludlow * * * which agreement was substantially the same as that to which Filson was a party substituting Ludlow for Filson, and empowering Ludlow to act for deponent and said Patterson in all things relating to the said town. That this agreement was made in writing and signed by the parties, and was left with the said Ludlow at the time it was executed which was in the month of October A. D. 1788, at which time a plat of the proposed town was made by the said Ludlow and agreed upon by the said Patterson, Ludlow, and deponent at Limestone aforesaid." Denman received a copy of this plat from Ludlow which he handed over to Williams when years afterwards he sold his interest to him. (Deposition taken in Denman's residence in Springfield, N. J., for use in the ejectment case of City of Cincinnati *versus* The First Presbyterian Society of Cincinnati.)

Colonel Durrett in his life of Filson takes issue with the inference usually drawn from Colonel Patterson's testimony that Filson's brother was present and consented to the transfer of his interest to Ludlow. He states that Filson's brother at this time was not in the country and that not only did he never give a written consent (and in this the records of Hamilton County bear him out) to the transfer of Filson's interest but that he always regarded the transaction as an unjust one. Colonel Durrett quotes a report of a conversation with him in which he is made to say that "no matter how it might be regarded in the Northwest Territory it would be 'counted dinged nigh robbing in Pennsilvany.'" At any rate there was much dissatisfaction and much controversy growing out of this affair which resulted in the chancery case already referred to.

Strangely enough, the sale bond covering the transfer of Patterson's one-third to Samuel Freeman, executed November 26, 1794, with Israel Ludlow as a witness, recites that "Mathias Denman, Robert Patterson and John Filson are partners in common tenentry." (Recorded Dec. 29, 1811.)

However the legal merits of the case may have been determined, the historic facts remain clear. Of the three original owners who dedicated the land opposite the Licking to posterity as a city, Patterson alone was with the landing party in December and he staid but a short time. He was, however, regarded as the leader of the party.

The real founders of Cincinnati, those who settled the town afterwards known by that name, and by their industry and perseverance made the settlement a reality, were Colonel Ludlow and William McMillan (who were in the surveying party that laid out the town as it finally was established) and Joel Williams, who assisted in the Ludlow survey, in building the surveyors' cabin and built the first private house. He was the actual agent of the proprietors on the ground, as Colonel Ludlow was away much of the time engaged in his surveys, and kept the plat of the town. Williams was here within ten days of the landing as he drew a lot on January 7, 1789.

Israel Ludlow.

Israel Ludlow was the only one of the original proprietors who remained in the neighborhood of Cincinnati. He was originally from New Jersey, as were so many of the others among the first settlers, and was born at Little Head farm, near Morristown, in 1765. About twenty years later he came to the valley of the Ohio to act as a surveyor and was appointed by the United States Geographer to survey the Miami purchase, and also the purchases of the Ohio Company. He accomplished this task by the spring of 1792, which as finally recorded came to be regarded as the authoritative location of the lots of the early settlers. In 1790 he established Ludlow's Station, upon a spot within the present limits of Cumminsville, building a blockhouse as a defense against the savages. This was at a point now at the intersection of Knowlton street with the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway. He afterwards as a proprietor laid out the town of Hamilton in 1794, and in 1795, together with Governor St. Clair, Dayton and William McMillan, he planned the town of Dayton. In 1796, he married Charlotte Chambers, of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. He died after a brief illness, in January, 1804, and was buried with Masonic honors in the First Presbyterian Church Graveyard on Fourth street, near Main street, in Cincinnati. An oration upon this occasion was pronounced by Judge Symmes.

Symmes returned to Limestone most disheartened by the death of Filson, but on the other hand very much impressed with the land that he had seen. He wrote to Dayton that he thought some of the land near the Great Miami "positively worth a silver dollar an acre in its present state." At Limestone he received letters from Dayton, which gave him the news of the negotiation with the Commissioners of the Treasury Board, and informed him of the terms which had finally been agreed upon.

In a letter of September 12, 1788, written at New York, Dayton said to him: "Since my last to you, your whole contract and project for the purchase and settlement of Western lands, has been on the point of being annihilated. On the 18th of August, a motion was made in Congress by Mr. Williamson in the words following, viz.

"'*Resolved*: That the several acts of Congress of October 2, 22 and 23, 1787, whereby the Board of Treasury are authorized to contract with individuals or companies for the sale of Western territory, be and the same are hereby repealed, provided that nothing contained in this act be understood to invalidate any contracts which the Board may have already made. Referred to

"'Mr. Wadsworth,
"'Mr. Williamson,
"'Mr. Tucker,
"'Mr. Irvine,
"'Mr. Hamilton,
"'*A Committee to Report.*'

"This Committee called upon the Board of Treasury for their information how far they had proceeded in the execution of the several acts of the 2d, 22d and 23d of October, and for their opinion relative to the repeal of these acts. The following is an extract of so much of the answer of the Commissioners as relates to you, viz:

"'With respect to the resolve of Congress of the 2d which relates to Mr. Symmes' grant, the Board beg leave to lay before the Committee copies of sundry correspondence which has passed betwixt that gentleman and the Board on that subject. After a conference with him a minute of which is endorsed on Mr. Symmes' letter of the 14th of July last the Board expected that he would have closed the contract agreeably to the conditions proposed to him in their letter of the 16th of June last, so as to entitle him to a right of occupancy. But contrary to our expectation, Mr. Symmes, after depositing with the Treasurer upwards of $72,000, left town without concluding any agreement, and, we since learn, has gone to the Western country. The certificates deposited are, we presume, a sufficient security to the public for any injury which may at present be sustained by any occupancy of any part of the land in question, should the same be attempted; but we submit it to the consideration of the Committee whether means ought not forthwith to be adopted to prevent such an event till Mr. Symmes has derived a right of occupancy on the terms prescribed by Congress.'

"And in the concluding part they say:

"'How far it may be advisable to continue the operation of the foregoing resolves on the principles on which they stand, the Committee, from the above statement, will be best able to determine. Certain it is, that except in the case of the Ohio Company, no regular payment has been made nor any agreement executed.'

"I called upon the committee, with Mr. Marsh and Mr. Boudinot, just as they were meeting to

draft their report, which would have been if approved in Congress, which I very much apprehended, fatal to your purchase. I stated to them that it was not your intention to settle but upon the limits prescribed by the Board for 1,000,000—that instead of barely depositing $72,000, as the Board in their report had loosely expressed it, you had regularly paid in certificates and military rights to the whole amount of the first payment for that quantity, and that the ignorance of both parties with respect to the course of the rivers bounding your purchase, had been the reason of your declining to agree to any precise limits before that necessary information could be obtained. We acquainted them in short, that we considered and held the United States firmly bound by the contract, and, that their receipt of the first payment on account of it was sufficient evidence. The committee, after consulting with the Board, informed us that even if the first payment had been made for a million, your proposed contract was for two—that although in the course of making your payments you had withdrawn your proposals for two, and given in others for one million, yet the Board, disliking the boundaries prescribed for the smaller quantity had not closed with them, but had proposed in their turn what they thought reasonable limits which you had not signified your acceptance of—that, therefore, in strict or legal construction they considered Congress as absolved from every engagement with you, but they would nevertheless agree if we would come forward and subscribe to the limits offered by the Board in their letter to you of the 16th of June, to waive their report to Congress and stay further proceeding until we had concluded it.

"Thus circumstanced, a choice was hardly left us, and we agreed to close with and subscribe to their proposals as soon as the writings could be prepared. Since that time the Board has started another objection, which I believe, neither you nor we had apprehended or foreseen. They say that a late letter of the Geographer to them, states, that there are but about three millions of acres in the New England purchase, if so, that the sum deposited by you is but half the amount of the first payment for a million. Although I referred them to the map and pointed out the New England tract thereon as delineated and painted by Hutchins himself, and proved to them by measurement that it was six times as large as the million bounding upon it, which was reserved for the army, they, notwithstanding, refuse to execute the writings until the sense of Congress shall be had. I know not what will be the event of the business, but I trust the objection is too ill-founded and unreasonable to meet with the approbation of that body. Before the departure of the next Pittsburgh post, I trust, it will be decided, when you shall hear from me again. Your letter of agency arrived at a lucky instant to enable us to prevent measures being taken to declare that no contract existed with you on the part of the Union, which would have been followed by orders to the Governor to prohibit any settlement upon any other than the New England lands. It was by no means my wish to have my name inserted in your letter of agency, but, since it is there, I shall endeavor to conduct the business entrusted, to the best possible advantage of yourself and the others concerned. We have already, in the commencement of its prosecution, met with numerous embarrassments. We hope they will not continue; if they should, we will take the best measures to face and overcome them.

"This morning Mr. Marsh came over, agreeably to my appointment to execute and subscribe to the contract we had drawn up. The Board receded from the objection as to quantity mentioned, but raised a new difficulty as to our power of attorney, which, they said, was very imperfect and insufficient. It recites in its beginning that a contract had been entered into between you and the Board, and refers to that written agreement which the Board says never had existence. They say it is true Congress authorized them to contract with you for two millions on certain terms, but that you never came forward and contracted. They say, also, that you proposed to purchase instead thereof, but one million, with certain boundaries to which they disagreed; that they, in their turn, offered to sell you a million with other boundaries, which you, by letter, declined. From all this, they infer that there is not only no written as you express, but not even a verbal contract between you, and also that there never has been either. They add, that all the powers you have vested us with, refer to and are founded upon this supposed contract which, you suggest, actually exists between you and them, and which they know nothing about and consequently cannot acknowledge. They have gone to the expense of employing and consulting counsel on the occasion, by whom our power is declared to be altogether defective.

"They offered to contract with us for the land in our own names and right, which we have

refused; and they have, at length, consented to accept our signatures as agents for you upon our agreeing to annex a proviso that we will procure from you a more ample and sufficient power of attorney, or, failing to do *that*, that we will, individually and in our proper characters, consider and acknowledge ourselves bound to perform the conditions and stipulations. It will be necessary, or, at least, desirable, that you make out this power immediately, acknowledge it before one of the other two judges of the Western territory, and forward it by the first opportunity."

Symmes had been elected by Congress, February 19, 1788, one of the judges of the Northwest Territory. This appointment was in accordance with the provision of the celebrated "Ordinance of 1787." Section 4 of this ordinance provided that there should be "appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction and reside in the district, and have therein a free hold estate in five hundred acres of land while in the exercise of their offices; their commission shall continue in force during good behavior." These judges with the Governor were to select, from the civil and criminal laws of the original States, such laws as they deemed suitable for the Territory, and were given the power to promulgate such laws and to enforce them until they should be amended or repealed by a General Assembly, to be later organized according to the provision of the ordinance. The salary provided by a special act of Congress for the judges was the magnificent sum of $800 per annum.

This appointment to the judgeship had already given offense to some persons, and many of the settlers in the Western country became a little envious of the great fortune which it was thought Symmes was about to make. Some of his associates and also some of those to whom he had sold lots, complained bitterly because they thought he had endangered his contract and their rights.

Mr. King, in his history of Ohio, speaks very slightingly of his business qualifications, as shown by his negotiations with Congress. There does not seem to be any real justification for this feeling, as an examination of the correspondence already printed here shows that Symmes was hampered at every turn by the unwillingness of government officials to make what certainly were not unreasonable concessions and conditions.

The new country was almost entirely unknown to the Treasury Board, and in fact to the people in the East generally. The reluctance to make reasonable concessions arose from ignorance rather than from any real desire to protect the public interest. The Miami purchase in quantity was not an unusually large one, and there was no real reason that possessed any merit why Symmes should not have been given the contract he desired. The very slightest knowledge of the territory makes this apparent. Symmes was making the best of conditions, which he could not control. What might seem unbusinesslike with relation to real estate transactions in a settled country, where the boundaries are exact and well understood, might be well considered very excellent management with relation to transactions involving absolutely unknown territory. The history of the Miami purchase compares very favorably with that of other settlements of like character in Kentucky, and the West. He was careless, we are told by Judge Burnet, in his custody of valuable papers.

However, on October 22, 1788, Dayton was able to write to Symmes from New York, as follows:

"After long altercation and many difficulties and disputes with the Board of Treasury, altogether unforeseen and unexpected by us, we have at length mutually entered into and executed an instrument of writing closing with and binding the contract for your purchase on the Miami. This did not finally take place until the 15th instant."

Symmes' own feelings at this time are indicated by his letter, written in reply to the two just quoted, dated Limestone, November 25, 1788:

"I have had the honor of receiving your favor of the 12th of September, which embarrassed me much for a few days; but yours of the 22d ultimo followed so soon after, that my apprehensions of misfortune raised by the former were dispersed in a great measure by the latter. It is not yet a week since I received the first, and had not prepared an answer thereto when that of the 22d of October appeared and seems to render any remarks on the extraordinary part acted by the Honorable, the Treasury Board, unavailing and unnecessary, not to add that though I wished to dwell ever so long on that disagreeable subject, I have not the time, not having had the least intimation of this opportunity till Captain Beatty called on me this evening on his way up the Ohio, intending for New York. I shall therefore pass the whole in silence till I come

to that paragraph where you intimate that a more full power of attorney is necessary. This I shall certainly do as soon as I meet again with one of the judges you mention, before whom I shall acknowledge it. I thank you for the copy of the one I sent you by General Ogden, and beg leave to observe that I have the highest confidence in your friendship and integrity to serve me, and I am sure it will be with ability. Whatever you do, together with Mr. Marsh, I should confirm and ratify had I any choice left, but in your negotiations with the Treasury Board it seems that I have none."

THE CONTRACT OF OCTOBER 15, 1788,

Was finally entered on the records of Hamilton County, March 17, 1821, and is a contract for a million acres, in which the commissioners adhere to the eastern boundary line of the purchase, dividing the tract between the two Miamis. The grant is described as follows:

"All that certain tract or parcel of land situate, lying and being in the Western Country, adjoining to the river Ohio. Beginning on the bank of the same river at a spot exactly twenty miles distant along the several courses of the same from the place where the Great River Miami empties itself into the said river Ohio. From thence extending down the said river Ohio the several courses thereof, to the said Great miami river. Thence up the said River Miami along the several courses thereof, to a place from whence a line drawn due east, will intersect a line drawn from the place of beginning aforesaid parallel with the general course of the miami river, so as to include one million of acres within those lines and the said rivers, and from that place upon the said great river miami, extending along such lines to the said place of beginning, containing, as aforesaid one million of acres," etc. (Book U-2, page 58.)

The contract provided that the association should have the privilege of selling and locating at the rate of sixty-six and two-thirds cents per acre, payable in silver or securities of the United States, in eight installments. The first of these installments had already been advanced, the second was to be paid within a month after the government should have furnished a plat of survey, showing the exterior lines of the entire tract, and the remainder was divided into six semi-annual installments. As fast as payments were made deeds were to be given for proportional parts of the tract. The purchasers, however, naturally depended upon their own sales for the means of making payments to the government, and as the sales were not up to their expectations there was delay in the matter of payments. The making of the plat, too, was deferred by the government, both by reason of the fact that adequate preparation for the survey had not been made and also because of the dissatisfaction with the boundaries insisted upon by the commissioners, and the feeling at any time the Little Miami would necessarily be selected as the eastern boundary of the tract. It was not long until it became apparent that the eastern line carried out, as provided in the contract, would cross the Little Miami and cut into the Virginia Military Reservation. The subject is discussed later.

SYMMES' TROUBLES WITH CONGRESS.

The matter of Symmes' troubles with Congress continued to occupy his attention for some years. The situation may as well be briefly outlined here. This act of course left out altogether the Stites' property. Symmes naturally felt under obligations, "with regard to Mr. Stites, whose influence in the Redstone settlements and connection with Mr. Gano's family, and they with the Baptists, who are the most numerous sect of Christians in this country, is such, that he has been able to embody about sixty men, many with their families, who expect to settle at the mouth of the Little Miami on the sixteen sections which he had located there." (Symmes to Dayton, November 25, 1788.)

He displayed great anxiety that the commissioners "should be prevailed on to give up that mere fragment of land at the mouth of the Little Miami and suffer me to extend to the banks of that stream." He realized too that efforts would be made to supplant him in his appointment under the new government which would be established when the territory northwest of the Ohio was reorganized. The associates set great hopes however on the change in the land system by which the board was to be supplanted by a single individual.

Dayton in his letter to Symmes, August 15, 1789, informs him of this change: "The new system for the administration of the finance will soon be established, and as soon as it takes effect and the principal is appointed, I shall do my utmost to have our line extended to the Little Miami. Everything in my power and within the circle of my interest shall be exerted to have Mr. Stites and his settlement included within the boundaries of our deed, and thereby to com-

plete the title of such as have purchased under him there. The East Jersey Company have done nothing more since my last letter in the contract for the strip of land above alluded to, but did, upon my application to many of them, some time since, individually agree that Mr. Stites ought to be considered and indemnified if the purchase was made by them. I believe it will rest as it is, or be entirely dropped as to the company, unless some new and strange company should become bidders for it. I shall not fail, however, to press this matter with the new financier, but I do not expect to succeed until I am prepared to make the second payment and take out the deed. The sooner you enable me to do that, the more likely I shall be to attain that object in favor of Stites and his associates on the Little Miami. Continental certificates are now at 5⅝ specie in the £ and are rising. If you have recived specie for lands which you mean to convert into public securities, the sooner you do it, the more advantageous it will be for you."

In a letter of August 25, 1789, Dayton informs Symmes of the "appointment of Judges for the Western territory is made—S. H. Parsons, John C. Symmes and Wm. Barton are the three. I enclose the paragraph taken from the newspapers, and the short law which is passed, respecting that country. You will perceive that it is merely a temporary provision. The time assigned for the present session of Congress did not admit of their entering farther into that business, but it is expected that the organization of your government will be resumed and completed at their next sitting. I think it proper to acquaint you that when I went to New York, to canvass for you, I found with pleasure that Governor St. Clair was not unfriendly to you."

In this letter too Dayton informs Symmes of the many injurious and unpleasant reports which had been circulated in the East about his conduct in the Miamis. The reason for these continued attacks is not plain at this late date and that they were not well founded was made clear by the reports of Colonel Spencer. This matter of annoyance was disposed of very soon.

The Controversy with St. Clair.

Dayton also in a letter about this time contradicts the story that had been circulated to the effect that the company was going to endeavor to purchase the land covered by Stites. In the spring of the following year Stites accompanied Dayton to Philadelphia in the hope of attaining some satisfactory settlement. Bills for the sale of Western lands were pending before Congress and it was important that the interests of his settlers should be protected. As little was done, Symmes finally made up his mind to go East himself on this matter. Governor St. Clair had begun to take a hand. In a letter to Israel Ludlow of May 19, 1791, he directed him that as the "line of the Miami purchase has been measured along the Ohio, and the place of beginning known, it will be proper that you should mark that place in a conspicuous manner to prevent trespasses being ignorantly though innocently committed upon the unalienated lands of the United States, which may involve individuals in disagreeable, and to them, perhaps, ruinous consequences." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 209.)

Governor St. Clair seems to have been ignorant of the terms of Symmes' grant until this time. His attention had been attracted to it by Ludlow's request for an escort of fifteen men or more to accompany him while surveying the Ohio and Miami tracts. Ludlow had been suffering from numerous delays although promised by General Knox and afterwards by Major Doughty that he should have proper escorts with pack-horses, corn, provision and camp equipage. After the coming of the cold season he found upon his arrival at Fort Harmar that no escort could be obtained. Major Ziegler the commander thought the troops under his command but little more than sufficient to guard the settlement at Marietta. His application to General Harmar at Fort Washington was answered with the statement that the general did not consider his whole command a sufficient escort for the purpose.

On St. Clair's arrival upon his return from his Western trip in May, Ludlow renewed his application. St. Clair also assured him that he considered the survey a matter of the highest interest and importance to the United States and would make every effort to assist him with sufficient guard but that it was then impracticable. Ludlow finally in October following received a guard of fifteen men with a sergeant, accompanied by whom he executed the Ohio Company's survey. On returning to Fort Washington, he lost six of his horses as he descended the Ohio on a raft of logs. On his arrival at Fort Washington he asked for protection to go on with the Miami survey which was again refused by Major Ziegler. He finally obtained the assist-

ance of three active woodsmen to assist as spies and give notice of any approaching danger. After extending the western boundary more than one hundred miles at the Miami River, the deep snows and cold weather compelled them to abandon the undertaking and return to Fort Washington. After the cold weather abated, Ludlow extended the east boundary as far as the line intersecting the Miami River when they were driven off by signs of the near approach of Indians. They returned to Fort Washington where he again asked for an escort from General Wilkinson and was refused. His report containing these particulars is contained in a letter to Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, dated May 5, 1792. As just stated it was this application from Ludlow to St. Clair which called the latter's attention to the terms of the Symmes' purchase:

"To my astonishment I found that the purchase made by Judge Symmes did not extend further up the Ohio than twenty miles from the mouth of the Great Miami River. He had given out and published indeed to the world that he had contracted for all the lands to a certain distance northerly, which were contained between the Little and the Great Miamis as eastern and western boundaries. On my first arrival in this part of the Territory, I found the Judge here and a number of people settled already, to whom he had sold lands far to the eastward of the twenty miles. It never could have entered into my head that any person, much less one invested with a respectable public character, had published a falsehood, was persisting in it, and availing himself of the pecuniary advantages following from it. The settlement, therefore, met with all the countenance which I could give it, which I conceived to be a duty I then owed to the adventurers and to the United States; but I see I was wrong, and find myself in a very disagreeable predicament, having clothed many persons with civil and military authority whom it was more properly my duty to have removed, and so far sanctioned their intrusions on the lands of the United States." (St. Clair to Hamilton, May 25, 1791; St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 209.)

This unexpected discovery of St. Clair afforded him an excellent opportunity to indulge in a correspondence with Symmes. In view of the fact that the Governor of the Territory could write to the Secretary of the Treasury that "he has been selling the lands of the United States upon the Little Miami, which he had not contracted for, to pay for lands his agents had contracted for in his name upon the Great Miami" (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 210), Symmes was justified in writing to his associates from Cincinnati May 26, 1791: "It is of vast importance to me to have the second contract vacated and the first established. I, therefore, intend doing myself the justice, next winter, of attending at Philadelphia, in order to solicit this business with the United States."

St. Clair took the matter very seriously. His arbitrary temperament which became so apparent at a later date is indicated in Symmes' letter of August 15, 1791, in which he says of the Governor: "He starts the subject as though he had lately made a notable discovery of a conspiracy against the United States, and pursues it with all that fervor and zeal which he might do if the lands had been taken possession of by a colony from Detroit, under the auspices of the British Government."

On August 23, 1791, the Governor issued a proclamation which, dated July 19, 1791, he had first submitted to Judge Symmes. Symmes endeavored with great earnestness to induce him to withhold it, but was unsuccessful. As a result St. Clair obtained for himself the bitter hostility of Symmes which continued until the time of the Governor's overthrow.

This proclamation recited the selling of lands eastward of the twenty-mile line and thereupon gave the boundaries of the Symmes tract in accordance with the act of October 15, 1788. It continued with the statement that the land lying eastward of the parallel line "is as yet the property of the United States, and has not been aliened or sold to any person whosoever; that the settlements which have been made upon the same are entirely unauthorized, and the persons who now occupy them are liable to be dispossessed as intruders, and to have their habitations destroyed; and that they are not treated in that manner immediately is owing only to the circumstances that they were made to believe the said proprietors of the Miami purchase had a right to the land, and to give them an opportunity to represent their case to Congress."

The extension of settlements already made or the formation of new settlements to the eastward of the parallel line were forbidden until the pleasure of Congress should be made known and a certain tract adjacent to Fort Washington was set apart for public use and all persons were strictly forbidden to cut down, carry away or otherwise destroy any timber, trees or wood that might be growing, standing or lying within that

tract. Persons having houses or lots within the reserved tract were allowed to possess the same "until the present crop is taken off and no longer," unless they should obtain permission from the officer commanding the garrison and should submit themselves to the military law as followers of the army. (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 211.)

It is not surprising that this proclamation should have aroused the indignation of Symmes and of the public and should have resulted in a conflict. Symmes in a letter quoted elsewhere speaks as follows: "The Governor's proclamations have convulsed these settlements beyond your conception, sir, not only with regard to the limits of the purchase, but also with respect to his putting part of the town of Cincinnati under military government. Nor do the people find their subordination to martial law a very pleasant situation." Then follows the recital of the treatment of Shaw and a complaint generally against the conduct of the officers. The pleasant feeling existing between St. Clair and Symmes can be inferred from this quotation from the same letter:

"We learn nothing yet when the present army is to be put in motion. They are encamped at Mr. Ludlow's station, five miles from Fort Washington, on account of better food for the cattle, of which they have near one thousand head from Kentucky. Many and important are the preparations to be made previous to their general movement. Not long since I made General St. Clair a tender of my services on the expedition. He replied: 'I am very willing you should go, but, by God, you do not go as a Dutch deputy!' I answered that I did not then recollect the anecdote of the Dutch deputation to which he alluded. His Excellency replied: 'The Dutch, in some of their wars, sent forth an army under the command of a general officer, but appointed a deputation of burghers to attend the general to the war, that they might advise him when to fight and when to decline it.' I inferred from this that I should be considered by him rather as a spy upon his conduct than otherwise, and therefore do not intend to go, though I should have been very happy to have seen the country between this and Sandusky."

Among the intruders of the military reservation was Judge Turner, who had been notified by the Governor that Judge Symmes could give no title. He paid no attention to this notice, but continued to make improvements and was told by the Governor that it was the duty of a judge of the United States Court to set an example of obedience to the government. Judge Turner was on very friendly terms with Symmes and in fact carried his correspondence eastward at this time and he took St. Clair's advice and interference in high dudgeon.

On September 15th, the Governor issued a proclamation to the settlers of the forbidden territory informing them that the Secretary of the state had asked from Symmes an explanation of his proceedings and further that as the settlers appeared to have acted in good faith they would not be disturbed for the time being. (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 213.)

That the friction between Symmes and St. Clair continued is shown in the former's letter of the 17th of September, 1791, in which, after speaking of having been indelicately treated by St. Clair and of preparing a retort, he says: "The army has advanced twenty-five miles into the purchase, and by the best account of their situation which I have yet got, they are building a fort on Mr. Boudinot's land in the fourth range—if not on that, it is in the third or military range. I begin to despair of anything important being done this campaign—the delays are amazing. Yesterday, a boat, with 120 barrels of flour, attempted to ascend the Miami. This is extraordinary to me—at the best times so large a freight is not judicious, but now the Miami is low, 'tis distraction. In June, this ought to have been done in perogues or large canoes of one ton or one and a half tons burden, it would then have succeeded. The Indians took off twenty horses in one night, this week, from the army. I hope the best, because no man is more interested, but my hopes, I fear, will prove like Noah's raven."

In his subsequent letter after the St. Clair defeat, after commenting on the Governor's treatment of the Dunlap station, he speaks of the Governor's arbitrary conduct towards the settlers as being "more discouraging at the time than even the defeats" and of numbers leaving the purchase because of the Governor's conduct.

In January of the following year he persists in the claim that every person must admit that "the Governor has treated me and the settlers in the most cruel manner" and asks to be heard by the government with relation to the controversy. He insists that the Governor's letters and proclamations were written in a "language of reproach and illiberality" and that "he has charged him with many things that are not true and in a very rude manner" and refers his associates for the fact to Judge Turner. "I do not

mean nor wish, however, to impeach the Governor in form, but certainly his conduct has been very reprehensible." (Symmes to Boudinot and Dayton, January 25, 1792).

The Patent of 1794.

As a result of the continued efforts of Symmes and his associates, Congress, on April 12, 1792, finally granted the proposed change of boundary, making the Little Miami River the eastern boundary of the purchase. This was reported by Dayton to Symmes as "very satisfactory to Mr. Benjamin Stites, who is now here and will doubtless prove extremely agreeable to the settlers at Cincinnata, Columbia, etc." The same letter conveys the information to Symmes of the passage of an act directing the issue of a patent to him for lands already paid for, which was accordingly issued by the President on September 30, 1794. In these two acts and in the patent there was reserved to the United States a tract of fifteen acres (including Fort Washington) for the accommodation of its garrison. This patent included, together with the reservations, 311,682 acres; excluding the territory in the reservations, it reduced the amount covered by it to 248,540 acres. It provided a frontage on the Ohio River between the two Miamis extending back to the northern boundary of the third range of townships, a line which crossed the district a couple miles north of the present town of Lebanon, in Warren County; this left of course the residue of the million acres unprovided for. The third range was subsequently called the "Military Range" and was conveyed in trust to General Dayton for the persons who should desire to turn in military warrants in payments for land. (Hamilton County Recorder's Office, Book S, page 203.)

This patent was issued after the trip to Philadelphia taken by the Judge for the purpose of determining upon a settlement of the number of acres paid for. He objected at that time to the form of the patent because it conveyed the lands not to himself individually but to him and his associates, but his objections were overruled by the Secretary of the Treasury. Symmes thereupon returned to the Miami country and commenced the issuing of deeds. Before that time the purchasers of the lots had held no other evidence of right than their warrants received at the time of purchase. In his judgment the action of Congress and of the President was not a definite termination of his rights under his original application. He expected as he was able to make proper payments to be permitted to take up the rest of the million acres proposed for and for this reason he continued selling lots beyond the "Military Range" and beyond the territory covered by his patent. As a result of this many rumors arose in the purchase to the effect that the titles conveyed by him in these sections would not be sustained by the government. The purchasers began to fear for the safety of their property and insisted that Symmes should take some action to protect them, but nothing was done. The farmers threatened to make direct application to Congress for relief. Finding that he could not pacify his vendees any longer he went to Philadelphia in the fall of 1796 to make personal appeal to Congress with regard to the matter. He was accompanied by Judge Burnet, who was interested in the success of the application. The Judge was present at the time of the delivery by President Washington of his last official address to the two Houses of Congress and in his "Notes on the Northwestern Territory" he describes the scene. The President "was dressed in a suit of rich black velvet, with black silk stockings and large shoe-buckles and knee-buckles. According to the fashion of the day, his hair was combed back from his forehead—powdered—curled at his temples, and gathered behind in a square black silk bag suspended between his shoulders. A neat dress-sword hung at his left side." His address was spoken "with great deliberation and with considerable emphasis. The intonation of his voice was solemn, and all his movements and gestures were dignified, but easy and graceful. The expression of his countenance, together with his manner and general deportment, produced on the feelings of the audience the same deep, indescribable effect that had been so often noticed, and spoken of on former occasions.

"After the address was closed, the multitude, evidently unwilling to retire, remained in their places gazing on the object of their veneration and love; and it was with much difficulty that a passage could be made sufficient to enable the President and his suite to reach their carriages."

That Symmes thought that his efforts were to be crowned with success is shown by the following address:

"To the Public."

"It being a matter no longer doubtful that Congress will establish their contract with the subscriber in the fullest extent for the 1,000,000 acres of Miami lands, it is hoped that all

who wish to become early purchasers will no longer suffer themselves to be amused with idle reports against the contract, but purchase immediately from some persons who have a right to sell; and those gentlemen who have already contracted for Miami lands are desired to make payment as soon as possible to Capt. Wm. H. Harrison, at Fort Washington, as the Secretary of War has agreed to receive $20,000 at Fort Washington from the subscriber, if the money be paid immediately for the use of the army.

"JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

"January, 20, 1797.

"N. B. The subscriber begs leave to inform the public that he is authorized by the Hon. John Cleves Symmes to sell a large quantity of land in the fourth, fifth, sixth and tenth ranges of townships in the Miami Purchase, which, in point of soil, situation, timber and water, is reckoned equal to any in the Western country. Those who purchase before the first day of April shall not only have the land at a reduced price, but the title warranted and the liberty of making the earliest locations of small or large tracts, as may be most convenient. Persons applying to the subscriber at Columbia, near the mouth of the Little Miami, shall be furnished with a surveyor to show the land.

"JOHN SMITH."

"January 26, 1797."

Symmes had been selling lands on the theory that his original tract was still valid, and as a result many of the tracts were outside of the line covered by this patent, and as late as 1796 Symmes and his agents continued to offer lands in the fourth, fifth, sixth and even the tenth range of townships in the Miami purchase. Congress finally held that the arrangement under the laws of 1792, was a final adjustment of all the claims of Symmes, and that he had no title to convey to any the lands outside of those covered by the patent of 1794. This left his grantees of those lands, which were not covered by the patent, in a most desperate situation. They had paid for their lands in full or in part, and expended considerable sums of money and some years of labor in clearing and improving them. Towns had been laid out and farms made and all the arrangements for permanent settlements made. In spite of these facts these unfortunate persons were simply squatters. As a result, Congress, in 1799, passed an act by which all persons having made contracts with Symmes prior to April 1, 1799, whose lands were not included in his patent, were given a preference over all other purchasers at $2.00 an acre, and in 1801, this right of permission was extended to all persons who had purchased prior to January 1, 1800. From time to time thereafter, Congress made provisions so liberal that it is thought that practically all were able to complete their payments from the produce of their farms and at length their titles were made good.

THE "COLLEGE TOWNSHIP."

Judge Burnet in his "Notes" gives a chapter to the discussion of the Symmes' contract in which he gives in detail the complications that arose from the uncertainty as to the boundaries. Much of the uncertainty was the result of carelessness and the indiscriminate location of lands and also because of the imperfections of the survey. This sale of lands scattered through many sections and the selling of an undivided moiety on March 2, 1788, of Symmes' entire personal reservation to Boudinot had much to do with the controversy about the "College Township." No register was appointed, but Symmes received the moneys and applied them entirely to payments for lands instead of applying a portion to the improvement of roads and the erection of bridges. The provisions concerning the improvements of the lands by the erection of buildings were not complied with which led to a number of attempted forfeitures which however failed by reason of the prejudice of the courts and juries against forfeitures. The Indian wars made it impossible to make the necessary surveys and the plan adopted for surveying the lands which was to be done by the purchasers at their own expense was not successful.

"The principal surveyor was directed to run a line east and west, from one Miami River to the other, sufficiently north to avoid the bends of the Ohio, for a base line, on which he was directed to plant a stake at the termination of each mile. The assistant surveyors were then instructed to run meridian lines by the compass, from each of those stakes, and to plant a stake at the termination of each mile, for a section corner. The purchasers were then left to complete the survey, by running east and west lines, at their own expense, to connect those corners. By that defective plan of survey, scarcely two sections could be found in the Purchase, of the same shape, or of equal contents: some were too wide, others too narrow, and it may be doubted if there be one in

the whole Purchase, the corresponding corners of which, either on the north, or the south side, are on the same east and west line. In some instances, the corner on one meridian was found to be ten, twenty, and sometimes thirty rods, either north or south of the corresponding corner, on the other meridian." (Burnet's Notes, p. 418.)

Symmes afterwards tried to remedy this confusion by ordering a re-survey which would have changed every original corner in the purchase. The Supreme Court of the State, however, confirmed the original survey as having been made under proper authority and therefore as being conclusive.

The burning of Symmes' mansion house about the year 1811, supposed to have been caused by an incendiary, consumed a large number of the papers, the maps and books of entry relating to the surveys and sales of lands. Fortunately others had copies of many of the important documents. The long delay between the taking out of warrants and the issue of deeds resulted in many fraudulent transfers. All these matters served to plague Judge Symmes and render his last years unhappy as is shown by the bitter words of his will.

The matter of the "College Township" can be discussed briefly. The original ordinance for sales of public lands authorized the granting of college lands to the purchasers of two million acres and in Symmes' original pamphlet a "College Township" located as nearly opposite the Licking River as a suitable entire township could be found was provided for and was selected in good faith. When the contract was made reducing the quantity one half Symmes necessarily forfeited his claim to a "College Township" and he thereupon offered for sale the lots in the one which he had reserved for that purpose. When the bill of 1792 was passed and the patent in 1794 issued it contained a provision as follows:

"It is hereby declared, that one complete township or tract of land, of six miles square, to be located, with the approbation of the Governor, for the time being, of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, and in the manner, and within the term of five years aforesaid, as nearly as may be, in the centre of the tract of land herein before granted, hath been, and is granted, and shall be holden, in trust, to and for the sole and exclusive intent and purpose, of erecting and establishing therein, an Academy and other public schools, and seminaries of learning; and endowing and supporting the same, and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatever."

At that time there was not an entire township in the purchase undisposed of. When the first Territorial Legislature was appointed in 1799, Symmes attempted a settlement of the matter by offering the second township of the second fractional range for this purpose. This is now known as Green township and part of it including the village of Westwood is now in the city of Cincinnati. Upon examination the conveyance to Boudinot of an undivided part of Symmes' reserve townships was discovered as well as the fact that a few other sales had been made. The offer was thereupon rejected upon the advice of Governor St. Clair. It was repeated a number of times and finally in 1802 and 1803 the offer was made to Congress who also were obliged to reject it. Symmes regarded the sale to Boudinot as vague and conditional; he claimed that Boudinot had not lived up to the conditions on his own part and claimed further that if this were not true that Boudinot would have recourse against Symmes personally as his agreement was not sufficient to pass the title to the land. The United States Court of Pennsylvania decided in favor of Boudinot in 1802 and directed Symmes to perform his contract specifically. As to the other purchasers, it is supposed that Symmes expected to refund to them their purchase money but he was not in a position to do so. In 1802 and 1803 Congress passed a law vesting in the Legislature of Ohio a township of land in lieu of the township already granted for the purpose of establishing a college or academy. In April, 1803, Jacob White, Jeremiah Morrow and William Ludlow were selected by the Legislature as commissioners to locate the college lands, 36 sections in number. By reason of the number of sales already made in the Miami purchase, it became necessary to locate these sections west of the Great Miami River without the limits of the purchase where they are now held by the Miami University. The Miami University was created by the Legislature by an act of February, 1809, which provided for the fixing of the permanent seat of the University. The towns of Cincinnati, Dayton and Lebanon were considered and finally Lebanon in Warren County was selected, but at the next session of the Legislature an act was passed establishing the University on the land belonging to it. As a result of these proceedings Miami University was established at Oxford.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SETTLEMENT AT COLUMBIA.

The Landing of Stites—The Blockhouse—The First Settlers—Farming and Hunting—The First Church—The First School—Judge Goforth's Diary—The Visit of Baily.

After the return of the explorers to Limestone, the various parties made preparations for their final departure to their new homes north of the Ohio. The first to start was the party of Capt. Benjamin Stites. Stites with his son Benjamin spent more than two months in sawing out lumber for cabins and making all the arrangements necessary for erecting immediate proper shelter for his colonists. One cause of the delay had been the lack of sufficient military escort; another was the daily expectation of the conclusion of the treaty of Fort Harmar with the Indians. His nephew, Nehemiah, was shot while at work in the woods. Stites by far the most adventurous of the colonists concluded however that he would delay no longer. Rumors were brought into Limestone by a party of Kentucky hunters, telling of five hundred Indian warriors who were stationed at the mouth of the Little Miami, ready to resist the invading white men, who might attempt to effect a landing there. This rumor has been charged by some writers to the jealousy of the Kentuckians. In fact, however, there were a few Shawanees encamped a little distance up the Miami, when Captain Stites' boats put ashore. They were very friendly, however, and so peaceable in their conduct that Stites sent reassuring word to Symmes and Patterson, who tarried at Limestone.

THE LANDING OF STITES.

On the 16th day of November, Stites' party left Limestone for the unknown land of the Ohio, and for two days their flat-boat floated on the bosom of the river until just before daybreak on the morning of the 18th of November, 1788, they approached the mouth of the Little Miami. Three men were sent forward in a canoe as scouts to see if there were any Indians there encamped. Their instructions were that if they found signs of hostility to signal to those in the flat-boat, to keep near the Kentucky shore and pass on without landing. If no Indians were seen there, they were to land their canoe and this would be a signal to the flat-boats to land also. The canoe cautiously approached the shore in the dusky morning light and after a few moments' reconnaissance its occupants found there was none to oppose them. The prow of the canoe was turned toward the shore and it struck the land about three-quarters of a mile below the Miami. Hezekiah Stites, a brother of Capt. Benjamin Stites, immediately jumped ashore and by so doing established his claim to be the first settler who landed on the site of Columbia, and as Columbia is now a part of the city of Cincinnati, the first settler of the Queen City of the West. The point of their landing was a little below the mouth of the Miami, at a spot nearly in front of where subsequently was the residence of Athan Stites. The party, according to Rev. Ezra Ferris "after making fast the boats, ascended the steep bank and cleared away the underbrush in the midst of a pawpaw thicket, when the women and children sat down. They next * * * placed sentinels at a small distance from the thicket, and having first united in a song of praise to Almighty God, * * * upon their bended knees they offered thanks for the past, and prayer for future protection." This group included Stites,

John S. Gano, Thomas C. Wade, Edmund Buxton and Greenbright Bailey and wife.

As Mr. Venable well says: "This devout and pious scene in the pawpaw thicket near the shore of the Ohio, furnishes a study for some Cincinnati artist to immortalize in a painting."

THE BLOCKHOUSE.

Stites was not only a courageous man, but a provident one, and he at once proceeded to the erection of two or three blockhouses, which known as Fort Miami together with the adjoining cabins formed the nucleus of Columbia, now the oldest part of Cincinnati, and the oldest white settlement in Hamilton County or in the Miami purchase. The first blockhouse is said to have been erected about at the spot of landing. Its location in section 29, township five, has been fully identified by Robert Ralston Jones, in his valuable monograph on Fort Washington.

Mr. Jones says:

"It stood on the bank of the Ohio River, at a point about one-half mile below the mouth of the Little Miami. The blockhouse was about eighteen feet wide and twenty-four feet long, built of large round logs. It survived the ravages of time until April 25, 1838, when it was undermined during a time of flood by the swells from passing steamers."

By permission of Mr. Jones, the statement of Thomas Gregory, with reference to this blockhouse, is here copied:

"Near the edge of the high river bank on the Ohio side of the river, at a point about one-half mile below the mouth of the Little Miami River, there stood a blockhouse which in 1832 was occupied by a family named Hart, but owned by Athan Stites, a son of Hezekiah Stites and nephew of Captain Benjamin Stites who were among the first settlers of Columbia in 1788.

"This blockhouse was occupied in 1832 as a dwelling house, by a family consisting of two young women, Catherine and Mary Hart, and their brother, Jacob, a lad of about my own age (nine years). The oldest daughter afterward married Athan Stites. One day in the year 1832 one of the young women alluded to (Catherine) crossed the river in a boat and coming to my father's house requested as a favor that I might be allowed to come and live at their house (the blockhouse) so as to be company for their young brother Jacob.

"My father granted the request and I accordingly went to live with the family in the blockhouse, remaining there about three years.

"During those three years, say 1832-1834 inclusive, I lived in the blockhouse and have a clear idea of its size and location, in part from the fact that a brick house of Athan Stites, which is still standing, was built at some time within the three years I mention, and this brick house was constructed facing the river at a point about 100 feet back of the blockhouse and had its western end at about the center of the blockhouse.

"I am led to remember the relative position of the brick house, and the blockhouse in which I lived, from the circumstance that with the other lad, Jacob Hart, I assisted in carrying brick to the mason who was employed to build the house. We each piled up a few bricks on a short board and thus carried them to where he was at work.

"The blockhouse was about eighteen feet wide and twenty-four feet long with the gable end towards the Ohio River and very close to the edge of the bank.

"The building was constructed of round logs about the size of a man's body, unhewed, but notched together at the corners. It contained two rooms divided by a rough partition of split logs, afterwards changed to a board partition, and above the first story was a high garret or attic. The roof was covered with split logs secured by wooden pins, afterwards replaced by clap-boards. There was a puncheon floor, later removed for a more modern substitute. The attic projected over the lower story and was provided with port or loop holes for rifles. A large stone chimney stood in the middle of the gable end farthest from the river. This chimney was built outside of the logwork, but the fireplace opened into the lower room. This fireplace was large enough to take in logs about four feet in length and at night it furnished our light, for lamps of any kind were very scarce.

"The front of the house, facing the Ohio River, had a window and door in the lower story and a small window in the attic. There was a window opening on each side of the house in the back room and another small window in the attic facing away from the river. The door was a heavy one secured by a bar, and the windows were protected by solid plank shutters.

"Early in the spring of 1838 during a high stage of the river, two steamboats were passing the blockhouse at about the same time, and the swells from these boats caused the bank to cave away and the old blockhouse to fall into the river.

"The day on which this accident occurred was the same as that on which the boilers of the Steamer 'Moselle' exploded, at Fulton, April 25, 1838.

"The above is a true statement, as I remember the events of the old blockhouse, which was said to have been built soon after the landing of Benjamin Stites and his brother Hezekiah, with other settlers, just below the Little Miami River, on November 18, 1788."

A part of the men stood guard over the settlement while others worked on the blockhouse. On November 24th, the first blockhouse was completed and the women and children with their goods were moved into it.

THE FIRST SETTLERS.

In the Directory of 1819, the statement is made that the original article of agreement for commencing the undertaking with Stites "was signed by about thirty persons, some of whom retracted their engagement on account of a rumor which was circulated by the Kentuckians, that a large body of Indians had encamped at the place of their destination. Most of them, however, adhered to their resolution; and on the 16th of November, 26 persons descended the river to the mouth of the Little Miami, where they arrived on the 18th. After some precaution taken to avoid a sudden attack from the Indians, the party landed and immediately commenced the erection of a blockhouse at the place now called Columbia. A part of the number stood guard, while the rest worked upon the building, which in a few days was sufficiently prepared for their reception. Three other blockhouses were soon after erected near the first, forming a square stockade fort. This was the second settlement on the Ohio, and the first between the Miamis. In a few weeks several of the party were dispatched to inform Mr. Symmes of the success of their adventure. He immediately sent on six soldiers, under the command of a sergeant, who built a small blockhouse a little below the one erected by the inhabitants."

In a note, the 26 persons referred to are given as follows: "Major Benjamin Stites, Hez. Stites, Elijah Stites, John S. Gano, James H. Bailey, Dan. Shoemaker, Owen Davis, three women, and a number of small children and several other persons, whose names are not known."

In a work published by Robert Clarke, in 1870, the following appear as the names of the early settlers of Columbia: "James H. Baily, Zephu Ball, Jonas Bowman, Edmund Buxton, W. Coleman, Benjamin Davis, David Davis, Owen Davis, Samuel Davis, Francis Dunlevy, Hugh Dunn, Isaac Ferris, John Ferris, James Flinn, Gabriel Foster, Luke Foster, John S. Gano, William Goforth, Daniel Griffin, Joseph Grose, John Hardin, Cornelius Hurley, David Jennings, Henry Jennings, Levi Jennings, Ezekiel Larned, John McCulloch, John Manning, James Matthews, Aaron Mercer, Elijah Mills, Ichabod B. Miller, Patrick Moore, William Moore, John Morris, Newell, John Phillips, Jonathan Pitman, Benjamin F. Randolph, James Seward, Benjamin Stites, Thomas C. Wade, John Webb, Wickersham."

On July 4, 1889, the landing at Columbia was celebrated by the dedication of the monument erected to the memory of the first boat load of pioneers, who landed there a little over a hundred years before. On one side of the freestone pedestal is engraved, "To the Pioneers Landing Near this Spot, November 18, 1788." On the obverse side of this monument is the following inscription: "To the first boat load of pioneers landing near this spot—Major Benjamin Stites, Mrs. Benjamin Stites, Ben Stites, Jr., Rachel Stites, Ann W. Stites, Greenbright Bailey, Mrs. Greenbright Bailey, Jas. F. Bailey, Reasom Bailey, Abel Cook, Jacob Mills, Jonathan Stites, Ephraim Kibby, John S. Gano, Mrs. Mary S. Gano, Thos. C. Wade, Hezekiah Stites, Elijah Stites, Edmund Buxton, Daniel Shoemaker, —— Hempstead, Evan Shelby, Allen Woodruff, Hampton Woodruff, Joseph Cox, Benjamin Cox."

Another list adds the name of Ignatius Ross to the early settlers.

Judge Burnet, commenting upon this settlement, mentions the names of Colonel Spencer, Major Gano, Judge Goforth, Francis Dunlevy, Major Kibby, Rev. John Smith, Judge Foster, Colonel Brown, Mr. Hubbell, Captain Flinn, Jacob White and John Reily, and says:

"They were all men of energy and enterprise, and were more numerous than either of the parties who commenced their settlements below them on the Ohio. Their village was also more flourishing, and for two or three years contained a larger number of inhabitants than any other in the Miami purchase. This superiority, however, did not continue, as will appear from the sequel." (Notes on the Northwestern Territory, p. 46.)

FARMING AND HUNTING.

After a blockhouse had been completed by Stites' party and everything arranged as well as

possible for the protection of the women and children, the settlers proceeded to erect log cabins for their families. The boats in which they had come down from Limestone were broken up and were used for doors and floors in these rough buildings. They were in considerable distress however for supplies. The Indians troubled them but little as they were then gathered at Fort Harmar, negotiating their treaty with the whites. Wild game was to be had for the shooting, and the river was full of fish of fine quality, but their bread stuffs and salt soon gave out and they were obliged to resort to such substitutes during the winter as they could devise from the various roots of the native plants which grew about them particularly the roots of the bear-grass. The women and children were in the habit of visiting Turkey Bottom for these roots, which they boiled, washed and dried on smooth boards and finally pounded into a species of flour, which served as a tolerable substitute for making various baking preparations. Few families, however, had milk and still fewer bacon for a season or two.

As the spring opened up and they were able to do a little planting, the prospects of the settlers grew brighter. The fine bottoms of the Little Miami, particularly Turkey Bottom, were worked by the men, half keeping guard with rifles, while the other half worked.

"Turkey Bottom, one and a half miles above the mouth of the Little Miami, was a clearing of 640 acres made ready to the hands of the whites when they commenced the settlement of the country. The Indians had cultivated it for a length of years up to the period of Major Stites' settlement, although part of this extensive field had been suffered to grow up by neglect in honey and black locust, which became literally, as well as figuratively, 'thorns in the sides,' to the early settlers. This ground was leased by Stites to six of the settlers for five years and with a clearing of Elijah Stites and other settlers of six acres more, furnished the entire supply of corn, for that settlement and Cincinnati, for that season. Nothing could surpass the fertility of the soil, which was as mellow as an ash heap. Benjamin Randolph planted an acre, which he had no time to hoe, being obliged to leave the settlement for New Jersey. When he returned he found an hundred bushels of corn ready for husking.

"Seed corn, and even corn for homony, and in the form of meal was brought out of the Kentucky settlements, down the Licking, and occasionally from a distance as great as Lexington." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 100.)

The valley of the Little Miami, two miles wide at its lower termination, contained but little forest, and the low and level surface of Turkey Bottom and the surrounding meadows were frequented both in winter and summer by numerous flocks of wild poultry. The circular used by Joel Barlow and the agents of the Scioto Company to promote emigration from France, described the Ohio country generally. The advantages offered agriculturists were described as follows:

"In all parts the soil is deep, rich, producing in abundance wheat, rye, corn, buckwheat, barley, oats, flax, hemp, tobacco, indigo, the tree that furnishes the food for the silk worm, the grape-vine, cotton. The tobacco is of a quality much superior to that of Virginia, and the crops of wheat are much more abundant here than in any other part of America. The ordinary crop of corn is from sixty to eighty English bushels per acre. The bottom lands are especially adapted to the production of all the commodities we have just enumerated. There where the vast plains, which are met with in this territory, are intersected with little brooks, the land is suitable for the culture of rice, and it grows here abundantly. Hops also are produced spontaneously in this territory, and there are also the same peaches, plums, pears, melons, and in general all the fruits which are produced in the temperate zone."

In addition to these advantages for agriculturists the following claim was made:

"There is no country more abounding in game than this. The stag, fallow deer, elk, buffalo and bears fill the woods and are nourished on these great and beautiful plains, which are encountered in all parts of these countries, an unanswerable proof of the fertility of the soil; wild turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, teal, pheasants, partridges, and so forth, are here found in greater abundance than our domestic fowls in all the older settlements of America. The rivers are well stocked with fish of different kinds, and several of these fish are of an exquisite quality. In general they are large, the cat-fish (poisson-chat) has an excellent flavor and weighs from twenty to eighty pounds.

"One will find here provisions for several years, and the borders of each one of these rivers will serve for a long time in place of a market.

When inhabitants shall come here from all parts of the world, nature will have provided for them, at least for one year, all they need, without the necessity of making any purchases." (Ohio Arch & Hist. Soc. Pub., Vol III, p. 90.)

It will be recollected that Christopher Gist, in his journal, recorded that the land "abounds with turkeys, deer, elks, and most sources of game, particularly buffalos, thirty or forty of which are frequently seen feeding on one meadow, in short it wants nothing but cultivation to make it a most delightful country."

Despite these glowing descriptions, it can well be imagined that the early days of the settlement were times of great hardship. As Mr. Cist well says, writing in 1859, "it is hardly possible for those who now reside in Cincinnati, in the enjoyment of the comfort and luxury which money can purchase, and the plenty which pours in by wagons, steamboats, railways and canals, to realize the destitutions and privations of the first settlers before they had got their farms cleared and the cleared land under cultivation and fence.

"At that period the condition of the great thoroughfares of the West—of the route across the Alleghany Mountains especially—was such as to forbid the emigrants taking any articles but those of indispensable necessity; for a six horse road wagon at a slow gait could not carry more than what would now be considered over a Macadamized road a load for two horses. When the pioneer westward had reached Red Stone or Wheeling, the difficulties of transportation were not much lessened. There were no wagon roads through the intermediate country, if the hostilities of the implacable savage had permitted traversing the route by land in safety; and the family boats which carried the settlers down, were so incumbered with wagons, horses, cows, pigs, etc., as to have little room for anything else but a few articles of family housekeeping of the first necessity. On reaching their destination, cabins had to be erected, the land cleared and cultivated and the crop gathered in in the presence as it were of the relentless savage who watched every opportunity of destroying the lives of the settlers, and breaking up the lodgments as fast as made. In the meantime supplies of food not yet raised on the improvement had to be obtained in the woods from hunting which in most cases was a constant exposure of life to Indian enemies." (Cincinnati in 1859, pp. 121-122.)

In spite of these discouragements, however, Stites proceeded to lay out "the squares and streets for a great city, which he hoped would eventually become the Queen of the West, but nature and destiny declared against him and the city never advanced beyond the plan. The vast corn fields of the wealthiest estates in the neighborhood are still haunted by the half obsolete name of Turkey Bottom; the East End of the great Cincinnati corporation, which is gradually creeping up the Little Miami wears the familiar name of Captain Stites' rude little hamlet. These are the most substantial memorials of his defeated ambition which survive about the place of his settlement." (Jewett.)

As already stated, a sergeant and 18 men were presently sent down by Symmes to Stites and afterwards a sergeant and 12 men started from Limestone with a party of settlers for the Old Fort, at the mouth of the Great Miami, but these were turned back at Columbia by ice in the river which gorged it completely and damaged their boats. They returned discouraged but in safety to Limestone.

Stites' village was intended to occupy the plain between Crawfish creek and the mouth of the Little Miami, a distance fronting on the Ohio almost three miles. It was expected to go up the Miami about the same distance. It was in fact laid out for over a mile on the Ohio stretching back for over three-fourths of a mile half way up the high hill at the northeast. It was platted in eighty blocks of lots each of half an acre and the rest in lots of four and five acres each. Nine hundred and forty-five in-lots are supposed to have been staked off by the surveyors. These lay on streets intersecting each other at right angles. The village at Columbia as was afterwards built does not conform in any way to the Stites plan. The modern Columbia lies below the original site which, strictly speaking, is not within the limits of Cincinnati.

THE FIRST CHURCH.

Columbia, as has been stated several times, was the largest settlement in the purchase during the early years and much was expected of its future development. Its buildings were better in arrangement and appearance than those of the other settlements and its population was made up of a people of very high character. By the close of 1790, about fifty cabins had been erected here. Wickerham's mill was the principal one in the purchase. Here too was organized the first church in the purchase. The celebrated Baptist minister, Rev. David Jones, while visiting the Ohio country stopped at Columbia as early as December, 1789, and preached in one of the

blockhouses of the fort the first sermon to the settlers. Other ministers who visited the settlement were David Rice, a Presbyterian from Kentucky and Elder John Mason, a Virginia Baptist. Elder Stephen Gano visited his relatives in Columbia in March, 1790, and preached a number of sermons and finally organized the Baptist Church. There seems to be some dispute as to the exact date, authorities being divided between January 20 and March 31, 1790.

The meeting place was at the dwelling of Benjamin Davis and nine persons joined at the time: Benjamin Davis, Mary Davis, Jonah Reynolds, Amy Reynolds, John Ferris, Isaac Ferris, Elizabeth Ferris, Thomas C. Wade and John S. Gano. Isaac Ferris was appointed deacon and Gano, clerk; Elizabeth Stites, Rhoda Stites and Sarah Ferris were "received upon experience," and were baptized in the river on Sunday, April 8th. Others soon joined the church increasing its number to 15. Elder Gano had been chosen pastor but he did not feel that his work in the East would permit him to accept the appointment; he therefore returned to his home. Elder John Smith was thereupon chosen, although he did not take charge until the spring of 1791. Daniel Clark, a licentiate, served during his absence. Clark was ordained as a clergyman in September 1793. This was said to be the first ordination of a Protestant clergyman in the Northwest Territory.

Major Stites gave a lot in the northern part of Columbia and finally a frame structure, 36 by 30 feet, with gallery and a hip-roof was erected for a church. It was occupied in the spring of 1793 and stood until 1835 when it was torn down. At Columbia as well as at Cincinnati, the settlers who attended the meetings carried their firearms. This continued until after the time of Wayne's victory. At the conclusion of the services it was quite common practice for Colonel Spencer, the head of the militia, to address the meeting upon the importance of guarding carefully the settlement. On one occasion two members brought into the church an Indian scalp which they had just taken.

In April, 1790, the Columbia church concluded "that in view of the entire destitution of preaching in Cincinnati, Brother Smith be allowed to spend half his time in that place." Elder Smith was one of the most prominent characters in the early days of the Territory. He was of noble and commanding personal appearance and was possessed of very fine manners and admirable presence. He came originally from Virginia and resided at Columbia until 1795. In that year he took charge of a church known as the Little Miami Island Church which was about eight miles northeast of Columbia. Subsequently Smith became interested in politics. He was a member of the first constitutional convention which organized the State and one of the first members of the United States Senate from 1803 to 1808. He was chosen as a Jeffersonian Democrat and during the early part of his term he enjoyed the friendship of President Jefferson. He was sent in 1804 on a confidential mission to Louisiana and Florida to discover the attitude of the Spanish officers there towards the United States. He became acquainted with Burr and when Burr passed through the neighborhood he entertained him. Subsequently his friendship for Burr was misconstrued and he was finally charged with treason. A motion was made in the Senate to expel him. This failed of passage by one vote. Smith resigned his seat in disgust and finally retired to Louisiana where he died in 1824. (Burnet's Notes, p. 94.)

THE FIRST SCHOOL.

The first school in the county was opened in Columbia, June 21, 1790, by John Reily who was joined the next year by Francis Dunlevy (Dunlavy). Reily came from North Carolina and served under General Greene throughout the Revolutionary War. He was one of the first settlers at Columbia but removed in 1794 to Cincinnati where he became deputy clerk, a clerk of the Territorial Legislature and collector of the town. He moved to Hamilton in 1803 where he became the clerk of the Common Pleas Court and of the Supreme Court and also recorder of the county. He died at the age of eighty-seven in 1850. (Burnet's Notes.)

His associate, Francis Dunlevy, was from Virginia and served in the Indian wars and in the Revolutionary War. He was a member of Crawford's army at the time of his defeat near Sandusky. He lived in Columbia until 1797 when he moved to Lebanon where he died in 1839. He was presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the First Circuit, which was located in Hamilton County, for a period of 16 years, and was a member of the first constitutional convention and the first Legislature.

During the association of Reily and Dunlevy, Reily taught the English studies and Dunlevy taught the classical department. The school was a subscription school and seems to have kept open throughout the year. The teacher was evi-

dently boarded around among his patrons, for in his journal he records: "In the month of August boarded twelve days with Mr. Patrick Moore; in the month of September boarded twelve days with Hugh Dunn; and in the month of December boarded with John McCulloch six days."

JUDGE GOFORTH'S DIARY.

Another very distinguished citizen of Columbia was Judge William Goforth whose name appears frequently throughout this volume. He came early in 1789. Among the most interesting documents concerning the early history of this region is his diary which has been preserved for us by Mr. Cist.

EXTRACTS FROM MEMORANDUMS MADE BY JUDGE GOFORTH, IN HIS DAY-BOOK.

1789

Jan. 2 left our camp and put down the Ohio and on the 8th arrived at Limestone and thence to Washington which is in 38 degrees some minutes North, and had at that time 119 horses.

Jan. 12th left Washington (Mason County, Kentucky) on the 12th and arrived on the 18th at Miami (Columbia).

Jan. 23 the first four horses were stolen—by the Indians—

April 4 two of Mills' men were killed.

April 5 a bark canoe passed the town and five more horses were stolen.

April 16 Baily and party returned from pursuing after the Indians.

May 3 Met in the shade to worship.

May 11 A cat-fish was taken—four feet long, eight inches between the eyes, and weighed 58 pounds. Judge Symmes arrived on the 2nd of February, 1789, as he informed Major Stites at his own post.

April 21 traded with the first Indian.

April 28 Capt. Samondawat—an Indian, arrived and traded.

Aug. 3 Named the Fort "Miami."

Aug. 5 Col. Henry Lee arrived and 53 volunteers.

Aug. 27 Went to North Bend with Col. Lee.

Sep. 3 Captain Flinp retook the horses.

Sep. 25 Major Stites, old Mr. Bealer and myself took the depth of the Ohio River when we found there was 57 feet water in the channel, and that the river was 55 feet lower at that time than it was at that uncommonly high fresh last winter.
The water at the high flood was 112 feet. (*Mr. Cist thinks this an error*).

Oct. 9 Mr. White set out for the Tiber.

Aug. 16 Major Doughty went down the river.

Dec. 28 Genl. Harmar passed this post down the River.

1790.

Jan. 2 The Governor passed this post down the River.

Jan. 3 received a line desiring my attendance with others.

Jan. 4 Attended his excellency when the Civil and Military officers were nominated.

Jan. 6 The officers were sworn in.

Jan. 13 Doctor David Johns preached.

Jan. 18 Doctor Gano and Thomas Sloo came here.

Jan. 20 The church was constituted—Baptist church at Columbia.

Jan. 21 Three persons were baptized.

Jan. 24 called a church meeting and took unanimous vote to call the Rev. Stephen Gano to the pastoral charge of the church at Columbia.

April 15 General Harmar went on the campaign past this post.

April 19 The Governor went up the River.

Aug. 30 Worked at clearing the minister's lot.

Aug. 2 Mr. Sargent left this post to go up the River together with Judge Turner.

Sep. 12 The Mason county militia past this post on their way to headquarters.

Sep. 19 200 Militia from Pennsylvania past this post on their way to Cincinnati.

Sep. 23 The Governor went down to Cincinnati.

Sep. 25 Major Doughty and Judge Turner also.

Sep. 30 The main body of the troops marched.

1791.

Jan. 2 begun to thaw.

Mch. 1 Indians fired at Lt. Baily's boat.

Mch. 1 Mrs. Abel Cook was found dead in the Round Bottom.

Mch. 4 Mrs. Bowman was fired at in the night through a crack in the house.

Mch. 22 Mr. Strong returned from up the River; had 24 men killed and wounded on the 19th March.

Mch. 27 Mr. Plasket arrived—the 24th in the morning fought the Indians just after daybreak, about 8 miles above Scioto—this the same battle mentioned in Hubble's narrative.

July 7 Col. Spencer's son taken prisoner.

July 14 Francis Beadles, Jonathan Coleman, a soldier killed.

1792.

Jan. 7 In the evening Samuel Welch was taken.

Nov. 2 Last Monday night met at my house to consult on the expediency of founding an academy—Rev. John Smith, Major Gano, Mr. Dunlevy,—afterward Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and myself—Wednesday night met at Mr. Reily's school-house—Mr. Reily then the teacher was for many years Clerk of Butler Common Pleas and Supreme Court—to digest matters respecting the academy, the night being bad, and but few people attending postponed till next night which was 1st of November, met at Mr. Reily's to appoint a committee.

Dec. 6 Fall of snow 7 inches on a level.
1793.
Sep. 24 The first and fourth Sub-Legions march under General Wayne.
The 27th or rather the 30th the army march. (*Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 172.*)

THE VISIT OF BAILY.

As late as 1794 soldiers were kept at Columbia there being as many as two hundred there at that time. Columbia was visited by a distinguished Englishman, Francis Baily, afterwards a Fellow of the Royal Society, and president of the Royal Astronomical Society. His journal published in 1856 describes his visit as follows:

"Tuesday, February 28, 1797. This morning we dropped down the river about half mile to a convenient landing, and here we had a much better view of the town than we had where we lay last night. The houses lie very scattered along the bottom of a hill which is about one-eighth of a mile from the river. The town is laid out on a regular plan, but was never in a very flourishing state. The neighboring and well-settled country round and at Cincinnati prevents it from being a place of any great importance; besides, it lies very low, and is often overflowed from the river, which prevents any houses being built immediately on the banks, as is customary in these new settlements. One-quarter of the land on which the town was intended to be laid out is now under water.

"After breakfast we went ashore to view the town, and H. introduced me to Mr. Smith and Dr. Bean. The former gentleman is a man of very good property, which he has acquired in several different ways in this place: he is a farmer, a merchant, and a parson; all these occupations, though seemingly so different, he carries on with the greatest regularity and without confusion. The latter is a man of good education and practices physic here, somewhat in the same manner as our country apothecaries in England do, for which he is dubbed doctor. As those gentlemen rank with the first in the place, a description of their habitations, manners, and society will serve, without any great variation, for that of the bulk of emigrants in a similar state of life.

"As Dr. Bean would insist upon our sleeping at his house, and in fact stopping with him during our residence here we accompanied him home. His house was built of logs, as all the houses in these new settlements are, and consisted of a ground floor containing two rooms, one of which was appropriated to lumber, the other served all the purposes of parlor, bed room, shop, and everything else (though there was a little out-house where they occasionally cooked their victuals and also washed), and it did not appear as if it had been cleaned out this half-year. There were two windows to throw light into the room, but there had been so many of the panes of glass broken, whose places were supplied by old hats and pieces of paper, that it was very little benefited by the kind intention of the architect. I saw a few phials and gallipots on a shelf in one corner of the room, and near them a few books of different descriptions. * * * Such is the force of example that very few of the emigrants who come into this kind of half-savage, half-civilized, state of life, however neat and cleanly they might have been before, can have resolution to prevent themselves from falling into that slovenly practice which everywhere surrounds them; and it is not till the first class of settlers are moved off, that any of these new countries are at all desirable to a person brought up in different habits of life.

"At dinner-table I observed a table prepared in the middle of the room, with some knives and forks and pewter plates placed on it, but without any table-cloth; and when the dinner was ready, two of his servants who were working out in the field were called in, and sat down at the same table and partook of the same provisions as ourselves.

"Our provisions consisted of some stewed pork and some beef, together with some wild sort of vegetable which had been gathered out in the woods, as it must be observed that in all these new settlements fresh provisions, both in meat and vegetables, are at some seasons very scarce, particularly at the time we were there. The inhabitants live a great deal upon deer and turkeys, which they shoot wild in the woods, and upon bacon, which they keep by them in case of need, and as to vegetables, they are seldom to be procured, except in summer. The bread which is made here is chiefly of Indian meal; it is a coarse kind of fare, but after a little use becomes not all unpleasant.

"When the time drew nigh for us to retire to rest, we were shown to one corner of the room where there was a ladder, up which we mounted into a dismal kind of a place without a window, but instead of these there were a number of crevices between the logs, which had never been filled up, and in the room there were three beds, or rather three bedsteads, with a few blankets thrown over them.

"I went to breakfast with Mr. Smith, and here I found things a little more in order, though far from that degree of refinement and comfort to be met with in the more civilized parts of this country. This house bore the marks of industry and cleanliness, and we were regaled with tea and coffee and boiled chicken for our breakfast, attended with buckwheat cakes, which are common in this part of the country.

"The farm of this gentleman consists of several acres of land adjoining his house, which he keeps in high cultivation—chiefly meadow ground—and from which he has realized a great deal of money. His warehouse was near the water side. It consisted of but one room, where he brings down the river such articles of European manufacture as are most in demand. There are but two or three other stores of the same kind in Columbia. The profits of this trade are generally one hundred per cent, and sufficiently compensate the trade for the trouble of a journey once or twice a year to Philadelphia."

In 1810 John Cutler says of the village that it had increased but little in the number of its inhabitants. "At present it is only a neat, pleasant village, consisting of about forty houses, built at some distance from each other, on a rich bottom or interval. Nor is it probable, from its situation, that it will ever become a place of much business."

Dr. Drake, writing in 1815 says, speaking of Columbia that it "in the year of 1789-90 had the largest settlement in the Miami country and was expected to flourish but the bayou which was formed across it from the Little Miami almost every year, and the occasional inundation of nearly the whole site had destroyed that expectation and it is now inhabited chiefly by farmers." (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 37.)

In 1819 the *Ohio State Gazetteer* speaks of Columbia as containing but fifty houses. The later village lying down the river was incorporated in 1868 and was annexed to the city of Cincinnati in 1873. At the census of 1870, just prior to the annexation, its population was 1,165.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SETTLEMENT OF LOSANTIVILLE AND NORTH BEND.

The Landing at Yeatman's Cove—The Survey of the Town—The Donation of Lots—The Rival Plats—The Original Purchasers—The First Experience with the Indians—Symmes' Proclamation to the Indians—The Landing at North Bend—The City of Miami.

The reports sent back by Stites were sufficiently encouraging to induce Patterson's party, still at Limestone, to make a start for the tract purchased by Denman, opposite the mouth of the Licking.

THE LANDING AT YEATMAN'S COVE.

"About the last of December," says the Directory of 1819, "Israel Ludlow, who after the death of Filson had become a joint proprietor with Denman and Patterson, of the site of Cincinnati, left Limestone with about twenty persons to commence a settlement on their purchase.

* * * *

"Immediately on their arrival, Mr. Ludlow and his party erected three or four log cabins, the first of which was built on Front street, near the corner of Front and Main streets. During the winter, Mr. Ludlow surveyed and laid out the town, then covered with a dense forest, marking the course of the streets on the trees. In addition to the small quantity of provision that the settlers brought with them, they found ample and easy means of subsistence from wild game and fish. The Indians, tho' unfriendly, committed no depredations for two or three months."

The names of the party are given in the Directory of 1819, as follows:

"James Carpenter, William McMillan, John Vance, Robert Caldwell, Sylvester White, Sam. Mooney, Henry Lindsay, Joseph Thornton, Noah Badgley, Thaddeus Bruen, Daniel Shoemaker, Ephraim Kirby, Thomas Gizzel, Wm. Connell, Joel Williams, Samuel Blackburn, Scott Traverse, John Porter, Fran. Hardisty, Matthew Fowler and Evan Shelby."

This list strangely enough does not include the names of Ludlow and Patterson, who were unquestionably with the party. The other names usually included in the roll of founders, are those of Matthew Campbell, Captain Henry, Luther Kitchel, Elijah Martin and Isaac Tuttle. It is conjectured that Ephraim Kirby is Ephraim Kibby, subsequently of Columbia, and also that the name of Daniel Shoemaker included here is that of the Columbia settler.

Kibby and Shoemaker drew lots at Losantiville, but were with Stites' party at Columbia and subsequently removed there. Tuttle, Henry and some of the others joined Symmes' number in February. Hardesty and others drifted away without making a permanent settlement here.

The exact date of the departure from Maysville is given in Symmes' letter to Dayton, written from North Bend, May 18, 1789:

"On the twenty-fourth of December last, colonel Patterson, of Lexington, who is concerned with Mr. Denman in the section at the mouth of Licking River, sailed from Limestone, in company with Mr. Tuttle, captain Henry, Mr. Ludlow, and about twelve others, in order to

form a station and lay out a town opposite Licking. They suffered much from the inclemency of the weather and floating ice, which filled the Ohio from shore to shore. Perseverance, however, triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which populates considerably, but would have been much more important by this time, if colonel Patterson or Mr. Denman had resided in the town. Colonel Patterson tarried about one month at Losantiville, and returned to Lexington."

This fixes the date of departure from Limestone beyond any real question, but strangely enough the date of the landing has ever been in dispute. The 26th day of December was for a long time accepted as the proper date, upon no other grounds apparently, says Cist, than that two days ought to take a flat-boat down the Ohio, 65 miles; in the condition of the river at that time covered with drift ice, it must be conceded that nothing reliable can be deduced from such data. Another writer quotes an English traveler, who arrived here in 1806, as saying:

"Travelling is so very good between Limestone and the town, a distance of sixty-eight miles, that I descended in two short days' run, without meeting with any obstacles."

It is apparent from this that the two days' run was regarded as an unusually successful trip, which could hardly be the fact when the river was filled with floating ice from shore to shore.

In the chancery case between the city and Joel Williams, involving the ownership of the Public Landing, the witnesses testified variously. One witness spoke of the landing as being late in December, 1788. Patterson and Ludlow said that the landing was as late as the early part of January, 1789, which seems improbable, as a trip so prolonged would have been so unusual as to make a clear impression on the minds of all the parties.

William McMillan, a very intelligent lawyer and a very prominent man in Cincinnati for many years, and one of scrupulous and exact habits of business, testified, "that he was one of those who formed the settlement of Cincinnati, on the 28th day of December, 1788."

Mr. Cist records that Judge Burnet assured him that he never had any doubt that this was the correct date. Denman, who was not with the party, in another case testified that they came "late in December," although he could not remember the precise day. Judge Burnet in his "Notes" has the party land on the 24th, an obvious error (p. 46).

The date fixed by McMillan is now generally accepted as the correct one. Tradition recites that "the party, occupied in completing the preparations, did not get away from Limestone until somewhat late in the day, and made but nine miles before tying up for the night; that the third day they sighted Columbia, but were unable to reach it or stop on account of the ice; that the same cause prevented their landing here upon arrival opposite the spot on the evening of the same day, but that, after remaining in or near the mouth of the Licking through the night of the twenty-seventh, they effected a crossing with their boats the next morning, and triumphantly entered the little inlet at the foot of Sycamore street, afterwards known as Yeatman's Cove. Fastening their frail barks to the roots and shrubs along the bank, they step ashore, collect driftwood and other dry fragments, strike the steel and flint, and provide themselves with their first necessity to comfort and cookery—ample fires. Very likely the fatigues of the voyage over, they soon realize, even long before night, the graphic picture drawn by Dr. Daniel Drake more than 63 years afterwards: 'Setting their watchmen around, they lay down with their feet to the blazing fires, and fell asleep under the music of the north wind whistling among the frozen limbs of the great sycamores and water maples which overhung them.' (Drake's Discourses, p. 10.)

"It was no time for prolonged rest or sleep, however. The depth of winter is not the season for open-air bivouacs, when shelters are at hand. The readiest expedient for the supply of material for dwellings—one already suggested by the practice of the boatmen of the age in breaking up their vessels and selling their constituent parts when the destination was reached—naturally occurred to the newly arrived, and their first cabin was constructed of boat-planks and other breakage from the craft in which they came." (Shaffer's Directory of 1840, p. 481, said by Ford to have been written by Judge Burnet; Ford's Cincinnati, p. 32).

This house was built as has been stated, on the present Front street, a little east of Main, and a trifle northwest of the cove or place of landing. This cove being the inlet opposite Sycamore street, was afterward named from Griffin Yeatman, who for many years resided and kept tavern where that street intersects the Public Landing, "Yeatman's Cove."

Another statement is to the same effect that the settlers first built a shelter of boards on the beach, under the bluff bank, felled trees, and began the erection of a small cabin, on the south side of Front street, just east of Main, for the use of Colonel Ludlow and his assistant surveyors. This is claimed to have been the first house built in Cincinnati as a dwelling, and stood for a great many years afterward. There was a board nailed on a stick chimney marked "1788," and Dr. Jones, in his "Early Days of Cincinnati," records that several old pioneers still living remember the house, or more properly the old cabin, very distinctly, although there is no means of ascertaining in what way or just when it was torn down. (P. 28 and sketch on p. 29.) Cabins were said to have been built here by Clark's soldiers in 1782, but they had disappeared.

THE SURVEY OF THE TOWN.

Ludlow immediately proceeded to make a survey of the town. In this he was assisted by Badgley, who was one of Symmes' surveyors, and others, and the work was substantially completed on the 7th of January, 1789, when the drawing took place for the donation lots.

According to the testimony of Patterson, given December 27, 1803, in a deposition which was taken in connection with the controversy about the Public Landing, Ludlow at this time did not attempt to make the survey of the whole town, but simply "laid out the front of said town as far as westwardly in Main street. * * * The ground in front of Front street was declared at that time a public common for the use of the citizens of said town except and reserving only for the benefit of the proprietors the privilege of establishing a Ferry on the banks of the Ohio on said Common." (Hamilton County Recorder's Office; Book D-1, page 74.)

This common as is explained hereafter became a subject of controversy. Melyn Baker testified on the same date, that Patterson's testimony was taken, that he arrived in Cincinnati in October, 1790, and occupied for a time a small enclosure on the common which was afterwards removed.

THE DONATION OF LOTS.

The article of agreement for the settlement which had been entered into for the proprietors in December, before leaving Limestone, reads as follows:

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT."

"The conditions for settling the town of Losantiburg are as follows, viz.: That the thirty in and out lots of said town to as many of the most early adventurers shall be given by the proprietors, Messrs. Ludlow, Denman and Patterson, who, for their part, do agree to make a deed in fee simple, clear of all charge and incumbrances, except the expense of surveying and deeding the same, as soon as Judge Symmes can obtain a deed from Congress.

"The lot-holders, for their part, do agree to become actual settlers on the premises. They shall plant and attend two crops successively, and not less than an acre shall be cultivated for each crop; and within two years of the date hereof, each person who receives a donation lot or lots, shall build a house equal to twenty-five feet square, one and one-half stories high, with brick, stone or clay chimneys; which house shall stand on the front parts of their respective lots, and shall be put in tenable repair, all within a term of two years. These requirements shall be minutely complied with on penalty of forfeiture, unless it be found impracticable on account of savage depredations."

This agreement was not signed at Limestone, but seems to have been tacitly assented to by all parties. (See, however, the statement in Denman's deposition of August, 1833.)

When the survey had been completed on January 7, 1789, Colonel Ludlow promulgated the following statement:

"CONDITIONS"

"ON WHICH THE DONATION LOTS IN THE TOWN LOSANTIVILLE ARE HELD & SETTLED.

"The first Thirty town & out lots to so many of the most early adventurers shall be given by the proprietors Messrs. Denman, Patterson, & Ludlow who for their part do agree to make a deed free & clear of all charges and incumbrances excepting that of surveying & deeding the same so soon as a deed is procured from Congress by Judge Symmes.

"The lot-holders for their part do agree to become actual settlers on the premises; plant & attend two crops successively & not less than One Acre shall be cultivated for each crop & that within the term of two years—each person receiving a donation lot or lots shall build an house equal to Twenty feet square One Storey & half high with a brick stone or clay Chimney which shall stand in front of their

respective in lots and shall be put in tenantable repair within the term of two years from the date hereof.

"The above requisitions shall be minutely complyed with under penalty of forfeiture unless Indian depredations render it impracticable. Done this seventh day of January One thousand seven hundred & Eighty Nine.

"ISRAEL LUDLOW."

This proclamation, it will be seen upon comparison, differs from the December contract in but two particulars,—the name is given Losantiville in place of Losantiburg, and the size of the houses is reduced from 25 to 20 feet square. These papers dating long after Filson's death completely dispose of Judge Burnet's contention that the name Losantiville died with him.

The survey extended from the river to Seventh street, then called Northern row, and then from Broadway (Eastern row) to Central avenue (Western row) and thence to the river; the out-lots of four acres each (81 in number) extended beyond Northern row to the north limits of the Losantiville purchase, at Liberty street. This survey was not recorded by Israel Ludlow for himself and Denman until April 29, 1802, and then only because of the passage of a law requiring it. The entry may be found in Book E-2, pages 62-63, and is preceded by the following documents:

"References to the plan of the Town of Cincinnati, in page No. 62, exhibited by Colonel Israel Ludlow (as one of the proprietors), on the forenoon of the twenty-ninth day of April, 1802, and recorded agreeably thereto.

"N. B.—The following certificate is attached to the original:

"This may certify that I consider myself as having been one of the original proprietors of the Town of Cincinnati, and hereby authorize Israel Ludlow to make or copy a plan according to the original plan or intention of the firm, and cause to be recorded as such, agreeably to the Laws of the Territory in that case made and provided.

"MATTHIAS DENMAN."

"November 20th, 1801."

"*Test*:

"P. P. STEWART,

"D. C. COOPER."

"The lots in the regular squares of the town contain 72 square perches, are 12 poles in length and six poles wide. The out-lots, which are entire, contain each four acres, are in length, east and west, six and a half chains. The six long squares between Front and Water streets contain lots ten poles long and six poles wide. All the streets in the town are four poles wide, excepting Seventh street and Eastern and Western rows, which are but two poles wide. The courses of the streets are North sixteen West and others crossing at right angles South seventy-four West. The streets through the outlots are four poles wide."

THE RIVAL PLATS.

On the Ludlow plat the streets are named as they are at present, excepting Broadway was marked as Eastern row and Central avenue as Western row. Plum street was spelt Plumb. The space from Broadway, or Eastern row, to Main street, and from Front street to the river was made a common or public landing forever, reserving the privilege to the proprietors of establishing a ferry at this point. The cove was shown as extending to the south line of Front street, just east of the foot of Sycamore and a little wider at its junction with the river than it was long. The lots in the south half of the squares between Second and Front streets, and all below them are laid out lengthwise north and south; all others in an east and west direction. Lots 114 to 117 and 139 to 142 (the town plat) are indicated in Ludlow's appended notes as given to public uses. They constitute the block bounded by Fourth and Fifth streets, and Walnut and Main streets. The south half of these was afterwards divided between the First Presbyterian Church, the Cincinnati College, and the county of Hamilton, and the old Lancaster Seminary.

East of Broadway, between Third and Fifth streets, were sixteen in-lots, and north of these the first range of out-lots, numbered from one to eight. The northwestern range of out-lots began also north of Fifth street.

On the same day another plat was exhibited to the recorder by Joel Williams, at six o'clock, p. m., which purported to be a plat "of the town of Cincinnati, (formerly called Losanterville)," agreeable to the original plan thereof, and was recorded at the instance of Samuel Freeman and Joel Williams, assignees of Matthias Denman and Robert Patterson. The principal differences between the two plats are the names of streets, and on the (Public Landing) common. The east and west streets are designated as follows, beginning with the river.

Water, Front, Columbia (Second), Hill (Third), High (Fourth), Byrd (Fifth), Gano (Sixth), and Northern row (Seventh). The north and south streets, beginning with Eastern row (Broadway), running westward, were Sycamore, Main, Cider (Walnut), Jefferson (Vine), Beech (Race), Elm, Filson (Plum), and Western row. The Public Landing space is filled with in-lots, numbering 461 to 468. The numbers of the other lots and the general features of the survey are the same as in the Ludlow plat. The same square, bounded by Main, Cider, High and Byrd streets, is "reserved for a Court House, a Jail, a Church and School." The cove is not shown.

Williams' affidavit states that this record was made in the absence from the Territory of Denman and Patterson, the two other original proprietors of said town. (Colonel Ludlow is not recognized in any way in the affidavit, the third proprietor being evidently regarded as Filson, who is said to be dead.) The affidavit goes on to say that they "have no intention of recording in person the plat of said town, agreeable to a late act of the said Territory, entitled 'an act to provide for the recording of town-plats.'" The affidavit avers that "this deponent further saith that he possesses, as he believes, sufficient information in the premises to enable him to make a plat of the said Town of Cincinnati, agreeable to the original plat, plan, design, and intentions of the aforesaid original proprietors of said town, in manner and form as the same was originally laid laid out and declared by the proprietors; and this deponent further saith that the within is a true and accurate Map or Plat of the said Town of Cincinnati, agreeable to the Original Plat, Plan, Design and intentions of the three proprietors aforesaid," etc.

The purpose of recording this second plat, which by many has been regarded as the plat made by Filson (but without sufficient authority), was to support the claim made by Williams to the town lots, which this plat indicated in the place of the Public Landing.

Joel Williams was the owner by purchase from Denman, Patterson, Freeman and others of all the remaining proprietary interests in the town. Patterson's interests in the lots unsold had been conveyed by him in November, 1794, to Samuel Freeman for eight dollars in silver an acre. Denman's interests as an original proprietor were transferred in March, 1795, to Williams. Williams obtained from Symmes by deed of February 14, 1800, a title to this tract and by a subsequent purchase in November, 1803, from Freeman of all the interests that he had acquired from Patterson he became the owner of a two-thirds interest in the unsold lots. Patterson as will be remembered remained here about a month then returned to Lexington after which he ceased to have any real interest in the place. Denman did not even come out with the colony in December but remained in New Jersey. Of the four persons originally associated with the founding of Cincinnati, therefore, Israel Ludlow is the only one who ever lived in the town or in the immediate neighborhood. It suited Williams' interest of course to deny that Ludlow had any title whatsoever to the land especially as there was no record of a transfer to him or in fact to any one else of the original interest of Filson. He set up a claim therefore to the common now known as the Public Landing on the ground that it was private property reserved by the proprietors for future disposition. To add force to his claim, he erected a brick house on the northwest corner of the tract in question, just at the south end of Main street which is shown on the early plats of the city and marked "Council House." This was a two-story brick house about twenty feet square. Just east of this was placed a frame tenement a story and a half high and the whole was surrounded by a worm fence as late as 1806. The dispute over this land continued for a number of years and was finally concluded by a decree in chancery ended by the Supreme Court of Ohio in the November term of 1807, which required Williams to deed to the town all rights he had in the property excepting his ferry rights together with the use of the brick house erected by the said Joel Williams on the premises together with fifty feet in front commencing at the northwest corner of said house and one hundred feet in rear toward the Ohio River. As a result of this decree the sheriff, Goforth, put the municipal authorities in formal possession by offering to them a spade full of earth which was accepted with the proper formalities.

In the picture of the city known as "Cincinnati in 1802," there appears, on the northeast corner of Front and Main, Col. Thomas Gibson's house at that time probably the largest in the town. Just in front there appears a small building back of a large tree. It was at this point that Williams' brick house was erected. The lower story of the building was really a half basement while the upper part was at first left unfinished. In this building Henry Weaver

one of the early merchants of the city earried on business for a time and in the frame tenement to the east there was, some time later, a provision store. The frame buildings were built of plank taken for the first bridge built over the mouth of Mill ereek after it had given away in the spring freshet of 1807. (Cist's Miseellany, Vol. I, p. 271; Vol. II, pp. 27-37-56.)

After the property had been surrendered to the eity the briek building became known as the "Town House" and was used for the meetings of the Couneil. The chamber above was plastered and a stairway was run up to it on the outside. (Minutes of Couneil, Mareh 4, 1816; Henderson's Council, p. 17.)

The tree, whieh is shown on the picture above referred to, is said to have been a blaek walnut nearly four feet in diameter. It was struek by lightning in June, 1807, and had to be taken down to prevent fire spreading to the buildings about it.

This digression is made necessary to explain the point of the reording the Williams plat. Colonel Patterson in his depositions with referenee to the matter deelared that he had examined both plats and believed "the one reorded by Israel Ludlow to be agreeable to the original plan."

THE ORIGINAL PURCHASERS.

On January 7, 1789, pursuant to the notice already sent out, the donation lots were distributed by lottery, held under the personal direetion of Patterson and Ludlow. The first drawing resulted as follows:

	Out-Lots	In-Lots
Joel Williams	3	79
John Porter	2	77
David McClure	6	26
Samuel Mooney	14	33
Sylvester White	15	2
Joseph Thornton	28	3
James Carpenter	1	32
Matthew Cammel	8	28
Noah Badgeley	22	31
Luthar Kitchel	13	58
James Cammel	21	34
Jesse Stewart	30	54
Benjamin Dument	25	53
Isaac Van Meter	18	8
Daniel Shoemaker	27	79
William McMillan	31	..
Ephraim Kibby	4	59
John Vance	24	4
Jesse Fulton	23	6
Henry Bechtel	16	56
Isaac Freeman	20	51
Samuel Blackburn	29	1
Scott Traverse	9	52
Elijah Martin	26	7
Archibald Stewart	12	57
James McConnel	5	30
——— Davison	19	27
James Dument	11	5
Jonas Menser	10	29
Thomas Gizzel	17	9
Harry Lindsay	7	76
James Campbell	..	154

Mr. McMillan does not seem to have drawn an in-lot and James Campbell apparently did not draw an out-lot. Daniel Shoemaker and Joel Williams are both recorded as drawing in-lots 79. In the list given by Mr. Cist, as taken from Colonel Patterson's papers, Daniel Shoemaker is shown to have drawn in-lot 78.

After the drawing, a number of transfers were made. For instanee: Joseph Thornton transferred in-lot 3 and out-lot 28 to Robert Caldwell. Matthew Cammel (Campbell) transferred in-lot 28 and out-lot 8 to Nathaniel Rolstein. Benjamin Dument (Dumont) transferred in-lot 53 and out-lot 25 to Enoeh MeHendry. The name Davison, who drew in-lot 27 and out-lot 19 was erased from the reeords. These are but few of the many instanees.

The names of William MeMillan as drawing out-lot 31, and James Campbell as drawing in-lot 154, do not appear on Colonel Patterson's list. Archibald Stewart's name is there given as Richard Stewart. Isaac Freeman is given as drawing out-lot 29 in place of out-lot 20 as it should be. Jonas Menser is there given as James Monson and as having drawn out-lot 14 in place of 10 as it should have been. The in-lots, whieh were drawn at this time, covered the entire bloeks between Front, Second, Syeamore and Broadway; Seeond, Third, Sycamore and Broadway; Front, Second, Syeamore and Main and the east half of the block bounded by Second, Third, Sycamore and Main exeept lot 55, on the northwest eorner of Seeond and Sycamore. This lot was not drawn, as it was regarded as of a small value by reason of a swamp, whieh for years existed at this eorner. The lots which faeed the Publie Landing were of eourse eonsidered the most valuable. Aecording to the drawing, they were taken as follows: Beginning at the northwest eorner of Front and Broadway, the first lot was drawn by Samuel Blaekburn; seeond going west on Front, Sylvester White; third No. 26, David McClure; fourth, No. 27, a corner lot, Davison (afterwards drawn by William McMillan). Crossing Sycamore, the first lot on the northwest corner of Front, No. 51, was drawn by Isaac Freeman; next to him were

Scott Traverse and Harry Lindsay, and the northeast corner of Main and the landing fell to John Porter. Going up Broadway, the first lot in the rear of Blackburn and White, being No. 3, was drawn by Joseph Thornton (transferred to Robert Caldwell), and the corner lot on Second and Broadway fell to John Vance. Crossing the street, the northwest corner of Second and Broadway fell to James Dument or Dumont, and north of him was Jesse Fulton's lot. Lot 7, where subsequently was the market space, fell to Elijah Martin, and lot 8, to Isaac Van Meter. Lot 9, the southwest corner of Third and Broadway, located on the edge of the second bank or level of the city, fell to Thomas Gizzel. West of him on Third street, lot 34, occupying the southeast corner of Third and Sycamore streets, was drawn by James Cammel or Campbell. South of Campbell was Samuel Mooney, Campbell's lot being on the top of the bank, and Mooney's at the foot of it. Below Mooney's lot, where afterward was the market space, was lot 32, drawn by James Carpenter, and south of him, lot 31, was drawn by Noah Badgley. The northeast corner of Second and Sycamore fell to James or Richard McConnel; the southeast corner was drawn by James Monson or Jonas Menser, and the lot south of that by Matthew Cammel or Campbell. This completes the squares bounded by Broadway, Third, Sycamore and Front. Benjamin Dumont drew the lot on Sycamore street and north of Isaac Freeman's lot, and the southwest corner of Second and Sycamore was drawn by Jesse Stewart. Across the street from Jesse Stewart was the swamp, which no one seemed to want. Above that on a slope, Henry Bechtel, took lot 56, and north of him on the corner opposite the old market space, now Pearl street, Archibald Stewart took lot 57. On the opposite corner, lot 58 was drawn by Luther Kitchel, and the southwest corner of Third and Sycamore, just at the edge of the bank, fell to Ephraim Kibby. The west half of this block, covering the lots on Main street, between Second and Third streets, was not assigned at this drawing. The southeast corner of Second and Main was drawn by Joel Williams, and south of him came Daniel Shoemaker. James Campbell went west to the corner of Second and Walnut, either at this or the May drawing.

Mr. Cist says: "I have not been able to learn the price at which the proprietors held the in and out-lots, not comprehended in the thirty of each thus made a granting to the first thirty settlers. That it must have been a low figure may be readily inferred from the fact in payment of a balance, less than one hundred dollars due by the proprietors to Ludlow for surveying fees, he preferred taking 120 acres, seven miles from the town, to four out-lots and an entire square, of which Pearl street is now the center, worth now, as naked ground, more than two million dollars." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 15.)

The price of the lots generally is said in one account to have been two dollars on the lower level and four dollars above, but this price must have risen very quickly for in the list collected by Robert Clarke from the record of Colonel Ludlow referred to hereafter the lowest prices given run usually at 25 and 30 shillings up to as high as 80 shillings, which was paid by Enos Terry for a lot on the southwest corner of Sixth and Main and also by Seth Cutter for a lot on the northwest corner of Fourth and Sycamore. John Riddle paid this same amount for an inside lot on the north side of Front between Plum and Elm streets while a lot on the west side of Vine just south of Seventh appears to have been purchased by Elijah Davis for 75 shillings. Dr. Drake in his "Picture of Cincinnati" (page 131) says: "For several years after the settlement of this place the lots along the principal streets were sold for less than $100.00 each. They gradually increased in price until the year 1805, when from a sudden influx of population they arose for a short time with rapidity. Their advancement was then slower, until 1811; since which the rate of increase has been so high, that for a year past the lots in Main, from Front to Third streets, have sold at $200.00 per foot measuring on the front line; from thence to Sixth at $100.00; in Broadway, Front and Market streets, from 80 to 120; and on the others, from 50 to 10, according to local advantages. Out-lots, and land adjoining to the town plat bring from 500 to 1,000 dollars per acre."

William Wiseman in his narrative given by Mr. Cist states that after the defeat of St. Clair "such was the panic among the inhabitants of Cincinnati, that I could have bought the best lots in the city at five dollars each, but I did not think proper to make the investment." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 102.)

Some of the settlers preferred not to be limited to the lots covered by the drawings and declined to take them, trusting to make a better bargain when the lots were thrown open to sell at low prices.

Major Ferguson, who was killed at the time of St. Clair's defeat in 1791, had bought just prior to his departure lot 13 on the southwest corner of Fourth and Broadway, a hundred feet by two hundred for $11. Numerous illustrations of the low prices of the lots originally will be given later.

Denman's letter to Patterson of February 1, 1789, enjoins him "to pay the greatest attention to the laying out of the Town at the mouth of Licking River and see that we have a good choice in the Lots, and if possible get the best and most pleasantly situated ones.—In case you should not see Mr. Ludlow's letter, I would wish you to have as many lots as you Judge necessary of about ten Acres each laid out back of the Town where you shall think proper, and let any persons occupy the same for a number of years (suppose twelve or Fourteen) on a small yearly Rent of about six pense a lot, by which means we may likely have a considerable part of our lands cleared & improved." (Concerning the Fore-Fathers, p. 397.)

Many stories are told as to the rise of value in city property. Cist records that one-half of lot 76, the lot originally drawn by Lindsay, was sold to A. and J. Hunt, on the 30th of September, 1796, at $4, and comments that this property at the time of his writing in 1859 "if even stripped of its present improvements would now sell for more than one thousand dollars per front foot or fifty thousand dollars for the half lot." Patterson sold his interest to Freeman in 1794 at eight silver dollars per acre.

Either value would be incomprehensible at the present time. In May, 1789, a large number of other lots were given away to new comers on the same terms and conditions as applied to the first donation. The list as preserved of this donation reads as follows:

	No. of Lot.
Robert Caldwell	83, 84
John Cutter	92
Seth Cutter	89
James Millan	94
Levi Woodward	33, 34
Thaddeus Bruen	32
Nathaniel Rolstein	30
William Rolstein	65
Jonathan Fitts	61
William Cammel	85
Abraham Garrison	86
Francis Kennedy	151
Luther Kitchel	80
John Cummings	106
Robert Benham	17, 62, 63
Joshua Findlar	37
Henry Betchel, Junr.	57
Joseph Kelly	113
Isaac Bates	60
James Campbel	154
Doctor John Hole	227
Jabish Philips	91
Captain Furguson	13
Lieutenant Ford	10
Elijah Martin	82
David Logan	263
Samuel Kennedy	112
Mr. Wick—Malign Baker	138
Cobus Lindsicourt	114
William McMillan, Esqr	27
Same (Outlot)	53
Henry Reed	88
John Ellis—George Adams	129
Capt. Pratt	9
Capt. Ford	11
John Covert	85
Enock McHendry	67
James Dument	108
John Terry, Senr	116
Joel Williams	126
Joseph McHendry	79
James Cunningham	128
Samuel Kitchel	209, 205
Col. Robert Paterson	127

There are some variations from this list as given by different authorities. According to some accounts, lots 33, 83 and 209 were not included in the donation. Lot 65 was drawn by Rev. James Kemper and lot 61 by Peyton Cook and Winters.

In this donation the entire stretch from the southeast corner of Third and Main to the northeast corner of Pearl and Main, fell to Robert Caldwell. Elijah Martin received lot 82, at the southeast corner of Pearl and Main. The northeast corner of Second and Main was assigned to Luther Kitchel; the northeast corner of Third and Main to William Campbell and John Covert. North of them came Abraham Garrison. The southeast corner of Fourth and Main streets was assigned to Henry Reed. On Sycamore, at the northwest corner of Third, lot 60 fell to Isaac Bates, north of him came Jonathan Fitts (or Peyton Cook and Winters), then Robert Benham, who had two lots, extending to the corner of Fourth street, as well as lot 17 at the southwest corner of Fifth and Broadway. Many of the settlers did not come into the immediate neighborhood of the blocks first chosen, as was shown by the fact that lot 263, at the southwest corner of Fourth and Race streets, was chosen by David Logan, but in the main the streets along the lower level were filled up first.

This drawing included among others lots more or less scattered, running up the west side of Broadway from Third to Fourth and the southwest corner of Fifth and Broadway; a lot on the east side of Sycamore between Third and Fourth; the west side of Sycamore from Third to Fifth; the east side of Main to above Fifth street and the west side of Main almost to the corner of Fifth street; the east side of Walnut between Front and Second and the southeast corner of Fourth and Walnut.

An examination of the records shows that very few of those who were fortunate enough to draw lots in these distributions ever availed themselves of their good fortune. Most of them either abandoned their lots or assigned them to some other persons who finally received deeds for them. Of the original thirty participants in the drawing, Isaac Freeman and Scott Traverse seem to be the only ones who eventually took deeds for their in-lots. Of the large number who participated in the second drawing, almost fifty, about 20 per cent took deeds for their in-lots or parts of them. These included Robert Caldwell, John Cutter, Seth Cutter, Abraham Garrison, Dr. John Hole, Jabesh Phillips, Robert Benham, George Adams, Joel Williams and Samuel Kitchel. (See Deed Books in Recorder's Office.)

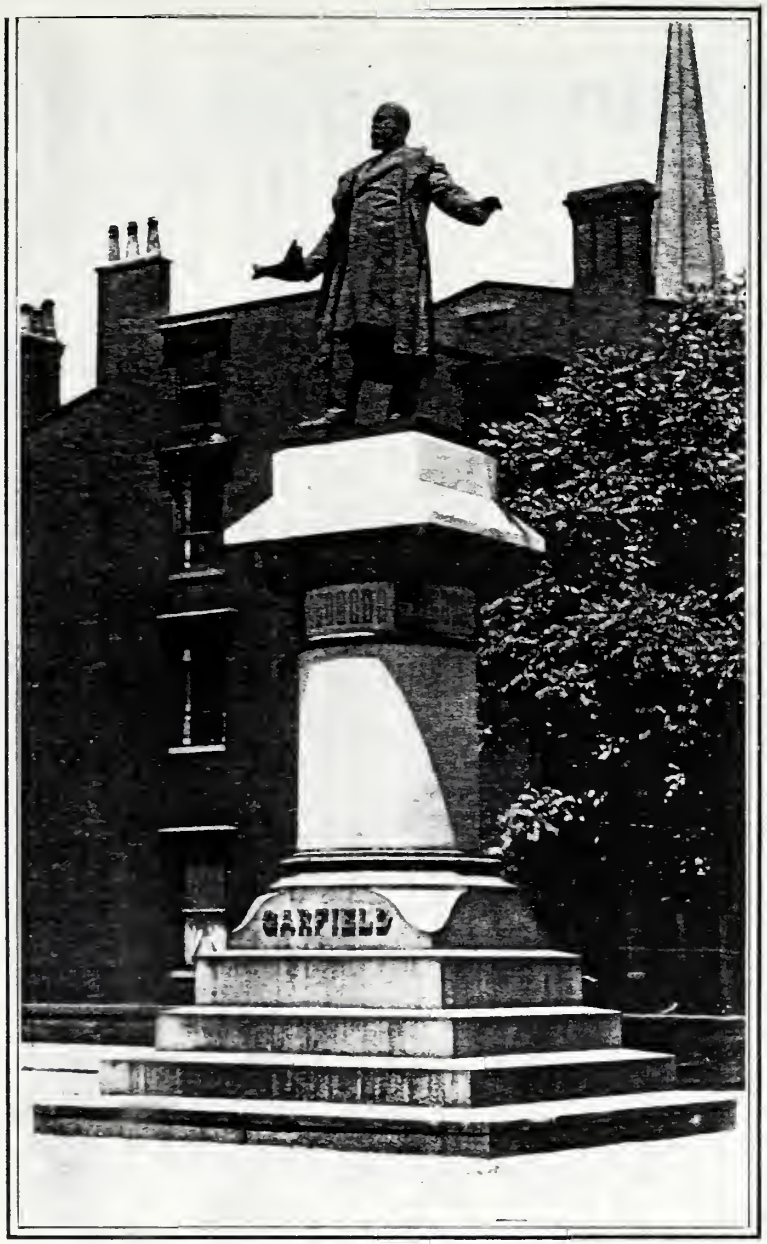
Symmes was not able to give deeds until after the patent of 1794 so that many transfers had been made in the meantime.

Robert Clarke has collected a list of original purchasers, mostly during the year of 1789. In addition to those already mentioned, the following are included in this list:

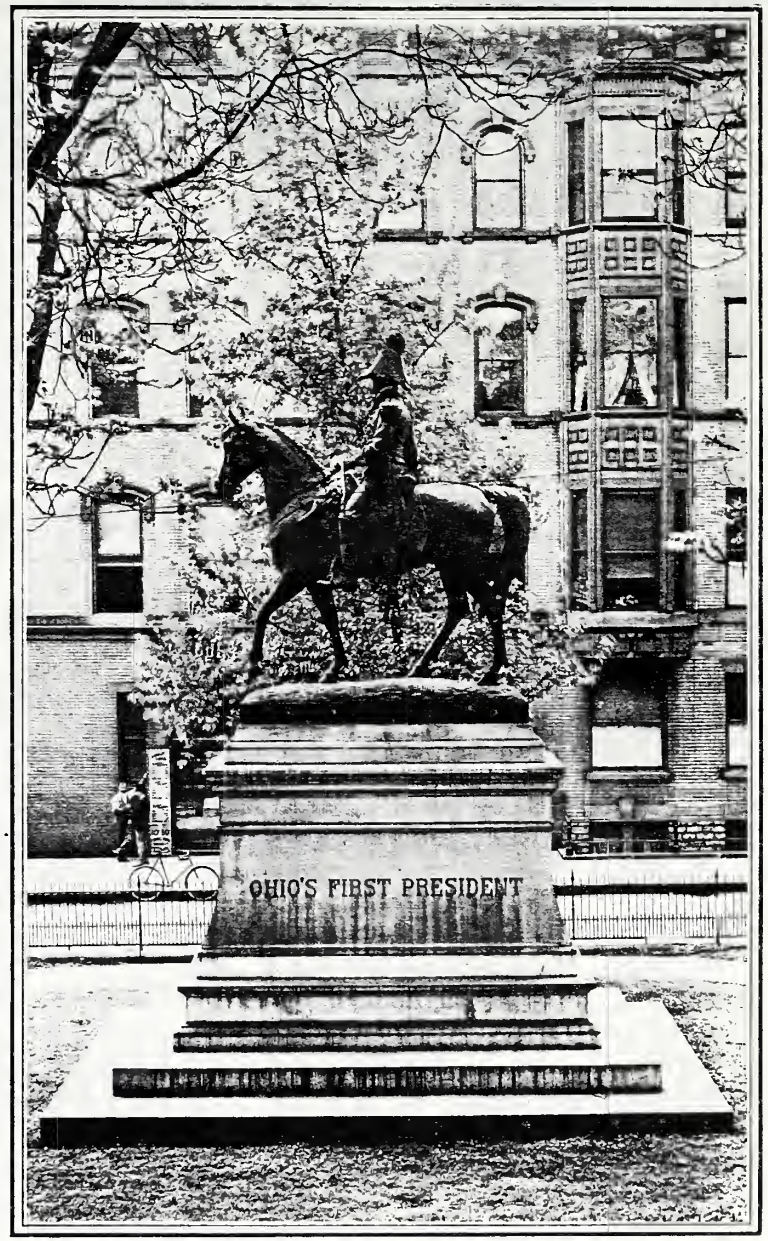
Dr. Adams,
John Adams,
Henry Atchison,
Stephen Barns,
Daniel Bates,
William Beazley,
William Bedell,
Thomas Black,
James Blackburn,
John Blanchard,
Truman Bostwick,
Thomas Brown,
Brunton & Dougherty,
Moses Burd,
James Burns,
Garret Cavender,
John Cheek,
Thomas Coehran,
Ephraim Coleman,
James Colwell,
William Gowen,
Peyton Cook,
Daniel C. Cooper,
John Coulson,
Joseph Cutter,
Matthew Danalds,
Edward Darling,
Jonathan Davis,
Elijah Davis,
William Devin,
William Dillan,
William Dorrough,
Russell Farnum,
Elijah Finley,
Benjamin Flinn,
Jacob Fowler,
Samuel Freeman,
Adam Funk,
John Gaston,
Uriah Gates,
James Goald,
John Murfey,
Archibald Gray,
George Greves,
John Griffin,
Joel Hamblen,
Hezekiah Hardesty,
Uriah Hardesty,
William Harris,
James Harway,
William Hedger,
——— Heooleson,
Robert Hinds,
Daniel Hole,
Darius Hole,
William Hole,
Zachariah Hole,
Edward Holland,
Jerum Holt,
Israel Hunt,
Nehemiah Hunt,
Nicholas Johnston,
David Joice,
Nicholas Jones,
John Kearsey (or Kearney),
William Kelly,
Rev. James Kemper,
Lieutenant Kingsbury,
Bethuel Kitchell,
Daniel Kitchell,
John Lore,
James Lowrey,
John Ludlow,
James Lyon,
Daniel McClure,
George McClure,
John McClure,
Mary McClure,
William McClure,
William McCoy,
James McKnight,
Henry McLaughlin,
John McLaughlin,
James Marshall,
Isaac Martin,
Margaret Martin,
Samuel Martin,
Luke Mellen,
Jonathan Mercer,
James Miller,
Moses Miller,
Jacob Mills,
Alexander Moore,
Robert Moore,
Dr. Morrel,
Jesse Mott,
Capt. John Munn,
George Murfey,
Mr. Neilson,
George Niece,
Christopher Noon,
Darius C. Orcutt,
Andrew Parks,
Culbertson Parks,
Presley Peck,
Thomas Persons,
Matthew Pierson,
Samuel Pierson,
Enos Potter,
James Pursley,
Jacob Reeder,
Stephen Reeder,
Thomas Richards,
John Riddle,
Abraham Ritchison,
Reuben Rood,
Asa Root,
Jonathan Ross,
John Ross,
John Ross, Jr.,
Moses Ross,
William Ross,
William Rusk,
Col. Winthrop Sargent,
Levi Sayre,
David Scott,
James Scott,
Obediah Scott,
John Seaman,
Jonas Seaman,
Niles Shaw,
Casper Sheets,
Ziba Stibbins,
Captain Strong,
Dennis Sullivan,
Jacob Tapping,
Henry Taylor,
Enos Terry,
Robert Terry,
John Tharp,
Judge George Turner,
Benjamin Valentine,
Benjamin Van Cleve,
John Van Cleve,
Jacob Van Doran,
John Van Eton,
Cornelius Van Nuys,
James Wallace,
Jacob Warwick,
David Welch,
Samuel Whiteside,
John Wiant,
——— Winters,
Amos Wood.

THE SETTLEMENT OF NORTH BEND.

The third settlement in the Miami purchase, and the one made by Symmes himself, was that at North Bend. The territory covered by this settlement has never become a part of the city



THE JAMES A. GARFIELD STATUE.



THE WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON STATUE.

of Cincinnati, but its early history is so intimately connected with the history of the other two settlements, which are now incorporated within the city limits, that no adequate idea of the conditions of the early days can be obtained without an account of this third of the Hamilton County settlements.

Judge Symmes, it will be remembered, had reserved for himself in his terms of sale and settlement, published at Trenton, the privilege of locating and paying for the entire township nearest the juntion of the Ohio and Great Miami rivers, as well as the several fractional townships west and south between that one and the rivers; here he purposed founding a city which he expected to become the metropolis of the Miami purchase. He did not make his start from Limestone for some time after the other two parties had begun their settlements. He and his party had remained in that village for over six months, and in the expectation that he would be detained until spring, he had taken a house for himself and family. He was waiting for assistance, in the shape of troops, which he expected would be sent to him by General Harmar, and also for news of the conclusion of the treaty with the Indians.

He sent down a few surveyors to Miami, in order to traverse the two Miamis as far up as they could, and implies in one of his letters that these surveyors came down at the time Stites made his journey to Columbia. He says, however: "I tarried myself at Limestone, where I had provided a tolerable house of my own, and in which I supposed the coming Spring would find me; as I could get no encouragement from Governor St. Clair, of a favorable conclusion of the treaty, nor from General Harmar of any assistance of troops."

On the 12th of December, however, Captain Kearsey, with 45 soldiers arrived at Limestone, having been ordered down the Ohio to protect Ludlow in surveying that river to Scioto. From Scioto his directions were to go to Miami if the settlement should be begun there and with his soldiers to protect that settlement throughout the winter.

These troops added to the party already at Limestone were "of much more detriment than use," as the soldiers brought with them a very short supply of provisions. General Harmar, it seems, had some expectations of having provisions supplied to the soldiers from the falls of the Ohio, and had sent a letter to Symmes, instructing the contractor coming up the Ohio to take the necessary steps for supplying the soldiers at the Miami, where they were expected to winter, but this arrangement failed. As a result, when Kearsey arrived at Limestone, Symmes was put to the alternative either of letting him go down to the falls or of furnishing him and his people with provisions throughout the winter. He still hoped that when General Harmar discovered the failure of supplies he would receive some assistance from that quarter, and for this reason he detained Kearsey and his soldiers and took upon himself the burden of supplying him.

He speaks of this task as almost impracticable at that season of the year, as the roads were scarcely passable and as the amazing emigration into Kentucky had stripped the country all around Limestone of provisions of all kinds. Flour had to be brought down the Ohio from the Monongahela, and this was done with great difficulty, as the ice was running down the river considerably. Symmes had provided about three thousand weight of flour and fifteen hundred of pork for his own family and to assist the surveyors when assistance was needed, but these stores he was obliged to share with Kearsey.

A sergeant with 18 men, who was despatched to the assistance of Stites and the surveyors, was furnished at once with fifty days' rations. About two weeks later some settlers passed down the river, desirous of locating at the Old Fort at Miami, and another sergeant with 12 men had to be detached as an escort for them. This took more of Symmes' stores. One of the settlers, however, assured him that he was well supplied with flour and corn and "as for meat, I knew no place where that article of the wild kind could be procured with more ease and plenty than at Miami."

This last named detachment had a hard time; the weather grew intensely cold and the Ohio froze to such a point that it was feared that the boats would become frozen in the river before they reached Miami. They got as far as Columbia, where they made a short stop, expecting to proceed to the Old Fort at once, but the floating ice came down upon their boats, injuring them severely and drowning much of the stock and destroying most of the provisions. This misfortune terminated the expedition.

THE FIRST EXPERIENCE WITH THE INDIANS.

In the meantime Stites kept sending messages to Symmes, informing him of the frequent visits of Indians to the blockhouse and of their great

desire to see Symmes, who they understood was coming to live in the Miami country. They made great professions of peace and friendship, even prior to the treaty of Muskingum.

Symmes, in his letter to Dayton, of May 18, 1789, describes the measures which the Indians took to introduce themselves at the blockhouse as a little dangerous and singular. "They had first espied Captain Stites' boats lying at the bank of the river, opposite the blockhouse, as they have since informed me. On holding a council at their hunting camp, which was about six miles northwest of the Ohio, they concluded to introduce themselves to our acquaintance rather as friends than as enemies. To this they were wholly encouraged by the lenity which had been shown by me to one of their camps on the Great Miami, in September last, which adventure I have already communicated. They had with them a white man by the name of George, who was a good interpreter of their language; he had been ten or twelve years a prisoner with them, yet spoke the English language very well. George was therefore sent down to the blockhouse, as near as he and one Indian dare to go, and hallooed to our people, who were at work at their fortifications. George called out, in English, for some of them to come to him; but those who heard him supposed him to be one of their own party, and paid no regard to George's call. At length, one answered, in a blackguarding manner, asking him why he did not come to them, if he had anything to say? This induced George and his companion to retreat again to their camp. The next step was in this sort: six of them, armed and mounted on horseback, made towards the blockhouse, in order to take a prisoner. They soon fell in with the fresh trace of three of the surveyor's hands, who were out a hunting. They rode down the trail, and came up with the three men, who first fled at the sight of the Indians, but soon found it impossible to escape; when they prepared to make resistance, Robert Hamson and Joseph Cox, of Sussex County, New Jersey, were two of them. On Hamson's presenting his rifle at the foremost Indian, the Indian took off his cap, trailing his gun, and holding out his right hand: while George called to the white men not to fire upon them, for they were friends, and did not wish to hurt them; begging to be led by them to the blockhouse. This was agreed to, and the whole nine came in together to Captain Stites. This was so unexpected a visit from the Indians that the people at the blockhouse were much at a loss in what point of view to consider it. Some thought the Indians came in only as spies, to view their strength; others thought more favorably, and believed the Indians sincere in their peaceable professions. A few days' acquaintance discarded the fears of the former, and the white and red people began to form a sociable neighborhood: our hunters frequently taking shelter for the night at the Indian camps; and the Indians, with their squaws, spending whole days and nights at the blockhouse, regaling themselves with whiskey. This important piece of information Captain Stites communicated, as I before observed, to me at Limestone, by two messengers sent on foot up the banks of the Ohio."

SYMMES' PROCLAMATION TO THE INDIANS.

Captain Stites kept giving the Indians further information as to the intentions of Symmes, but finally they became so impatient that they charged Stites with telling them falsehoods in his representations as to Symmes' coming and to the effect that he would supply them with articles of trading. Symmes was still waiting for the boat load of flour which he had ordered, or for some supplies which he had hoped would come from Harmar, but these repeated and urgent messages decided him to make a start for fear that if his journey were longer delayed the friendly actions of the savages might turn to hostility. He was further encouraged by the successful landing of the Patterson and Ludlow party, opposite the mouth of the Licking. Before starting from Limestone, on January 3, 1789, he despatched a letter of friendship to his new Indian neighbors, his brethren of the Miami (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. II, p. 61):

"Brothers of the Wyandots and Shawanese! Hearken to your brother, who is coming to live at the Great Miami. He was on the Great Miami last summer, while the Deer was yet red, and met with one of your camps; he did no harm to anything which you had in your camp; he held back his young men from hurting you or your horses, and would not let them take your skins or meat, though your brothers were very hungry. All this he did, because he was your brother, and would live in peace with the Red people. If the Red people will live in friendship with him, and his young men who came from the great Salt ocean, to plant corn and built Cabins on the land between the Great and Little Miami, then the White and Red people shall all be brothers and live together, and we will buy your Furs and

Skins, and sell you Blankets and Rifles, and Powder and Lead and Rum, and everything that our Red Brothers may want in hunting and in their towns.

"Brothers! A treaty is holding at Muskingum, Great men from the thirteen fires are there, to meet the Chiefs and head men of all the nations of the Red people. May the Great Spirit direct all their councils for peace! But the great men and the wise men of the Red and White people cannot keep peace and friendship long, unless we, who are their sons and warriors, will also bury the hatchet and live in peace.

"Brothers! I send you a string of white beads, and write to you with my own hand, that you may believe what I say. I am your brother, and will be kind to you while you remain in peace. Farewell!

"Jno. C. Symmes."

"January the 3d, 1789."

Mr. Cist, on several occasions, comments on the similarity of this letter to the letter written by Penn, over a hundred years before, to the Indians of his own purchase as well as upon the dissimilarity of the two letters, in this,—Penn in his letter says "nor will I ever allow any of my people to sell *rumme* to make your people drunk," while Symmes expressly offers to sell rum as well as rifles, powder and lead.

THE LANDING AT NORTH BEND.

The latter part of January brought a great rise in the river which swept out the ice and cleared the river for his boats and he concluded to make a start. On the 29th day of January, 1789, after collecting with much difficulty a small supply of flour and salt, he embarked with his family and furniture, taking with them Captain Kearsey and the remainder of his soldiers. The river was higher at this time by several feet than had been known since the white people came to Kentucky, and Symmes embarked with the bow of his boat even with the high bank on which his house was built. These boats, as were the other boats used by the settlers, were flatboats made of green oak, planed and fastened with wooden pins to a frame of timber and caulked with tow or any pliant substance that could be procured. They were known as Kentucky boats, and their materials were usually used for the construction of houses after the landing. When the party reached Columbia they found the place under water; but one house on a high spot of ground had escaped the deluge. The soldiers had been driven into the lofts of their blockhouses and had been compelled finally to trust themselves to a boat. Symmes and his party staid but one night and proceeded to Losantiville. The water at that point had begun to ebb, although the town had not suffered from the rise. On the 2nd of February, he landed at the point afterwards known as North Bend. His original idea had been of course to go down to the Old Fort, at the junction of the two rivers. He explained however, that from the time of his arrival at this point, in September of the previous year, he had remained in a great degree ignorant of the character of the ground at the site of the fort. He had been but once on the spot, and as he expected to return so soon, did not fully inform himself as to the lay of the land. Throughout the winter, however, he had been told that the point was frequently covered with water and as he found Columbia under water, he thought it best for the present at least not to go down as far as Old Fort until he had informed himself whether the ground was eligible for a town or not. Several other considerations moved him in this respect. One was that he would be nearer to the surveyors, who would not be required to walk the extra ten miles down the neck of land on which the Fort stood, and back again. The other, which in reality was the principal consideration, was this,—from the river elevated as he was in his boat by the height of the water, he could see that the river hills appear to fall away in such a manner that no considerable rise appeared between the Ohio and the Great Miami. Knowing that the distance across the neck did not exceed a mile, he thought it possible to find a good tract of ground extending from river to river, on which the city might be built with more propriety, than if crowded so far down in the point. For these reasons he made his first lodgment in the most northerly bend of the river, where the distance is the least and the land the lowest over toward the Miami, and where at the time of his arrival he says, "the banks were inviting from their secure appearance from the then fresh in the Ohio."

The landing was about three o'clock in the afternoon. The men that belonged to Captain Kearsey's company, and who had been previously sent down to Columbia, had rejoined him, so that his company was once more full. They immediately raised what "in this country is called a camp, by setting two forks of saplings in the

ground, a ridge-pole across, and leaning boat-boards, which I had brought from Limestone, one end on the ground and the other against the ridge-pole: enclosing one end of the camp, and leaving the other open to the weather for a door, where our fire was made to fence against the cold, which was now very intense. In this hut I lived six weeks, before I was able to erect myself a log-house, and cover it, so as to get into the same with my family and property."

Captain Kearsey was much displeased, because Symmes had insisted upon landing at this point, as he had expected to go on to the Old Fort. When he set out on the expedition, he had expected to find a fort ready built for him and had not provided implements necessary to construct one. As a result of his disappointment, he finally concluded that he would not begin the building of the new fortification but would leave Symmes' party and join the garrison at Louisville, which he did in March. Several days after the landing, however, were occupied by Symmes and others in examining the ground with a view of locating the proposed city. They found the neck of the land was so broken with hills and small streams of water, as to make the laying out of the city, from the Ohio across to the Great Miami, impracticable. An exploration in a small boat down to the Old Fort, showed that a large part of the land here had been covered with water. The river had fallen fifteen feet, "but the cold had spread a mantle of ice, six inches thick, over all the back waters while at their height, which had closed so firmly round the trees on the low bottoms of the country along the river side, as to hang like canopies projecting from the trees, for four or five feet distance."

They went over from the Old Fort to the pond on the Miami and examined the whole point, but as it was apparent that it had all been covered to the depth of many feet, the idea of locating the city here had to be abandoned. For this reason Symmes concluded without more loss of time to lay out a number of house-lots on the spot where they were in order to form a village. Forty-eight lots of one acre each were laid off, and every other one of these were given away upon condition that the donees should build thereon at once. Further applications followed, and the village was extended up and down the Ohio, until it formed a front one mile and a half on the river, including more than one hundred lots. On this at the time of Symmes' writing in May, 1789, there were comfortable log cabins, covered with shingles, or clapboards, to the number of forty and other houses in process of erection, so that there were not three donation lots unappropriated. This village Symmes called North Bend, "from its being situated in the most northerly bend of the Ohio, that there is between the Muskingum and the Mississippi."

Encouraged by his success at North Bend, and by the fact that fresh applications were pouring in for house-lots, Symmes concluded to lay off another village, seven miles up the Ohio from North Bend, and fronting about a mile along the river. This village he called South Bend, "from its being contiguous to the most southerly point of land in the purchase."

Despite the success of these settlements, as well as of the third one, a little below North Bend, known as the Sugar Camp settlement, Symmes felt as yet uncertain as to the place where he was to locate his city. This city, of course, was to be the great emporium of trade for the purchasers and its location was a matter of serious consequence in his mind. His letters from North Bend are full of discussions with relation to the proper site for such a city. They also give an insight into the many discouragements under which he labored, and the dangers to which he was exposed.

In his letter to Dayton, of May of that year, from which so much has been quoted, he speaks of two pieces of ground, both of which he thinks eligible for a city. One of these was on the Ohio about three miles east of North Bend, the other was about three miles north of North Bend, on the bank of the Great Miami, and about twelve miles from its mouth. His argument as to the merits of these two places is most curious. He admits that most men at first thought would favor the location on the Ohio, from the supposition that the Ohio would command more trade and business than the Miami. But although more boats would necessarily ply on a river eleven hundred miles in length, there would be a greater number of towns and merchants strewed along the Ohio, who would have the same advantages possessed by his townspeople. Unless the merchants in his city would be prepared to pay the New Orleans price, the merchants of the upper towns would proceed down the river to the highest market. But the most serious objection to the Ohio location was its distance from the Great Miami.

"The extent of country spreading for many miles on both sides of the Great Miami, is, beyond all dispute, equal, I believe superior, in point of soil, water and timber, to any tract of equal contents to be found in the United States. From this Egypt on Miami, in a very few years, will be poured down its stream to the Ohio, the products of the country from two hundred miles above the mouth of the Great Miami, which may be principally collected at a trading town low down the banks of that river; here, no rival city or town can divide the trade of the river. The body of the Miami settlers will have their communications up and down the Great Miami, both for imports and exports. They cannot work their corn and flour boats eight or nine miles up the Ohio, from the mouth of the Great Miami, should the city be built above Muddy creek. But were it built on the Miami, the settlers throughout the purchase would find it very convenient. At Northbend a sufficient number of merchants may, and no doubt will settle, so as to command all the share of trade on the Ohio; half an hour's gallop of three miles brings you to the city plat on the Miami. One mile's portage is all the space that lies between the Miami and Northbend; and I have already marked out a road across, which is not only tolerable, but exceedingly good, if you make allowance for the hills which it winds through; then two miles by water up the Miami brings heavy articles from the Ohio to the city."

Such an arrangement would save farmers doubling the point with their boats. Naturally the point itself, were it high enough, would be the most eligible spot for a city, but it would have to be raised like Venice, out of the water. The superior advantages of the point, by reason of the richness of its growth of wild and tame grass for pasturing purposes, led Symmes to favor its reservation as a common manor for the proprietors.

The final conclusion reached in this matter was that the great city of Miami was laid out at the point of his landing, running from the Ohio River at North Bend to the Great Miami at the present city of Cleves. The city did not reach quite over the banks of the Miami as it was laid out on the old plan and on the cardinal points. This necessitated a relocation of the lots taken up by the settlers which in the main resulted in little hardship. Symmes himself and his two nephews were the only ones who had gone to the expense of erecting a stone chimney to their house. A little discussion in Symmes' letter with regard to the common stretching from river to river on the side of the city is interesting as showing the conditions and as explaining probably why so little land was set aside as a common property in the early days. "I would have left a wider common, but at this dangerous time when we have already had a man murdered by the Indians within the squares of the city, to leave a larger extent of unoccupied land between the city and small lots, would have looked rather like trifling with the lives of citizens who are obliged to go daily to their labor on the donation lots beyond the common."

The Judge did not care to lose the results of his own labor and therefore to show the expense to which he had gone in erecting comfortable log houses for himself and nephews he gives us a description of his improvements which affords us a good opportunity of understanding the character of the better class of cabins in those days:

"The lots in North Bend were four poles wide, we have therefore occupied twelve poles of ground on the bank of the Ohio. This front is covered with buildings from one end to the other, and of too valuable a construction for me to think of losing them in the general wreck of the village. That the proprietors may be the more sensible of the reasonableness of my request, I will give you a description of them. The first, or most easterly one, is a good cabin, 16 feet wide and 22 feet long, with a handsome stone chimney in it; the roof is composed of boat plank set endwise, obliquely, and answers a triple purpose of rafters, lath and an undercourse of shingle, on which lie double rows of clapboards which makes an exceedingly tight and good roof. The next is a cottage 16 feet by 18, and two and a half stories high; the roof is well shingled with nails. The third is a cabin 15 feet wide and 16 feet long, one story high, with a good stone chimney in it; the roof shingled with nails. The fourth is a very handsome log-house 18 feet by 26, and two stories high, with two good cellars under the same, the second cellar being sunk directly under the first in order to guard more effectually against heat and cold. This large cabin is shingled with nails, has a very large and good stone-chimney which extends from side to side of the house, for the more convenient accommodation of strangers, who are constantly coming and

going, and never fail to make my house their home while they stay in the village. In this chimney is a large oven built of stone. Adjoining to this house, I have built me a well finished smoke-house, 14 feet square, which brings you to a fortified gate of eight feet, for communication back. All the buildings east of this gate are set as close to each other as was possible. Adjoining to and west of the gate is a double cabin of 48 feet in length and 16 feet wide, with a well built stone chimney of two fireplaces, one facing each room. This roof is covered with boat plank throughout, and double rows of clapboards in the same manner with the first described cabin. In these several cabins I have fourteen sashwindows of glass. My barn or fodder-house comes next, with a stable on one side for my horses, and on the other, one for my cows. These entirely fill up the space of twelve poles. This string of cabins stands —— feet from the bank of the river, and quite free from and to the south of the front or Jersey street of the city.

"Now, gentlemen, I beg of the proprietors this small piece of land at some price which they may set, that I may have the fee thereof vested in me. These buildings have cost me more than two hundred pounds specie, and I can not afford to let them go to strangers for nothing—the mason work alone, came to more than one hundred dollars. There is not another house on the ground that has either cellar, stone chimney, or glass window in it, nor of any value compared with mine—therefore none can complain of this indulgence as a partiality to me."

As has already been stated, one of the first undertakings was to establish another settlement at South Bend for which Symmes seemed to have great hopes. In almost every letter he speaks of the desirability of encouraging this settlement by giving away donation lots and in other ways. As South Bend was near the center of the purchase he had hopes as is apparent in a letter quoted elsewhere of its being made the county town but these hopes soon disappeared. For a time however the settlement seemed to improve.

The immediate condition of affairs is indicated by Symmes' letter of August 15, 1791:

"South Bend is pretty well established, but we have done nothing towards laying out a village at the northeast corner of the reserved township. The inhabitants of the purchase are very much favored this summer in point of health. There are few complaints of any kind —rheumatisms are the chief. Provisions are extremely plenty; corn may be had at Columbia for 2/0 cash per bushel; wild meat is still had with little difficulty, and hogs are increasing in number at a great rate, so that I expect any quantity of pork may be had next killing time at 25/0 per hundred. We have not yet a supply of horn-cattle; therefore very little beef will be slaughtered."

THE CITY OF MIAMI.

The new city was supposed to be called the city of Miami but in fact it was known as Symmes or Symmes' City in the early days. It retained its name however in the popular mind as North Bend by which name it is still known. It grew for a few years and in 1791, according to Dr. Goforth's letters, a garrison of eighty soldiers was stationed there. The gradual concentration of interests at the new county town for those who desired town life and the increasing safety of the out lying lands to those of agricultural tendencies soon reduced North Bend in population and in importance.

Symmes in a letter of August 6, 1795, speaks of this and gives the reason:

"The village is reduced more than one-half in its numbers of inhabitants since I left it to go to Jersey in February, 1793. The people have spread themselves into all parts of the purchase below the military range since the Indian defeat on the 20th of August, and the cabins are of late deserted by dozens in a street. What has in some measure contributed to this is the demand I made on all volunteer settlers at my arrival to go out and improve on their forfeitures in the course of this year, as the truce with the Indians afforded a very favorable opportunity for the purpose. * * * They do not value a town lot more than so many square perches at any other place out of the town, for there is not a single advantage enjoyed in the limits of the village of North Bend which they do not enjoy in more perfection in the country, and there are many more inconveniences to conflict with."

How complete was this pacification as a result of the Greenville treaty is apparent from the fact that the Indians at once changed their attitude towards the whites.

The condition of trade is indicated in Symmes' letter to Dayton, January 20, 1796:

"One word on the subject of the Indians. They now begin to crowd in upon us in numbers, and are becoming troublesome. We have but one merchant in this part of the purchase, and he will not buy their deer-skins. Their next resort is to beg from me, and I was compelled last week to give them upwards of forty dollars value or send near forty of them away offended.

"The President's plan of fixing traders and stores of Indian goods along the frontiers, I think, is very judicious. They must have a market for their skins or they can purchase nothing from us. Though we have twenty or more merchants at Cincinnati, not one of them is fond of purchasing deer-skins. Some attention of Government is certainly necessary to this object. If the Indians can not enjoy the benefits of peace with us (trade and commerce) most assuredly they will have war, where one party only need be consulted. Some of our citizens will purchase horses from the Indians. The consequence is, that the Indians immediately steal others, for not an Indian will walk if he can steal a horse to ride. I wish it was made penal by Congress to buy horses directly or indirectly from the Indians."

The history of North Bend from this time is not eventful. Judge Symmes remained here for years and here received visitors from all over the world who happened to be traveling in this neighborhood. Here it was that in 1795 William Henry Harrison married his daughter Annie and here for many years he resided. The original log cabin of the presidential campaign of 1840 which was in fact to a large extent a myth was supposed to be located here. The old Harrison mansion was in part built of logs but a large frame structure was added and the whole clapboarded and painted white making for a time a commodious house. Henry Howe in his "Ohio" gives us a plan of this house and also a drawing showing its exterior appearance.

Symmes himself built another residence in the northwest part of the town which was afterwards destroyed by an incendiary in March, 1811. The fire destroyed as well a large number of papers relating to his transactions in the purchase, including certificates of the original proprietors of Cincinnati and other documents which could not be replaced. The loss was a matter of serious consequence and gave the Judge great trouble in his later years. A man named Hart was suspected of being the incendiary and his reason was supposed to be the refusal of Judge Symmes to vote for him when a candidate for justice of the peace. He was arrested, indicted, and tried and although the evidence against him seemed strong and most of the public believed in his guilt he was acquitted by the jury.

Thomas Ashe, the English traveler, visited Symmes in 1808 and gives an interesting account of his household: "I left Cincinnati with an impression very favorable to its inhabitants, and with a higher opinion of its back country than I entertain of any other. Seven miles below my departure, at a place called North Bend, I stopped to take breakfast with the hospitable Judge Symmes, the original proprietor, after the extinction of the Indian title, of the whole of the country lying between the two Miamis. The situation which the Judge has chosen for his residence cannot be equalled for the variety and elegance of its prospects. Improved farms, villages, seats, and the remains of ancient and modern military works, decorate the banks of the finest piece of water in the world, and present themselves to view from the principal apartments of the house, which is a noble stone mansion, erected at great expense—and on a plan which does infinite honor to the artist and to the taste of the proprietor. Differing from other settlers, Mr. Symmes has been studious to give the river-sides a pastoral effect by preserving woods, planting orchards, and diversifying these with corn fields, sloping pastures, and every other effect incidental both to an improved and rural life. From this expression of elevated judgment you may be prepared to know that the proprietor formerly resided in England, and after in New York, where he married his present wife, a lady distinguished by elegance of mind and a general and correct information. They have no children, but there resides with them a Miss Livingston, on whom they fix their affections, and whom they treat with parental kindness and respectful urbanity, the one being due to her intrinsic merit, and the other to her family, which is eminent by birth, property, and talent in the State of New York.

"The Judge passes his time in directing his various works, and the ladies read, walk, and attend to numerous birds and animals, which they domesticate, both for entertainment and use. Miss Livingston is much of a botanist—a practical one. She collects seeds from such plants and flowers as are most conspicuous in

the prairies, and cultivates them with care on the banks and in the vicinity of the house. She is forming a shrubbery also, which will be entirely composed of magnolia, catalpa, papaw, rose, and tulip trees, and all others distinguished for blossom and fragrance. In the middle is erected a small Indian temple, where this young lady preserves seeds and plants, and classes specimens of wood, which contribute much to her knowledge and entertainment. When the beauties of the fine season fade, and the country becomes somewhat inert and insipid, the Judge and the ladies remove to Cincinnati, and revolve in its pleasures till fatigued, when they again return to their rural economy, and to the prosecution of happy and inoffensive designs. I could with great difficulty tear myself from persons so amiable."

Judge Symmes died in Cincinnati in 1814 and was buried at North Bend in the cemetery about a mile southeast of his former residence. On his grave is the following inscription:

"Here rest the remains of John Cleves Symmes, who, at the foot of these hills, made the first settlement between the Miami rivers. Born on Long Island, in the State of New York, July 21, A. D. 1742. Died at Cincinnati, February 26, A. D. 1814."

Not very far from this grave on the height back of North Bend rests the body of his son-in-law, President William Henry Harrison.

The Sugar Camp settlement about three miles below North Bend founded about the same time had at one time about thirty houses but afterwards became extinct. The blockhouse which was built in the early days for the protection of the settlers was said to be standing in 1847 but being in a very dilapidated condition it soon disappeared altogther.

South Bend, of which so much was expected, was reported on September 17, 1791, to have included eighteen or twenty families. A garrison of twenty soldiers was also stationed there. The settlement gradually dwindled, its population departed and its buildings were abandoned and its very site became almost unknown. As a matter of fact the southeastern part of it is within the present limits of the city of Cincinnati. The post office which for a long time bore its name now appears as a railway station,—Trautman's.

CHAPTER XIV.

FORT WASHINGTON.

Symmes' Complaints—The Departure of Kearsey—The Arrival of Luce—The Romantic Story of Luce—The Arrival of Major Doughty—The Selection of a Site—The Building of the Fort—Contemporaneous Descriptions—The Life at the Fort—The Arrival of Governor St. Clair—The Officers of the Fort.

The first military works on the site of Cincinnati, of which we have any record, were the blockhouses built for the expeditions of George Rogers Clark. These blockhouses were just opposite the Licking River and probably not far from the mouth of Deer creek. Fort Finney was subsequently built for the conference with the Indians, which was held at the mouth of the Great Miami in the winter of 1785-86.

Stites and his party immediately upon landing at Columbia built a blockhouse which has been described, and shortly afterwards three blockhouses were erected near this, forming a square stockade fort. A few weeks later a sergeant and six soldiers, who had been sent as military protection to the settlement at Columbia, built a blockhouse near Columbia to which a letter from Dr. William Goforth, written from Fort Washington in September, 1791, probably refers: "Just below the mouth of the Little Miami is a garrison called Fort Miami; at a small distance below this garrison is the town of Columbia." Judge Goforth in his diary enters on August 3, 1790: "Named the Fort 'Miami.'"

SYMMES' COMPLAINTS.

From the first Symmes relied upon receiving from the War Department proper protection against the Indians. In his prospectus written at Trenton in 1787, he states that the Secretary of War, General Knox, has assured him of his friendly disposition to support the settlers against the Indians, "by replacing a garrison of federal troops in the fort which is still remaining on the land at the mouth of the Great Miami," which Symmes relied upon greatly to facilitate the settlement and to furnish safety to the first adventurers. It may as well be remarked here that the government of the United States never in the early period of the settlement of the Miami country gave proper and adequate protection to the settlers. This was a matter of complaint on the part of Symmes from the very earliest days of the settlement. In his letter to Dayton written from North Bend on May 18, 1789, he complains:

"And though I have not been actually hindered from a settlement by the United States troops, yet very small has been the support which I have hitherto received. At Muskingum, I believe, from two to three hundred men are stationed, though that post is not to be named, in point of danger, with the Miami settlement. On the other hand, one ensign (Luce) and seventeen rank and file are all the guards that are allowed me at present, for the protection and defence of this slaughter-house, as some in this country (Kentucky) are pleased to term the Miami purchase, on which are three settlements, now becoming somewhat considerable, and would have been important beyond my former most sanguine expectations, had I been properly aided, as promised, with troops of the United States, last summer; and permitted to have made my lodgment in September last, when I first explored the purchase."

Another circumstance which Symmes regarded as giving the settlers at Marietta greater security was their method of settlement which was the New England plan of connected towns or villages. The settlers were not permitted to go to any point at will but were restrained by their directors, while at Miami every purchaser was allowed to choose his ground and convert the same into a station, village or town at pleasure. Nothing restrained him in this particular but the fear of the Indians and as a result whenever ten or twelve men agreed to form a station it was done. This method of course already militated against concentration of strength but on the other hand it tended to develop the country and open up for settlement new lands throughout the entire purchase.

The delay in the ratification of the treaty at Fort Harmar, however, on the one hand had a tendency to keep Symmes and his party at Limestone, but on the other hand kept the Indians occupied to the east of the settlements between the Miamis and to that extent at least reduced the danger. When Captain Kearsey with 45 troops arrived at Limestone on the 12th of December, 1788, ordered down the Ohio to protect Ludlow who was then surveying the river to Scioto, it was with the further instructions from General Harmar to go to Miami when the settlement was made there to protect the pioneers through the winter as already stated. These troops were not sufficiently supplied with provisions and the arrangements made to renew their supplies fell through. Symmes himself was obliged to undertake the burthen of supplying these soldiers and he complains very bitterly about it. He had to furnish fifty days' rations to the sergeant and 18 men who were sent to support Stites at his station; again two weeks later when the party of settlers already mentioned started down the river to plant themselves at the Old Fort at Miami (Fort Finney) another sergeant and 12 men were sent with them and had to be supplied with stores. This detachment it will be remembered was not successful in its purpose. The intense cold froze the river so that it was feared they would get fast in the ice before they reached Miami. They succeeded in making Columbia however, where their boats were injured and much of their stock lost to the settlers; this forced them to give up their intended settlement at the Old Fort.

When Symmes was finally prevailed upon by the information of Stites as to the impatience of the Indians to see him and the fear that if he did not soon arrive at the settlement, the red men would regard him as a myth and would leave in disgust, he started on his expedition down the river on January 29, 1789, and Captain Kearsey and the remainder of his men went with him. It will be remembered that as he passed Columbia he found the place under water and the soldiers driven from the ground floor of their blockhouse into the loft and from the loft into a boat which made him give up the plan of going down as far as Old Fort, which he realized must be but poorly protected from the floods.

Captain Kearsey was very much inclined to landing his company at the Old Fort and was ever afterwards much disappointed at Symmes' refusal to go down the river. After the river had fallen about fifteen feet, Kearsey and Symmes explored the site of the Old Fort and found that the land in the neighborhood of the point had been covered to the depth of many feet.

THE DEPARTURE OF KEARSEY.

Kearsey was so disgusted at the situation that he made no attempt to build a fortification at North Bend, although he remained on the ground from the 2nd day of February to the 8th day of March "in which time" says Symmes "he had not thrown two logs together by way of defence though a child would have been sensible of the necessity of such a measure."

He finally left for the falls, leaving behind him but five men without any blockhouse or other means of protection and had been gone but eight days when a contractor's boat arrived with many supplies for him. Symmes was most indignant at Kearsey's conduct which furnished his enemies ammunition for reports to his injury. Stories were circulated among the strangers who came down the river to Limestone, that the troops had left the place, that the settlers were starving and that the settlement had been given up by Congress as of no consequence. The Indians were said to be on the point of annihilating the settlement and sometimes the story was told that they had already done so. Such reports naturally discouraged great numbers from proceeding down the river and turned them aside to Kentucky. It is not surprising that Symmes thought Kearsey's conduct should have been inquired into and brought before General Knox. It seems remarkable that the dangers of the settlement already referred to in the chapter relating to the Indians should have made so little impression

upon the government nor unreasonable that Symmes should indignantly write as follows:

"I now, sir, beg leave to ask why it is that we are so neglected on the score of troops, at the settlements on the Miami purchase? Is it a matter of no moment to the United States, whether we are saved or destroyed by the savages? It is true the Indians have hitherto been unexpectedly pacific, but who can vouch for a continuance of peace. They are a subtile enemy, and all their boasted friendship may be only to learn our numbers, and what state of defence we are in. The Shawanese nation (and they are nearest to us) would not treat with Governor St. Clair, at Muskingum; and why should they refuse him peace, and observe it with us? There are several companies of troops at Muskingum, even so many that all the surveyors of the Ohio Company have always been escorted with a guard: what guards have the Miami surveyors had? nothing more than their own vigilance and courage to carry them into the very midst of danger." (Symmes to Dayton, May 18, 1789.)

THE ARRIVAL OF LUCE.

The applications for protection to Major Wyllys at the falls of the Ohio happily resulted in his sending Ensign Luce with 18 men to North Bend. The party arrived during the last days of March and within a week built a good blockhouse. It was during his stay at North Bend that the episode of the Indian attack elsewhere referred to occurred. In this attack one soldier named Runyan from New Jersey was killed and six others wounded, including two citizens. A soldier, Gray, it was thought was mortally wounded and he was taken with the other soldiers to the garrison at the falls where there was a surgeon. This attack necessarily frightened the settlers very much and fifty of the inhabitants fled during the next few days and the work at South Bend was temporarily abandoned.

Symmes immediately upon his arrival at North Bend attempted to enter into negotiations with the Shawanese and for that purpose sent Isaac Freeman, as related in another chapter. At the same time he made an effort through Major Wyllys to obtain from General Harmar more troops. In the meantime he built a stockade for fear of the worst. "Should the Indians prove hostile, or should the Indians come in with Mr. Freeman, for their friends with us, if we remain then as defenceless as now, I fear our weakness may tempt them to make war upon us. But there is another benefit I promise myself from a good large stockade: this is, that it will embolden many a citizen to settle in this town, whose nerves would not bear the thoughts of sleeping out of a fort. Had we have had a good stockade on the 21st ultimo, I do not believe that half so many, if any, indeed, would have fled the place." (June 14, 1789.)

In June, further messages from Major Hamtramck at post Vincennes, reciting hostilities by the Indians on the Wabash, as well as a letter to Mr. Luce that the Miami and Wabash Indians intended to attack the settlement during the summer, called further attention to the defenseless condition of the pioneers in the Miami country and it is probable that these rumors taken in connection with the attack on North Bend as well as the actions of the Indians at other points within the settlements are responsible for the definite action of the authorities which terminated in the settlement at Fort Washington.

THE ROMANTIC STORY OF LUCE.

Judge Burnet (in his "Notes"), however, tells a romantic tale which may or may not be true, explaining the selection of Losantiville as the place for the fort.

After explaining that North Bend at first had the advantage because of the landing of the troops there by General Harmar which had induced many of the first adventurers to plant themselves there as the place of greatest safety and the subsequent departure of that detachment for Louisville, he proceeds: "It appears also that Ensign Luce, the commandant of the party which succeeded it, did not feel bound to erect his fort at any particular place but was at liberty to select a spot best calculated to afford the most extensive protection to the Miami settlers. Viewing his duty in that light, he put up a small temporary work sufficient for the security of his troops, regardless of the earnest entreaty of the Judge to proceed at once to erect a substantial, spacious blockhouse, sufficient for the protection of the inhabitants of the village.

"The remonstrances and entreaties of the Judge had but little influence on the mind of this obstinate officer, for in spite of them all he left the Bend and proceeded to Cincinnati with his command where he immediately commenced the construction of a military work. That important move was followed by very decided results—it terminated the strife for supremacy, by

removing the only motive which had induced former emigrants to pass the settlements above and proceed to the Bend. As soon as the troops removed from that place to Cincinnati, the settlers of the Bend who were then the most numerous, feeling the loss of the protection on which they had relied became uneasy and began to follow; and ere long the place was almost entirely deserted and the hope of making it even a respectable town was abandoned. In the course of the ensuing summer, Major Doughty arrived at Cincinnati with troops from Fort Harmar and commenced the construction of Fort Washington which was the most extensive and important military work in the Territory belonging to the United States.

"About that time there was a rumor prevailing in the settlement, said to have been endorsed by the Judge himself, which goes far to unravel the mystery in which the removal of the troops from the Bend was involved. It was said, and believed, that while the officer in command at that place was looking out very leisurely for a suitable site on which to build the blockhouse, he formed an acquaintance with a beautiful black-eyed female, who called forth his most assiduous and tender attentions. She was the wife of one of the settlers at the Bend. Her husband saw the danger to which he would be exposed if he remained where he was. He therefore resolved at once to remove to Cincinnati, and very promptly executed his resolution. As soon as the gallant commandant discovered that the object of his admiration had changed her residence, he began to think that the Bend was not an advantageous situation for a military work, and communicated that opinion to Judge Symmes, who strenuously opposed it. His reasoning, however, was not as persuasive as the sparkling eyes of the fair dulcinea now at Cincinnati. The result was a determination to visit Cincinnati and examine its advantages for a military post; which he communicated to the Judge, with an assurance that if, on examination, it did not prove to be the most eligible place he would return and erect the fort at the Bend. The visit was quickly made, and resulted in a conviction that the Bend could not be compared with Cincinnati as a military position. The troops were accordingly removed to that place, and the building of a blockhouse commenced. Whether this structure was on the ground on which Fort Washington was erected by Major Doughty, can not now be decided. That movement, produced by a cause whimsical and apparently trivial in itself, was attended with results of incalculable importance. It settled the question whether North Bend or Cincinnati was to be the great commercial town of the Miami country.

"Thus we see what unexpected results are sometimes produced by circumstances apparently trivial. The incomparable beauty of a Spartan dame produced a ten years' war, which terminated in the destruction of Troy; and the irresistible charms of another female transferred the commercial emporium of Ohio from the place where it had been commenced to the place where it now is. If this captivating American Helen had continued at the Bend, the garrison would have been erected there—population, capital, and business, would have centred there, and there would have been the Queen City of the West."

This story is considered of sufficient consequence as to be referred to by John Scott Harrison in his Cleves address where he uses the language quoted below. Mr. Harrison's father was for some time commander of Fort Washington and his grandfather was Judge Symmes, who resented very much the moving of the troops to Losantiville. It is not unlikely therefore that his statement in this address is a statement of what was common knowledge not only in his family but among the public.

"But, if tradition be true, the prosperity of the North Bend Colony was not so well founded —that it could not be retarded, and finally destroyed, by the whimsical caprice of a black-eyed girl. This fair resident of North Bend (whose name, I regret to say, neither history nor tradition has given us) suddenly 'took it into her head to remove to the Cincinnati settlement. And *almost* as suddenly the lieutenant commanding the guard at North Bend (who had been sent to erect a blockhouse at that place, with perhaps some discretion as to Cincinnati) came to the steadfast conclusion that he could not think of *damaging his reputation as an engineer officer so much* as to build a fort at the Bend, when *Cincinnati* afforded so much more eligible a position. What particular influence the removal of the dark-eyed beauty had in brightening up the engineering qualifications of the officer in command, history does not tell us. But history does tell us, that Lieutenant Luce removed his command to Cincinnati, and there built his Fort—'Ergo,' there stands 'Queen City.'" (Pioneer Life at North Bend, p. 10.)

This story romantic as it is has not appealed to most of the subsequent writers of history who demand accurate detail rather than romantic generalizations. Mr. Miller in his book, "Cincinnati's Beginnings," devotes considerable space to discrediting Judge Burnet's narrative. His argument for discrediting the story is first that Ensign Luce who had built a blockhouse at North Bend "as good a one as could have been expected under the circumstances and continued to occupy it conducting himself in a perfectly satisfactory manner for at least the next four months or until the end of the ensuing July." He further states that the backset which the affairs at North Bend had received was in consequence of the abandoning of that post by Luce with his command and as a result of the attack in May already referred to. He concludes that Fort Washington was completed and garrisoned by Major Doughty before the close of that same year and begun by him that summer while Ensign Luce was shown by the letter of Symmes to be still at the Bend. As a final argument Mr. Miller suggests that Mr. Luce did not have the proper implements with which to build a fort. For these reasons he rejects his story altogether. (Cincinnati's Beginnings, p. 91.)

Mr. Ford in his "History of Cincinnati" (page 37) speaks of this as a gossipy tradition and apparently takes the view of Mr. Miller, although the first point of Mr. Miller's argument he shows by a quotation of Symmes' letter, July 17, 1789, to be of no consequence. In this iconoclastic age the tendency of historical writers is to reject the romantic, especially when it seems to have nothing more than tradition to support it. It must be confessed, however, that such historical method does not necessarily attain the greatest accuracy. The gossipy tradition shorn of its exaggerations is frequently a more truthful representation of fact than misty records or formal documents. Judge Burnet did not arrive in Cincinnati for some half dozen years after the building of Fort Washington, but he was a man of affairs and of high standing in the community, and such a man as would be likely to hear the details of the inside history of the settlement generally discussed. Although it is true that Judge Symmes does not mention anything throwing light on this episode, it seems strange and little hard to believe that Judge Burnet would have recited in the book, which he hands down to posterity as his contribution to the history of the section, a statement of this character as endorsed by Judge Symmes himself if there had been no basis whatsoever for the statement. Judge Burnet has not always been careful in his statements of fact so far as matters of date are concerned, but he was at all times a controversialist and therefore would probably hesitate to recite such a story if he had not felt certain that it was known to others as well as to himself. In his letter of October, 1837, to Delafield, the Judge says: "This anecdote was communicated by Judge Symmes and is unquestionably authentic." (Transactions Ohio Historical Society, Vol. I, p. 18.)

As to the point that Luce had constructed a suitable blockhouse, it need only be said that this blockhouse was evidently entirely unsatisfactory after the attack in May. In a letter of July 17, 1789, Judge Symmes complains of the helpless condition of the settlement. He says that Freeman returned from the Indian country with such terrifying accounts of the warlike preparations at the Indian towns as to raise fresh commotion in the village and as to induce many families to go down to the falls, leaving a place which they regarded as the very forlorn hope of the United States, "and at the same time so intolerably neglected as we are." "One ensign and twelve soldiers in a little blockhouse badly constructed, and not an axe, hoe, spade, or even tomahawk—the property of the United States—is furnished to them. They must have perished for want of shelter and firewood had I not furnished utensils to them ever since December last, to my very great detriment, for very few axes and other articles are returned until they are entirely ruined, and frequently when I lend an article it is gone forever from me, as boats are always passing, and by calling at this place furnish an opportunity to the soldiers to barter for liquor many an article of mine. Not a swivel is afforded us, when common prudence dictates that each village should have two or three field pieces at least. I have indeed lost sight of any succor from the United States. Major Wyllys assured me when on his passage up the river, that he would prevail with General Harmar to detach some men from that post. Seven weeks have elapsed since, and not a man arrives—not even a dawn of hope that any will arrive, unless these settlements become more an object of attention to Congress and General Knox."

In view of this letter, Mr. Miller is hardly justified in speaking of the blockhouse at North Bend as being as good a one as could have been

expected under the circumstances. It is perfectly apparent that the fortification was not regarded sufficient and that an effort was made in every communication sent up the river to induce General Harmar to construct a fort worthy of the importance of the place. The blockhouses along the river were regarded as but temporary in their character and a more pretentious military work was confidently expected.

As early as June 22nd, General Harmar, in writing to Major Wyllys, had suggested that two companies would probably be ordered to be stationed at the mouth of the Great Miami "not only as a better cover for Kentucky but also to afford protection to Judge Symmes in his intended settlement there."

The argument that Luce remained at North Bend until at least as late as July 17, 1789, as reflecting upon this story can have no weight, as the actual effort to fortify the Miami country was not begun until a couple of months later. The same difference in time affects the suggestion that it was the attack in the spring that gave Losantiville its preeminence. This point was no safer during the summer than was the Bend garrisoned by Luce and his men. The final argument, that of the insufficiency of implements, disappears in view of the fact that when the determination was reached to build a fortress proper implements were sent.

THE ARRIVAL OF MAJOR DOUGHTY.

In his "Military Journal," Denny, who had just received his lieutenant's commission, makes the following entry on the 9th of August of that year:

"Aug. 9th. * * * Captain Strong, with his two subalterns, Lieutenant Kingsbury and Ensign Hartshorn, and a complete company of seventy men, embark for the Miami.

"11th.—Captain Ferguson joined us with his recruits. Major Doughty follows Captain Strong for the purpose of choosing ground and laying out a new work intended for the protection of persons who have settled within the limits of Judge Symmes' purchase.

"Sept. 4th.—Ferguson with his company ordered to join Strong in erecting a fort near the Miami. Lieutenant Pratt, the quartermaster, ordered to the same place."

General Harmar in his letter to General Knox, Secretary of War, written from Fort Harmar on September 12, 1789, says:

"Major Doughty informs me, in his letter dated the twenty-first ultimo, that he arrived at the Little Miami on the sixteenth, and after reconnoitring for three days from thence to the Big Miami, for an eligible situation whereon to erect the works for headquarters, he had at length determined to fix upon a spot opposite Licking River, which he represents as high and healthy, abounding with never-failing springs, etc., and the most proper position he could find for the purpose."

It is apparent from these records that Judge Symmes' appeals were about to have some effect and that Major Doughty who had arrived at Fort Harmar from New York, on July 7th, was the officer who had the final determination of the matter of location. Several days before Major Doughty arrived a number of other officers had reached the Bend and undoubtedly had made explorations with the view to the location of suitable works. Just what influences might have been brought to bear upon the particular officer whoever he may have been, whose judgment was finally accepted as to the location, we have no means of knowing. It is a curious commentary however that when Ensign Francis Luce retired from the army in the following March, General Harmar did not seem enthusiastic about him. "Ensign Francis Luse has given me his resignation and I now enclose his commission which I hope you will be pleased to accept. I have allowed him to be run upon the rolls until the first of May next as he is considerably embarrassed in his circumstances." (The name is spelled Luse and Luce indiscriminately.)

There is another story that shortly after Lieutenant Kingsbury and his soldiers arrived at Columbia, he commenced building a fort about one and a half miles below the Fort Miami built by the first settlers. A rise in the river convinced him that the situation was a bad one and on December 31, 1788, he loosed cable and floated down below the mouth of Deer creek. Here he landed at the high bank just above the foot of Broadway and at this point on January 1, 1789, he began building a picket fort as near the bank of the river as it could be erected. Captain Stites who was in the party was quoted years after by saying that this was the first attempt made towards erecting a building in Cincinnati. This fort according to the story was built and occupied by the soldiers until Fort Washington was complete and afterwards when the contractors' house was built a little above it it was enclosed with that building and became a part of the artificers' yard.

Symmes' complaints seem to have had influence in the matter, and Dayton writes to him on August 15, 1789:

"In consequence of what you wrote to me, I conversed very freely with General Knox on the situation of the settlers upon your tract, and likewise upon its position on the Ohio as comparatively preferable for the general defense of the territory to either of the other places at which the troops are stationed. He gave me assurances before I took my leave of him, that he would immediately make such new arrangements in that country as would effectually cover and protect you. If this should be delayed long, do not fail to inform me, and I will take care to remind him of his promise."

In a letter of August 25, 1789, Dayton says:

"Gen'l Knox, whom I do not fail to call upon and converse with, in every visit to New York, about your situation assures me I may be perfectly at ease, for that he has directed such a disposition and arrangement of the troops in the Western territory as will effectually protect you."

In his letter of September 26, 1789, Dayton again speaks of being at New York and says:

"Governor St. Clair was my fellow-passenger, and we conversed much, as may naturally be supposed, on the Western country, and particularly your tract. He informs me that the present plan is to station a considerable part of the troops between the Miamis and to extend a chain of posts from thence to post St. Vincent. Upon my arrival in town, I visited Gen'l Knox, who assured me that Captains Ferguson and Strong's companies were at this time with you, and that he thought it probable you would soon have Headquarters there. These new arrangements are of importance and must contribute greatly to promote the population and increase the value of the tract."

THE SELECTION OF A SITE.

After the determination to erect a fortification opposite the mouth of the Licking, which should serve to protect the settlers in the Symmes' purchase, was finally reached, there was but little delay. As seen from Lieutenant Denny's diary, Captain Strong with Lieutenant Kingsbury and Ensign Hartshorn left Fort Harmar on August 9th, followed on the 4th of the next month by Captain Ferguson and Lieutenant Pratt. The work was entirely under the charge of Major Doughty a native of New Jersey who had served in the artillery arm of the service in the Continental Army and was appointed major of the artillery battalion of the United States Army in 1784. Major Doughty had been the designer and constructor of Fort Harmar in 1785 and was regarded as a very able and patriotic officer. At the conclusion of his work in building Fort Washington he returned to Fort Harmar. He was at this time next in command to General Harmar. In the latter's letter to the Secretary of War, already cited, it is apparent that Doughty reached the Little Miami on the 16th of August and that by the 20th he had determined the matter of location, making the report of the same in his letter of the 21st. This report and the letter of General Harmar show that the immediate reason which determined this location of the site was the height of the elevation and it was due to this that Mr. King makes the remark "that whatever Cincinnati may have suffered since by floods she undoubtedly owes her start to that of 1789." (King's Ohio, p. 213.)

The spot selected was immediately east of the platted land and on the second or upper bank. It will be remembered that the shore at this point rose rather sharply to a height of about 55 feet above low water where there was a terrace which extended for some distance to the east and west. Although this was the level which was first built upon by the settlers, it was not sufficiently high to protect against unusual overflow. The level ground at this place ran back to the top of the bank about 450 feet, at which point there was a second bank rising some 30 feet higher. It was this second terrace which was from 80 to 90 feet above low water, entirely out of the reach of the highest floods in the Ohio River, which was selected by Major Doughty. The bank of the river was heavily wooded with beech trees many of which were quite large. Above these, between this bank and the second bank, was a heavy growth of white walnut, soft maple, white elm, shell bark hickory and white ash. On the second terrace was spread a variety of timber, such as beech, ash, black walnut, hickory and black and red oak, generally of vigorous growth. Here and there white oak and poplar interspersed the rest. The entire reservation as subsequently made by the government, including 15 acres, lay east of Broadway and extended from Fourth street to the river as far east as Ludlow street. The early maps of the city show in a general way the location of Fort Washington and as late as February, 1841, Samuel Abbey, who belonged as sergeant to the detachment of troops under the command of Major Doughty, revisited the

city and located the fort. After some difficulty in determining its actual site, he is reported to have made his way to the Public Landing where he took observations from the mouth of the Licking and the direction of the sun, after which he started up Broadway as far as Third street and turned. After reaching a point where that street alters its angles northwardly he placed his foot on the ground with emphasis and observed, "Here is the very spot where stood the flag staff."

In recent years a movement was started to determine accurately the location of the fort and one result of that movement is the admirable monograph on Fort Washington, written by Robert Ralston Jones of the United States Engineer's Department, and published by the Society of Colonial Wars for the State of Ohio in its Year Book for 1902. In that volume is given at length the account of the search for proper material from which could be determined accurately the location of the fort and a plat is included marking the lines. In a general way it may be stated that the fort lay east of Broadway and west of Ludlow, right along the present line of Third street with its central part about a point where Third street turns to the northeast.

The southeast angle and the blockhouse of the fort stood upon a site of the house since known as the Drake house,—the second house from the southwest corner of Ludlow and Third streets which was begun by Drake as early as 1812 and not completed until 1818. In the cornice on the north wall of the front room of this house between two windows opening on the balcony is a plaster cast or alto-relievo of Washington which is said by Mr. Jones to have been placed there about the year 1815. Mr. Jones in his monograph gives an illustration of this head of Washington as well as of the Drake and Mansfield houses. Drake states in his deposition, in a case in the United States Court referred to elsewhere, that he lived here from 1812 to 1823; this is an inaccurate statement, however, as he did not move into this house until October, 1818, at the time of its completion.

The Mansfield house to the west of the Drake house is said to mark the site of the gateway of the fort. This house was built in 1827 by Hon. Jared Mansfield, surveyor-general of the United States. It was occupied for many years by the late Rufus King, one of the leaders of the Cincinnati bar and the historian of Ohio.

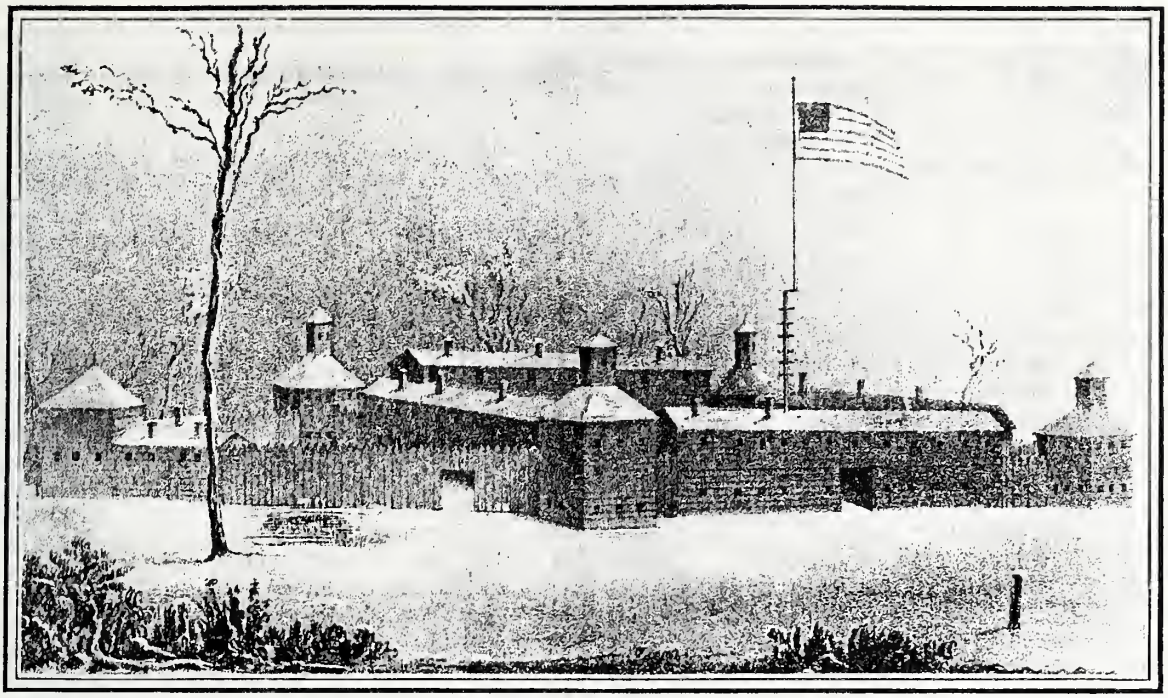
The southwest angle of the fort and blockhouse was marked for many years by the remarkable building known as the Bazaar built by Madam Trollope in 1829 and removed in March, 1881, to be supplanted by a building known as the Lorraine Building.

Among the best known pictures relating to the early history of Cincinnati is a picture of Fort Washington taken from a sketch made by Maj. Jonathan Heart in 1791 just prior to his setting out on the St. Clair expedition in which he was killed. Another well known picture is that of "Cincinnati in 1802," made up from a drawing by a man named William Bucknell who resided in the city at that time which gave the location of the buildings and streets with considerable accuracy. From this drawing and Captain Heart's sketch of Fort Washington and other materials Alfred J. Swing made the picture referred to which shows with more or less accuracy the city at that time, with the fort on the upper bank and the artificers' yard on the lower bank just south of the pond and east of Yeatman's Cove. A little to the southeast of the fort is shown the residence of Dr. Allison in the midst of Peach Grove, afterwards the site of the Lytle homestead. Dr. Drake says that the house was where "the Lytle house now stands." If so, the picture by Swing is quite inaccurate in this particular, even after making allowance for the southwestern point of view. The Lytle house is the present Foster residence on Lawrence street. (Drake's Discourses, p. 29.) Dr. Allison's house was subsequently occupied by Dr. Goforth, the tutor of Drake.

The various hereditary patriotic societies of the city have erected at the southeastern part of the fort a monument built of native Ohio stone in the form of a blockhouse, which stands about nine feet above ground. This is surrounded by a chain railing supported by four old cannons. The monument bears upon its various faces bronze tablets upon which are inscribed the dedication and a map of the fort together with the streets surrounding it and intersecting it.

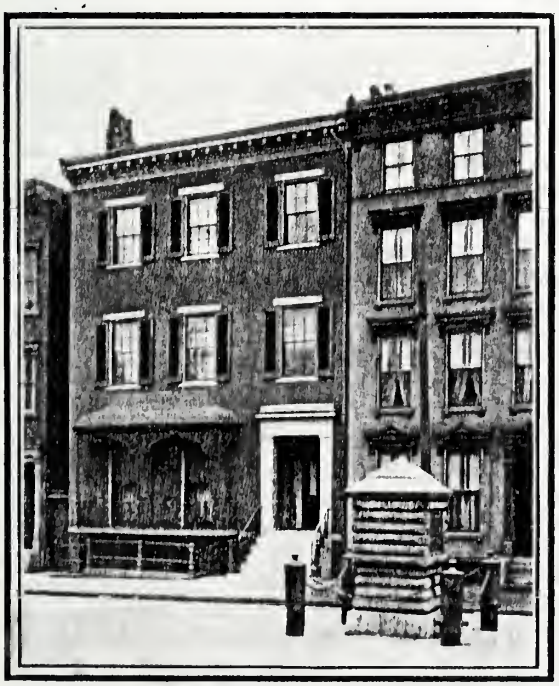
THE BUILDING OF THE FORT.

It is apparent that from the first this fortification was intended to be a permanent and important one and it was designed as the headquarters of General Harmar. As early as September 22nd he writes from Fort Harmar to Col. Francis Johnson, "I am shortly going to make my headquarters down opposite Licking River." On the 28th in a letter to Gen. Richard Butler, then at Pittsburg, he says: "Your



FORT WASHINGTON.

(From a sketch by Maj. Jonathan Heart, U. S. A., drawn in 1791.)



THE DRAKE HOUSE AND THE FORT WASHINGTON MONUMENT.

(Near the site of the Southeast Blockhouse of the Fort.—From Jones' "Fort Washington.")

THE MANSFIELD HOUSE.

(On the site of the Great Gateway of Fort Washington.—From Jones' "Fort Washington.")

humble servant is a bird of passage. Some time the latter end of next month or beginning of November I shall move down the river, bag and baggage (leaving Ziegler's and Heart's companies at this post for the protection of our New England brethren), and shall fix my headquarters opposite Licking River. I am in hourly expectation of the Governor" (St. Clair,—Governor of the Northwest Territory).

Again on November 9th, he writes to Thomas Mifflin: "I am now on the wing, expecting to move down the Ohio in a few days and to fix my headquarters opposite the mouth of the Licking River about three hundred miles below this garrison where I shall be proud to be honored with your company." General Harmar evidently had great expectations for in the same letter he speaks as follows of the game: "Venison two or three inches cut deep of fat, turkey at one pence per pound, buffalo in abundance, and cat fish of one hundred pounds weight, are stories that are by no means exaggerated. I am going to a country where there is a much greater plenty of game than there is here at present."

Lieutenant Denny records in his diary on November 10th that "the General intends removing to head quarters very shortly to the new fort building by Major Doughty opposite the mouth of Licking creek."

General Harmar left the fort bearing his name on December 24th and after a passage of four days arrived at the new fort with his command including about three hundred men. This was just one year after the landing of the Patterson party at Losantiville. His first letter from Fort Washington was written to the committee of the Ohio Company and inhabitants of the settlement of Marietta, thanking them for a polite address sent to him upon his departure. This was written January 8, 1790, and headed, "Head Quarters, Fort Washington." On January 14, he reports to the Secretary of War, General Knox, concerning the construction of the fort. From this letter we learn that the plan of the fort is Major Doughty's and that Captain Ferguson and Lieutenant Pratt are particularly entitled to credit for their indefatigable industry and attention in forwarding the work thus far. It was evidently not entirely completed for General Harmar says: "This will be one of the most solid and substantial wooden fortresses, when finished, of any in the Western Territory. It is built of hewn timber a perfect square, two stories high with four block-houses at the angles. * * * On account of its superior excellence I have thought proper to honor it with the name of *Fort Washington.* The public ought to be benefited by the sale of these buildings whenever we evacuate them, although they will cost them but little."

The reason for the low cost is given in the letter: "About forty or fifty Kentucky boats have begun and will complete it. Limestone is the grand mart of Kentucky; whenever boats arrive there they are scarcely of any value to the owners; they are frequently set adrift in order to make room for the arrival of others. I have contracted for the above number for the moderate price of from one to two dollars each; thus much for the plank work. All other expenses (wagon-hire, nails and some glass excepted) are to be charged to the labor of the troops. The lime we have burned ourselves, and the stone is at hand. Be pleased to receive the enclosed plan of the fort." General Harmar proceeds to give some information concerning the settlements: "The distance between the Little and Great Miami is twenty-eight measured miles. Near the Little Miami there is a settlement called Columbia; here seven miles distant from Columbia, there is another named Losantiville but lately changed to Cincinnati and Judge Symmes himself resides at the other, about fifteen miles from hence, called the Miami city, at the north bend of the Ohio River. They are, in general, but small cabins, and the inhabitants of the poorer class of people."

General Harmar was evidently a little homesick for Marietta. In a letter to Major Doughty, written some months before, he speaks of finding gay circles, of ladies' balls, etc., and in his letter to General Mifflin, from which an extract has already been made, he says: "Our New England brethren are a very industrious set of people. With the protection afforded by the troops which they acknowledge with great gratitude they have converted the wilderness into a fine state of cultivation. Their settlement bids fair to be very flourishing. Cornfields, gardens, etc., now appear in places which were lately the habitation of wild beasts. Such are the glorious effects of industry."

He also complains of the difficulty of forwarding despatches to Fort Washington by river: "Fort Pitt is about five hundred miles away which makes it too fatiguing to send monthly a boat against the stream." For this reason he was making arrangements to send his letters to

Danville, in Kentucky, to be forwarded through the wilderness and deposited at the post office in Richmond.

Major Denny had also been favorably impressed with the settlement at Fort Harmar. Many of the men from New England, he said, were of the first respectability,—old Revolutionary officers.

CONTEMPORANEOUS DESCRIPTIONS.

From other descriptions of Fort Washington we learn that it was built generally upon the plan of most of the forts on the Western frontier. This plan usually provided for blockhouses or bastions located at the angles. These blockhouses were sometimes set obliquely to the side walls or curtains of the fort, or as in the case of Fort Washington parallel to these walls and projecting about ten feet in front of them in each direction so as to command completely, by the direct and raking fire of cannon and musketry, each of the four walls of the fortification. The entire structure was about one hundred and eighty feet square. The blockhouses were usually two stories in height with the upper story projecting beyond the one below and pierced with loop-holes for firearms. They were built of hewn logs and were probably about twenty feet square. The logs were hewed on the upper and lower edges to bring them into close contact and were built in horizontal courses notched together at the corners. On the middle of each side wall or curtain were the barrack buildings or store houses built also of hewn timber and two stories high but without the over hanging of the second story. Between the blockhouses and barracks were palisades made of tree trunks, placed upright in a trench which was usually four feet deep. These palisades rose from ten to sixteen feet above the surface of the ground and were squared off at their lower end and pointed at the top. The edges of the palisades, where they came into contact with each other, were fitted together and usually a second row was placed in such a manner as to cover the joints of the outer row. The whole structure was bound firmly together by horizontal string pieces secured by wooden pins to the upper ends of the palisades. The roofs of the buildings and the floors were usually constructed of the rough plank riven or sawed from logs except where better lumber could be obtained as in the case of Fort Washington, where the planks from the Kentucky boats were used. Chimneys were sometimes made of stone and sometimes of sticks built up in cob house fashion and plastered with clay. The earth in the trench was usually rammed about the palisades while on the outside shallow ditches were dug for the surface drainage. The logs used for the framing timbers and for the palisades and outer walls were cut of course from the trees in the neighborhood. We are informed that the buildings used as the barracks were located one in the middle of each of the four sides and that the one on the south side contained six rooms of twenty feet each arranged three on each side of the gateway. This gateway was about twelve feet wide and ten feet high and secured by heavy wooden doors affording a passage through the line of barracks. The barracks ran over the gateway. From these dimensions it seems that there was about twenty-two and one half feet of palisade work at each end of the barrack buildings. (See "Fort Washington" by R. R. Jones from which this description is largely taken.)

The fort was sufficiently large to accommodate fifteen hundred soldiers, with officers' quarters, conveniently arranged and better furnished than the barracks, in the southeast blockhouse for the proper complement of such a force.

In that most valuable contribution to the literature of Fort Washington made in recent years just cited, R. R. Jones quotes at length from the proceedings in the case of lessee of Harmar's heirs *vs.* David Gwynne and George Morris which was tried in December, 1829, in the Circuit Court of the United States for the then Seventh Circuit which included the Ohio District. Among these proceedings is the deposition of John Cleves Symmes made in 1809, in which he describes the laying out of small lots of sixty square rods each on the land between the fort and parade ground on the west and Deer creek on the east in the year 1790, eight of which lots were sold to General Harmar for £32. Dr. Daniel Drake testified as to the correctness of a plat made by Joseph Gest, city surveyor, and stated that he once lived in the rooms that were occupied by the commander of the garrison (this was in 1802 or 1803) and that afterwards in 1808, when the reserve was sold by the government, he purchased several lots which included the southeast angle and blockhouse. He built a residence upon these lots and resided there until 1823. During this period the foundations of

the fort were everywhere to be seen and could be compared with the lines and corners of the lots and streets.

According to the deposition of William H. Orcutt given in an action in the Circuit Court of the United States in March, 1829 (printed by Mr. Jones), the artificers' yard was to the west of the garrison and somewhat in the form of a triangle and contained a blockhouse on the west corner of the triangle. This blockhouse must have stood near the present east line of Broadway. It is not mentioned by the other deponents in that case nor shown on the map presented in court nor is it mentioned by General Harmar in his report to the Secretary of War. It is however shown on the sketch of the fort made by Maj. Jonathan Heart in 1791, the familiar sketch so well known to all interested in the history of Cincinnati.

Major Heart was in the fort from the 20th of April until the departure of the troops for the St. Clair campaign in the fall of the same year, during which time this sketch must have been made. This same blockhouse was also mentioned in the "Narrative" of Rev. O. M. Spencer (page 27). In his description of early Cincinnati, as he first saw it in February, 1791, he says:

"Between Eastern row (a narrow street now enlarge into Broadway) and Main street, on Front and Columbia Streets, there were about twenty log houses; and on Sycamore and Main, principally on the second bank, or hill, as it was called, there were scattered about fifteen cabins more. At the foot of this bank, extending across Broadway and Main streets, were large ponds, on which as lately as the winter of 1798, I have seen boys skating. All the ground from the foot of the second bank to the river, between Lawrence street and Broadway, and appropriated to the fort, was an open space, on which, although no trees were left standing, most of their large trunks were still lying. On the top, and about eighty feet distant from the brow of the second bank, facing the river, stood Fort Washington, occuping nearly all the ground between Third and Fourth streets, and between Ludlow street and Broadway. This fort, of nearly a square form, was simply a wooden fortification, whose four sides or walls, each about one hundred and eighty feet long, were constructed of hewed logs, erected into barracks two stories high, connected at the corners by high pickets, with bastions or blockhouses, also of hewed logs, and projecting about ten feet in front of each side of the fort, so that the cannon placed within them could be brought to rake its walls. Through the centre of the south side, or front of the fort, was the principal gateway, a passage through this line of barracks, about twelve feet wide and ten feet high, secured by strong wooden doors of the same dimensions. Appended to the fort on its north side, and enclosed with high palisades extending from its northeast and northwest corners to a blockhouse, was a small triangular space, in which were constructed shops for the accommodation of the artificers. Extending along the whole front of the fort, was a fine esplanade, about eighty feet wide and enclosed with a handsome paling on the brow of the bank; the descent from which, to the lower bottom, was sloping, about thirty feet. The front and sides of the fort were whitewashed, and at a small distance presented a handsome and imposing appearance. On the eastern side were the officers' gardens finely cultivated, ornamented with beautiful summer houses and yielding in their season abundance of vegetables."

It will be noticed that this varies from the testimony of Orcutt and the picture by Captain Heart which places the fifth blockhouse to the west. Some of the blockhouses in Captain Heart's sketch have the appearance of being hexagonal instead of square as described. In the center of the enclosure stood the flagstaff. The road from the river seems to come along the east side of the structure probably along the line of the present Ludlow street. This led down to the old artificers' yard which was on the lower bank near the river a little distance east of Broadway. This appendage to the fort contained about two acres of ground which were enclosed by small and contiguous buildings occupied as work shops and quarters for the laborrers. Within the enclosure there was a large two-story frame house familiarly called the "Yellow House," built for the accommodation of the quartermaster-general, Captain Thorp, which was said to be the most commodious and best finished edifice in Cincinnati. Ranging between the fort and this yard, probably near the southeast corner of Second and Broadway, were several log houses which were occupied by soldiers. The fort itself as well as the paling fence in front of it was whitewashed (afterwards painted red) and at a short distance must indeed have presented a very handsome and imposing appearance, standing out so prominently above the little town nestling below it. (Burnet's Notes, p. 34.)

To the east, Dr. Allison, as already stated, the surgeon-general of the army, subsequently erected a plain frame dwelling in the center of a large lot cultivated as a garden and fruitery which was called "Peach Grove." To the north on the north side of Fourth street behind the fort, Col. Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, built a convenient frame house which was also surrounded by a spacious garden.

General Harmar was so delighted with the location that in March, 1790, he wrote to Judge Symmes speaking of his desire for an acre of ground or perhaps a little more near the garrison on the east side of it for the purpose of making a garden. "I suppose by applying to Mr. Ludlow he will be able to stake off three or four lots accordingly. I wish to give him the necessary directions." This garden which was located south of Third and east of Ludlow contained a summer house which became one of the points for determination some years later in the cause in the United States Court already referred to. Just previous to this the General had written to a merchant friend of his in Philadelphia, Jonathan Williams, recalling the gay moments passed together in France which recollection afforded him an opportunity for comparisons: "Here we are delightfully situated on the most beautiful river in the world, *La Belle Riviere,* opposite the mouth of Licking in Kentucky. You'll wonder at this when you call to mind the handsome meanders of the Seine at the foot of your old quarters. Society, unless what the military affords, is entirely out of the question. Buffalo, venison, turkeys, and fish of an enormous size (when the season arrives), we have in great abundance. If ever *Miss—Fortune,* the slippery jade, should direct your course to the westward, it will give me great pleasure to regale you with some of our dainties. You shall have a hearty soldierly welcome."

About the same time he writes to another friend, Daniel Clymer, at Reading, Pennsylvania, inviting him to visit him:

"We can afford you buffalo and venison in abundance. * * * We are most beautifully situated where we are at present on the handsome river Ohio and directly opposite Licking in Kentucky. I have heard no news of disturbance lately from our yellow brethren. From Fort Pitt you can easily glide down the current to see me. It is about five hundred miles. This month I expect we shall have great plenty of fish; such as pike, perch, bass, buffalo, sturgeon and cat; the latter of an enormous size. What do you think of being regaled of one of one hundred weight? There are some actually caught at that weight."

THE LIFE AT THE FORT.

Fort Washington naturally became the center of life in the little community gathered about this point. The population of the town when the fort was first erected consisted of 11 families and 24 unmarried men together with the officers and soldiers of the garrison. About twenty small log cabins were built chiefly on the lower bank. The upper part of the trees on the Bottom between Walnut street and Broadway were cut down but not entirely removed for several years. As late as 1795, Judge Burnet records that Cincinnati was a small village of log cabins including about fifteen rough unfinished frame houses with stone chimneys. Not a brick had then been seen in the place. In consequence of the fact that the surface of the ground at the base of the upper level was lower than on the margin of the river, there extended the entire length of the town along the river front a narrow swamp or morass. This subjected the inhabitants during the summer and fall to ague and intermittent fevers. One of these attacks came upon the Judge in September, 1796, while at the chief hotel of the village owned and kept by Griffin Yeatman, an early emigrant from Virginia. The Judge's bed stood in a large room neither lathed nor plastered which was originally intended and occasionally used for the ball room. It was ordinarily occupied as the common dormitory of the establishment and at this time there were fifteen or sixteen others lying sick in the same room which gave it much the appearance of a hospital. In spite of this fact the invalids, who were conscious that they were as well provided for as circumstances would permit, made but few murmurs or complaints. (Burnet's Notes, p. 32.)

General Harmar, as has already been quoted, commented upon the lack of any society excepting such as could be found among the soldiers. A similar complaint is made by Judge Burnet, who speaks from an altogether different point of view. According to him there were but "few individuals and still fewer families who had been accustomed to mingle in the circles of polished society. That fact put it in the power of the military to give character to the manners and customs of the people. Such a school it must be admitted was by no means intended to make the

most favorable impression on the morals and sobriety of any community as was abundantly proved by the result. Idleness, drinking and gambling prevailed in the army to a greater extent than it has at any subsequent period. This may be attributed to the fact that they had been several years in the wilderness cut off from all society but their own with but few comforts and conveniences at hand and no amusements but such as their own ingenuity could invent. Libraries were not to be found,—men of liberal minds or polished manners were rarely to be met with; and they had long been deprived of the advantage of modest and accomplished female society which always produces a salutary influence on the feelings and moral habits of men. Thus situated the officers were urged by an irresistible impulse to tax their wits for expedients to fill up the chasms of leisure which were left on their hands after a full discharge of their military duties; and as is too frequently the case in such circumstances the bottle, the dice-box and the card table were among the expedients resorted to because they were the nearest had and the most easily procured. It is a disastrous fact that a very large proportion of the officers under General Wayne and subsequently under General Wilkinson were hard drinkers. Harrison, Clark, Shomberg, Ford, Strong and a few others were the only exceptions. Such were the habits of the army when they began to associate with the inhabitants of Cincinnati and of the Western settlements generally and to give tone to public sentiment. As a natural consequence the citizens indulged in the same practices and formed the same habits." (Burnet's Notes, p. 36.)

In proof of this the Judge cites the fact that when he came to the bar there were nine resident lawyers engaged in the practice. He for many years had been the only survivor; the rest with the exception of his brother, who died of consumption in 1801, had all become confirmed sots and descended to premature graves.

Mr. Cist quotes the following "Instructive Record," which describes the habits of the officers already referred to by Judge Burnet.

"In August, 1793, a court martial was convened on the spot where Cincinnati now stands, by order of General St. Clair, for the trial of one ensign Morgan; who was found guilty and cashiered. Three years thereafter, the late Gen. Wm. Eaton (a member of the court), then consul to Tunis, thus recorded the fate of his associates:

Brig. Gen. Posey	Resigned and dead.
Major D.	Resigned and dead.
Major H.	Damned by brandy.
Capt. P.	Dead per do.
Capt. P.	Dead.
Capt. Eaton	At Tunis.
Capt. P.	Damned by brandy.
Capt. M.	Dead.
Capt. F.	Dead.
Capt. P.	Dead.
Capt. J.	Damned by brandy.
Capt. C.	Killed.

"Eaton's own fate, although delayed, was sealed by the same habits. He died in 1811, confirmed in intemperance.

"Among orders filed away in 1792, by a merchant of that period, and now lying on my table, the whole number being twelve, ten are for spirituous liquors, as follows: 'Twenty gallons whiskey—half a gallon cogneac—ten gallons whiskey—three gallons whiskey—one gallon madeira—two gallons cogneac—whiskey—whiskey—whiskey—whiskey.' These were all for officers in the United States Army, some of whose initials correspond with Eaton's list." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. II, p. 69.)

The entries in Smith & Findlay's books of account, preserved among the "Findlay Papers," in the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio tell much the same tale.

Judge Goforth's docket of August 12, 1790, gives evidence of the serious character of the sales of liquor. The Judge, who lived at Columbia, records that on that day he was visited by Esq. Wells and Mr. Sedam, an officer in the army, and that as he was walking with them to the boat towards evening the conversation turned on the pernicious practice of retailing spirituous liquors to the troops. General Harmar desired that the court should take some action to break up this practice. According to this suggestion, a session was called for the 14th of August at which time Goforth records that he arrived at Cincinnati with Esq. Gano and "waited upon Esq. McMillan who was in a low state of health but gave me encouragement that he would be able to sit in session."

A letter was sent by Judge Goforth to General Harmar asking evidence with regard to the sale of liquors by the persons sanctioned in the previous May term to keep public houses of entertainment. Thereupon "the court being opened, present William Goforth, William Wells, William McMillan, John S. Gano.

"Captain Ferguson, Captain Pratt, Captain Strong, and several other officers appeared agreeable to Gen. Harmar's orders, and informed

the court, that in consequence of the troops being debauched by spirituous liquors, punishment had become frequent in the army, and that the men were sickening fast, and that the sickness in the opinion of the Doctors was in a great degree brought on by excessive hard drinking, and the officers complained of three houses which had retailed to the troops, to-wit: Thomas Cochran, Mathew Winton and John Scott. These charges were supported by evidence, and Thomas Cochran, and Mathew Winton, each with a security were bound by their recognizance at the next General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, to be holden at Cincinnati, for the county of Hamilton on the first Tuesday in November next, in the sum of two hundred dollars, and in the mean time to refrain from retailing spirituous liquors to the troops without a written permission from their officers. And John Scott, in the sum of thirty dollars. The Court being adjourned without day." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 187.)

THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR.

Arthur St. Clair, the Governor of the Territory, arrived at Fort Washington on January 2, 1790, and staid until the 5th at which time he departed for the Illinois country, accompanied by an escort of fifty chosen men selected from the garrison under the immediate command of Lieutenant Doyle. Major Wyllys accompanied him. General St. Clair came down on a flatboat and was met at the landing and escorted to Fort Washington by the military and citizens, during which time a salute of 14 guns was fired from the fort. It is said that when he arrived near the village, while standing on the roof of the boat looking at the town he asked, "What in the hell is the name of this town anyhow?" Whether that anecdote be true or not it is certain that during his stay the name was changed from Losantiville to Cincinnati, in honor of the society of that name which had just been formed by the ex-officers of the Revolutionary Army. This society had been so called in honor of the Roman patriot, Cincinnatus, who at the calling of his country had left his plow to take up arms in her defense, and after the conclusion of his work had returned to his farm again. This had been the usual history of the officers of the Revolutionary Army and when they formed their society to keep in remembrance the scenes and events of their long struggle for independence, to keep alive the friendship thus formed and also to care for the widows and orphans of their deceased fellow officers, they selected this name as the most appropriate one, each feeling himself to be a Cincinnatus of modern time. As the Ohio settlements were the first fruits of the victory with which the Revolutionary soldiers had any special connection, the name seemed an appropriate one for the town in which was located its principal fort.

During this visit General St. Clair erected the county of Hamilton, which he named in honor of the Secretary of the Treasury upon the suggestion of Judge Symmes. Various officers of the county were appointed by the Governor and on the 5th he left for Fort Vincennes for the purpose of conciliating the savages if possible and to organize the territory west of Hamilton County.

The history of Fort Washington from this time was in the main the history of Cincinnati. It was the central point in the community as well as in the Territory. The expeditions against the Western Indians all set out from this fort and their history is a part of the history of the community. In the correspondence between the officers and in the official reports are found many of the most valuable authorities upon which the history must be based. The letters of General Harmar, written from the fort during his residence there, give much information as to the life of not only the soldiers and of the people in the neighborhood but foreshadow the expeditions against the Indians. In a letter to Richard Graham, in March, 1790, he refers to the murder of some people at a small station above Limestone by the savages who "will continue their carnages and depredations until government raise a proper force to sweep them off the face of the earth." In a letter in the same month to General Knox, he says: "The Indians still continue to murder and plunder the inhabitants; especially the boats going up and down the Ohio River. About the middle of this month they broke up Kenton Station, a small settlement fifteen miles above Limestone, killing and capturing the whole of the people supposed to be ten or twelve in number. Buckner Thruston, Esq., has just arrived here who informs me of a capital stroke of plunder which they made from the boats, one of which he was on board a small distance above Scioto River. This gentleman is a member of the Virginia Legislature and has given me the enclosed written report of the attack by which you will be pleased to observe that the property captured by the savages was estimated at £4,000. He

supposed them to have been Shawanees. No calculation will answer but raising a sufficient force to effectually chastise the whole of those nations who are known to be hostile."

In a letter to Captain Ziegler, who was afterwards the first mayor of Cincinnati, but at that time celebrating his honeymoon, in command at Fort Harmar, he commends him for sending a guard with the contractors' boats, as the Indians begin already to be very troublesome on the river near Scioto. "We have a delightful situation here and an excellent garrison; no danger as there is with you of an inundation."

To Dr. Wistar, he writes concerning some bones which he is forwarding to him. "We are at present stationed opposite the mouth of the Licking River not above twenty miles by land from the Big Bone Lick creek. I intend shortly to let Dr. Allison, the surgeon of the regiment, proceed to that place and stay there for about a week. Upon his return I am in hopes to be able to send you a proper collection of the bones, and worthy of your acceptance, as the Doctor is curious in these matters." In this letter he speaks also of the subject which seems to be uppermost in his mind. "The savages begin already to be very troublesome with the boats descending the Ohio River; nothing will cure them but an effectual chastisement."

In a letter of June 8th, to William Govett, after the discussion of purchasing an encyclopedia "the most elegant edition that can be procured" and a thermometer he says "the Indians have been and still are troublesome. I am in full hopes that the new government will give me the materials to work with and the next year be prepared for a general war with them." About the same time he writes to the paymaster general, complaining as follows: "There has been a Major J——— here for the avowed design of speculating upon the necessities of the soldiers and some others but I have prevented them. It is in my opinion a most dishonorable traffic; by God my hands are clear of it and if I find that any officer is concerned in it he shall be called to a strict and severe account for such unmilitary proceedings. The Indians are exceedingly troublesome. I know of nothing that will cure the disorder but government raising an army to effectually chastise them. All treaties are in vain."

THE OFFICERS OF THE FORT.

In a letter to Lieut. Matthew Ernst, commanding officer at Fort Pitt, announcing that he will surely be selected as the paymaster at Fort Washington, General Harmar gives a list of officers at Fort Washington on June 9, 1790. They were: Gen. Josiah Harmar, Capt. William Ferguson, Capt. David Strong. Capt. William McCurdy, Capt. Erkuries Beatty, Lieut. John Armstrong, Lieut. William Kerney (Kearsey), Lieut. Mahlon Forde, Lieut. John Pratt, Lieut. Ebenezer Denny, Ensign Cornelius Ryker Sedam, Ensign Asa Hartshorn, Ensign Robert Thompson, and Dr. Richard Allison. With but few exceptions the officers of this First United States Infantry, whose names are given, had served during the Revolutionary War and served in the campaigns about to begin.

General Harmar had served from October 27, 1775, to November 3, 1783, when he retired with the rank of brevet colonel. During the following year he conveyed dispatches to Paris from Congress, announcing the formal ratification of peace. August 12, 1784, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the United States Infantry Regiment, and remained at the head of the army until he was superseded by Arthur St. Clair in 1791. He retired from the service January 1, 1792, owing to the criticisms concerning his management of the campaign which bears his name. He returned to Pennsylvania and there served six years as adjutant-general and died on August 20, 1813, in Philadelphia, where he was buried with military honors.

William Ferguson was from Pennsylvania and had served in the Artillery Corps during the Revolution. He was appointed captain in the United States Army in 1785 and as already stated was the principal constructor of Fort Washington, associated in that duty with Lieutenant Pratt. He married Susanna, daughter of Maskell Ewing, secretary of the Masonic Grand Lodge of New Jersey. (Ewing's name appears as secretary on the original charter granted to the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge of Cincinnati, dated September 8, 1791.) Shortly before he set out for the St. Clair campaign, in which he was killed, November 4, 1791, Major Ferguson purchased the lot on the southwest corner of Broadway and Fourth street, opposite the upper end of the military reservation.

Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) David Strong was from Connecticut, and retired from service in the Continental Army with the rank of captain. He entered the army of the United States and served in it until the time of his

death at Fort Wilkinson, Illinois, August 19, 1801. He took part in the preliminary work at least in the building of Fort Washington and subsequently constructed Fort Wilkinson twelve miles below Metropolis, and was in command at Fort Jefferson in 1792, and Detroit in 1799.

Erkuries Beatty was born in Pennsylvania, October 9, 1759, and served as lieutenant throughout the Revolutionary War. At its conclusion he became clerk in the War Department until commissioned lieutenant of infantry in 1784. He was afterwards promoted to be captain and major and resigned from the army in 1792. For several years, including the time at Fort Washington, he was paymaster. He died at Princeton, February 23, 1823.

Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) John Armstrong, in 1776 entered the Continental Army from Pennsylvania as a non-commissioned officer. He served throughout the war and at its conclusion was a captain. He became an ensign in the newly organized army and retired in 1793 with the rank of major. He served in the Harmar campaign, concerning which he left a journal. In this fight he lost 22 out of a command of 30, while falling back from the position to which he had been assigned. He had held command at Fort Pitt, Fort Finney at Jeffersonville and Fort Hamilton. After his retirement from the regular army, he served as colonel of militia, treasurer of the Territory and judge of the courts in Hamilton County. He died in 1816, on his farm in Clark County, Indiana.

Lieutenant (afterwards Major) William Kearsey was from New Jersey and had served seven years in the Continental Army of the United States. He was ensign and subsequently lieutenant, captain, and at the time of his death in service, March 21, 1800, he had attained the rank of major. He it was who was in command of the party that accompanied Judge Symmes to the mouth of the Great Miami and left him there because of the dissatisfaction at Symmes' selection of his city site.

Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) John Pratt entered the Continental Army from Connecticut and retired with the rank of lieutenant, which rank he took in the army of the United States in 1785. He resigned in September, 1793. He was regimental quartermaster at Fort Washington in 1789 and was carried on the army lists as acting quartermaster general at this time.

Lieutenant Denny is already well known. He was a special favorite of General Harmar, to whom he was much devoted and after whom he named one of his sons. He was born March 11, 1761, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. At the age of 13 years he carried dispatches to the commanding officers at Fort Pitt. He served in the early part of the Revolutionary War on a privateer and afterwards entered the Continental Army as ensign serving to the close of the war, having then the rank of lieutenant. At the surrender of Yorktown, General Butler assigned to him the duty of planting the first American flag upon the British parapet. As Denny in the presence of the three armies was in the act of planting the flagstaff, Baron Steuben rode out of the lines, dismounted and took the flag and planted it himself. This almost resulted in a duel between Butler and Steuben which was only averted by the influence of General Washington and Count Rochambeau. He was with General Butler at Fort Finney, having been appointed an ensign in the army in 1784. He resigned from the army in the spring of 1792 with the rank of captain, having served through both the campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair as an aide. He was the bearer of the dispatches from both of these generals, announcing their defeats to the War Department. At a later time he served for a time under a commission from the Governor of Pennsylvania to protect the frontier at Venango and Presqu Isle. He built a new work at the former near the site of the old French and English forts. His "Military Journal," from which so much has already been quoted, is one of the most valuable of contemporary documents. He subsequently became a very prominent merchant at Pittsburg. He was the first treasurer of Allegheny County and the first mayor of the city of Pittsburg. For many years prior to his death he was a director of the Bank of the United States. He died July 21, 1822.

Asa Hartshorn entered the army in 1787 and performed much service on details for protecting the surveyors and the government geographers. He was killed during the Wayne campaign, June 30, 1794, under the walls of Fort Recovery.

Dr. Robert Allison served five years in the Revolutionary Army, having enlisted from Pennsylvania. He was appointed surgeon's mate in the United States Infantry in 1784 and became a surgeon in 1788, continuing in the army until his honorable discharge in 1796. He lived on the east side of Lawrence street just above Third street, at the place where afterwards

in 1814 was erected the home of General Lytle, which is still standing and known as the Foster place.

Ensign Cornelius Sedam became a celebrated character in Cincinnati history. It was from him and his son that the village of Sedamsville takes its name.

Major Doughty whose name will be always connected with Fort Washington had long since, at the conclusion of his work, returned to Fort Harmar where he was particularly devoted to the cultivation of peaches. He resigned from the service in 1791 but afterwards reentered it in 1798. In 1800 he retired permanently and died September 16, 1826.

Capt. Jonathan Heart, who drew the celebrated picture of the fort, was born in 1744 in Connecticut and graduated at Yale. He was a volunteer at Lexington, a private at Bunker Hill and ensign at the siege of Boston. He served eight and a half years in the Continental Army, retiring with the rank of brigade major. He became a captain in one of the companies furnished by Connecticut in 1785 and was finally located at Fort McIntosh. He arrived at Fort Washington on the 20th of April and was killed at St. Clair's defeat.

Maj. John P. Wyllys was killed in the Harmar expedition. He was born in 1754, graduated at Yale in 1773 and served during the Revolutionary War at Boston, about New York, at Valley Forge and in Virginia. He was appointed major of the First Regiment in 1785 and was in command at Fort Finney for part of the next year.

Lieut.-Col. George Gibson, who served on the Harmar "Court of Inquiry," was from Pennsylvania and served through the Revolutionary War. He was mortally wounded on November 4, 1791, when he commanded the Second Regiment. He died at Fort Jefferson on December 11, 1791.

Another member of this court, Lieut.-Col. William Darke was also from Pennsylvania, born in 1736. He served through the French and Indian War and was at Braddock's defeat. He served through the War of the Revolution, although a prisoner in the hands of the British for a time. He lost his son in the battle of November 4th. He was a man of great bravery but very illiterate and seemed to have an unpleasant habit of criticising his associates. He died November 20, 1801.

Capt. Edward Miller, who afterwards commanded the fort, was from Connecticut and served throughout the Revolutionary War. He became 2nd lieutenant of the Second Regiment of Infantry in 1793. He brought his family to Fort Washington in 1798. He subsequently retired from the army and resided for some years in Clermont County, dying in Columbia township, Hamilton County, July 6, 1823.

Lieutenant Kingsbury who commanded at Colerain was from Connecticut and served throughout the Revolutionary War. The date of his retirement (June 15, 1815) was forty years after his first enlistment in the Continental Army as a private. He retired as a colonel, having been inspector general during the previous year. He died July 1, 1837. (The details of the service of the foregoing officers have been in a measure taken by permission from Mr. Jones' monograph on Fort Washington.)

The first commander of the fort of course was Major Doughty who built it. He was succeeded in turn by General Harmar, the commander of the army upon his arrival in December. The fort was named Fort Washington by Harmar at the time of the arrival of St. Clair in January, 1790, at the time Hamilton County and Cincinnati received their names. After Harmar's defeat General St. Clair succeeded as major-general of the army, and Colonel Trueman was in command at the fort. After the disastrous St. Clair expedition, St. Clair placed Major Ziegler in command at the fort and he himself hastened to Philadelphia. (Captain Buel had commanded during the absence of the army.) Ziegler was soon followed by Colonel Wilkinson. In 1794 Captain Pierce was in command. In 1796 Capt. William Harrison became commander at the fort and continued in his command until his resignation in 1798. General Wilkinson became commander-in-chief of the army and made it his headquarters for many months in 1797 but the command of the fort seemed to remain in the hands of Captain Harrison. In 1799 Capt. Edward Miller was in command, as shown by the account of the memorial funeral of General Washington. It appears from an advertisement for a deserter from Washington, published December 21, 1800, that Lieut. Peter Shiras commanded at that time. In January, 1801, Captain Vance at the recruiting station advertised for soldiers, offering "an abundant supply of whiskey, food and clothing of the best quality—twelve dollars bounty and ten dollars per month with comfortable quarters and a life of ease."

The local paper, *The Centinel*, contains frequent references to the fort and officers.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TOWN AND THE GARRISON.

The Starving Time—The Conflict of Authority—The Soldiers Against the Townspeople—The Indian Burial—The Holiday Celebrations—Washington's Funeral—The Sale of the Fort—The Second Regiment.

Many episodes connected with the life of the garrison and its relations to the town are of interest. Despite the great plenty of provisions spoken of by Harmar in his letters there were times in the early days when the fort was reduced to serious straits in procuring supplies. At one time in 1789, it is said that Captain Strong's company of regulars were contemplating the abandonment of the post. When all provisions and supplies from the stations up the river had given out, John S. Wallace suggested the purchasing of corn at Columbia while he, Wallace, with some hunters would endeavor to get meat. General Harmar sent Captains Strong and Kearsey to Columbia to procure corn. They made application to James Flinn who was supposed to have 500 bushels for sale. Flinn refused to sell to them. His reason was that during the previous year when living below Marietta he had furnished supplies to the troops at Fort Harmar but had never been able to get any pay because of the removal of the officer who made the purchase to some other station. Captain Strong thought that if they could not get corn they should be obliged to retreat on acount of starvation. During the conversation, Luke Foster, afterwards associate judge of the county, came up and asked the difficulty, to which Strong replied that the difficulty was that the troops had been for nine days on half rations and that the half rations were about out and they were starving for corn. Foster thereupon agreed to lend to the garrison 100 bushels upon condition that it should be returned the next season. The next season Foster was obliged to ride down to Cincinnati six times to get 19 bushels. This particular crop of corn had been the result of a very careful sowing. Foster had run out of seed corn and the only neighbor who had the amount he wanted, less than a peck, was out of corn meal. Foster happening to have a small quantity of corn meal exchanged it for the corn, 13 pint cup fulls of meal for 13 pints of corn. It was planted three grains in a hill and in this way managed to seed two and one-half acres. Although the crop was put in late and it was a dry season, the soil was so good that the result was very successful. The statement is made that this corn in the hands of Foster, together with that owned by Flinn, constituted at that time two-thirds of the whole supply of Columbia and Cincinnati.

Wallace started to the woods to procure the meat with two other settlers, Drennan and Dement, but Dement knew little of hunting and Drennan having never hunted at all knew less. Wallace however was able to shoot enough for the three; the other two did their share by carrying the meat on their backs. They went down the river in a canoe to a point ten miles below the fort and landed on the Kentucky side. They used the precaution, which was always necessary in a case of this kind, of concealing their boat. This was to prevent the Indians from noticing it and lying in ambush for them on their return;—a frequent occurrence. They struck off into the woods and were very successful in their hunting. They obtained enough buffalo,

deer and bear meat to last the troops, about seventy in number, for six weeks at which time the provisions arrived from Pittsburg. Their success probably saved the military station at this point. (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 127.)

In the later years however these straits for supplies disappeared and the officers and men lived in the main at a high rate. This has already been indicated in quotations from Judge Burnet.

During General Wilkinson's time at Fort Washington, he indulged in considerable luxury. He is said to have had the first carriage in Cincinnati which was drawn by a fine team of horses. His entertainments were of the most elaborate style some of them taking place on his superb barge which he had built and decorated as a pleasure boat. This is described by H. M. Brackenridge, who saw it at its best as follows:

"The General's lady and several ladies and gentlemen were on board of the boat, which was fitted up in a style of convenience, and even magnificence, scarcely surpassed by the present steamboats. It was propelled against the stream by twenty-five or thirty men, sometimes with the pole, by the cordelle, and often by the oar. There was also a band of musicians on board, and the whole had the appearance of a mere party of pleasure. My senses were overpowered—it seemed an Elysium! The splendor of the furniture, the elegance of the dresses, and then the luxuries of the table, to a half-starved creature produced an effect which cannot easily be described. Every repast was a royal banquet, and such delicacies were placed before me as I had never seen, and in sufficient abundance to satiate my insatiable appetite. * * * The General's countenance was continually lighted up with smiles, and he seemed the *faire le bonheur* of all around him. It seemed to be his business to make every one happy."

THE CONFLICT OF AUTHORITY.

Conflicts between the civil and military authorities were continuous occurrences. This arose from the natural antagonism which exists in a community on which is quartered a military force but it was largely fostered by the difficulties between St. Clair and his associates, Judges Turner and Symmes. Turner particularly was very tenacious of the rights of the civil authorities.

The letter of St. Clair to Judge Turner written from the fort on June 14, 1791, goes at length into a matter of the relative jurisdictions of the civil and military authorities. Turner had given an order of commitment remanding a prisoner for safe keeping to the custody of Colonel Trueman at Fort Washington. This was objected to as liable to establish a bad precedent and for the reason that the military guard-house was not intended for the purpose of confining prisoners charged with all manner of crimes. St. Clair in his letter to the Judge goes into the question at length.

Despite the many disclaimers, it is apparent that the best of feeling did not exist between the two. To receive Turner's note St. Clair had been awakened out of his sleep when he had been more than two hours in bed, "which was not a very proper time for business of that nature." Although the gates of the fort had been long shut the officer of the day had admitted the prisoner for the night only. St. Clair refused to allow the sheriff to use the guard-house as a jail and suggested that a military officer holding a prisoner guilty of offenses against the municipal law might be liable to an action for false imprisonment. He admitted that the troops of the United States were paid for the protection of the people and the government but the manner of that protection was not to be determined by a judge or a justice or by all of them together, although he was willing as a matter of accommodation to permit the sheriff to use the guard-house. This permission was not granted as a matter of right. He conceived it to be the duty of the sheriff to provide a jail and if necessary to make a jail of his own house. If the sheriff refused to do this, he would displace him and appoint another and would afford all the military assistance necessary, but he very properly insisted upon keeping the military and civil power distinct. Having given his opinion, he thereupon called upon Judge Turner as the law officer of the administration for his opinion on a number of points connected with the controversy, a practice that has not been favored by our system of jurisprudence.

In this controversy Judge Symmes wrote an opinion to the effect that it was lawful to confine a prisoner of the civil law in a military guard-house and that the sheriff was not discharged of responsibility thereby nor could a military officer be held responsible for the safe keeping of the prisoner or be prosecuted in case of his escape from custody. Judge Turner some months later brought about another conflict between the civil and military authorities by issu-

ing a writ of habeas corpus for the release of a military prisoner. The commandant of the fort, Colonel Trueman, refused to obey the order to produce the body of the prisoner in court and was sustained in his action by the Governor. The prisoner had been charged with a capital offense under the military law,—the offense of persuading a soldier to desert and of providing him with the means of escape. The deserter had been arrested, tried and executed and on the scaffold had confessed the facts in the case.

The difficulties between the citizens and the soldiers are referred to in Symmes' letter of August 15, 1791:

"The Governor's proclamations have convulsed these settlements beyond your conception, sir, not only with regard to the limits of the purchase, but also with respect to his putting part of the town of Cincinnati under military government. Nor do the people find their subordination to martial law a very pleasant situation. A few days ago a very decent citizen, by the name of Shaw, from New England (and one, too, who lived with his family a considerable distance beyond the limits assigned by proclamation round Fort Washington, for the exercise of the law martial), was put in irons, as I was yesterday credibly informed, his house burned by the military, and he banished the Territory. I hear his charges are, that of purchasing some of the soldiers' clothing, and advising in some desertions; but of this he was not otherwise convicted (for he asserts his innocence), than by the soldier's accusation after he had deserted and been retaken, which he might possibly do in order to shift the blame in some degree from himself in hopes of more favor. There are, indeed, many other acts of a despotic complexion, such as some of the officers, Capt. Armstrong, Capt. Kirkwood, Lieut. Pastures, and Ensign Schuyler, very recently, and Capt. Strong, Capt. Ford, Capt. Ashton, and Ensign Hartshorn, while General Harmar commanded, beating and imprisoning citizens at their pleasure. But here, in justice to the officers generally of the levies, I ought to observe that, as yet, I have heard no complaint of any severity or wantonness in them. The violence of which I speak are found among the officers of the regular troops, who, in too many instances, are imperiously haughty, and evidently affect to look down on the officers of the levies. I hear there are several officers with their corps from Jersey arrived at headquarters, but I have not seen any of them, as I had left Cincinnati a day or two before their arrival, and have not been there since. It really becomes a very unpleasant place to me, for I have always had something in my nature which was shocked at acts of tyranny, and when at that place, my eyes and ears are every day saluted with more or less of those acts which border hard on it."

The proclamation referred to was that of July 19, 1781, which was issued by St. Clair for the purpose of preventing the settlement of land lying eastward of the twenty-mile line which was the first boundary of the Symmes purchase. The citizen, Shaw, referred to is probably one of the family of Esquire Shaw, who with his sons Knoles and Alvin were members of the company which first settled Crosby township in 1801.

Much of this trouble arose from the incompatibility of civil and military authority, especially in new settlements. In such cases there seems to be a constant irritation that is very difficult to allay. An illustration of this condition is shown by the occurrence reported in Symmes' letter of June 15, 1792:

"The superority which the Governor affected to give the military over citizens, is maintained with ridiculous importance by some of the officers. I will give you one instance: Captain John Armstrong, who commands, for the present, at Fort Hamilton, has, within a few days past, ordered out of the purchase some of Mr. Dunlap's settlers, at Colerain, against whom he has a pique. He threatens to dislodge them with a party of soldiers if he is not obeyed. The citizens have applied to me for advice, and I have directed them to pay no regard to his menaces, yet I very much fear he will put his threats into execution, for I well know his imperious disposition. This same Armstrong, soon after the Governor had ordered Knoles Shaw's house burned, and himself and family banished, met with Mr. Martin, the deputy sheriff, with whom a little before, he had some dispute touching the superiority of the civil or military authority. Armstrong now deridingly takes the sheriff by the sleeve, saying: 'What think you of the civil authority now.'"

THE SOLDIERS AGAINST THE TOWNSPEOPLE.

A much more serious matter occurred on February 12, 1792. Lieutenant Pasteur of Symmes' letter became involved in a quarrel with John Bartle. Bartle was one of the most prominent men in the place and kept a store at the corner

of Front and Broadway where the Spencer House now stands. The officer decoyed Bartle on pretense of business to come to the fort and thereupon, surrounded as he was by his friends, he assaulted Bartle and beat him severely. Bartle promptly prosecuted the arrogant soldier and in the course of the trial his attorney, Mr. Blanchard, denounced the conduct of the officer in unmeasured terms and made him appear in so contemptible a light as to divert the anger of Pasteur from the client to the attorney. Thereupon a sergeant and 30 private soldiers accompanied the lieutenant to chastise personally the lawyer and his supporters. Naturally, the citizens took the part of their own associates and a riot took place on Main street between Front and Second, in the neighborhood of Mr. McMillan's office. McMillan, who was the magistrate, and Col. John Riddle with 18 of the citizens succeeded in driving the soldiers off. This affair naturally aroused great excitement and indignation and General Wilkinson who was then in command reduced the sergeant to the ranks. He would have inflicted further punishment upon the sergeant and would have punished the soldiers had it not been apparent that they acted under orders. Pasteur himself was tried at the Court of General Quarter Sessions in the following year and sentenced to pay a fine of three dollars for his assault. The immediate result of the affray was the issuing of a general order:

"HEADQUARTERS FORT WASHINGTON,

"February 13, 1792.

"The riot in the town of Cincinnati yesterday, and the outrage committed by a party of soldiers on the person of a magistrate of this Territory, is a dishonor to the military and an indignity to the National Government, which demands that the most exemplary punishment should be inflicted on the perpetrators. Although the Commandant cannot admit the idea that any gentleman in commission who wears the garb of honor could be instrumental or accessory to this flagitious transaction, yet the circumstances of a sergeant and twenty or thirty men from the same company, leaving the garrison in a body, as has been represented to the Commandant, carries with it an aspect of premeditation, and may subject the officer commanding such company to undue suspicions and censures. To avert such consequences in future, and to restrain the licentious habits of the soldiery, the Commandant calls for the firm cooperation and support of his officers, and orders that all duties beyond the walls of the garrison, whether for water, wood or provisions, must be done by detachment, under a non-commissioned officer, who shall be answerable for the conduct of such detachment. No private is to pass the gateway on any other pretence without a special commission from the commanding officer. The Commandant laments that he should be reduced to the necessity of exerting so rigid a system of police, but he considers it indispensably necessary, not only to the good of the service but the honor of the corps.

"By order,

"JOHN WADE,

"Ensign, Fort Adj't."

Another affray between the citizens and soldiers took place two years later. In the spring of this year a detachment of Kentucky volunteers who were on their way to join Wayne encamped for a few days in the vicinity of Cincinnati. They were accompanied by about one hundred friendly Indians, Choctaws of the Mississippi region, who encamped on Deer creek. With the Indians was a young white woman who was held as a captive, having been taken in Western Pennsylvania some time previous. It was thought that she had relatives in this city but this did not turn out to be true but several of the citizens happened to know her friends and relatives near Pittsburg as they themselves had come from that neighborhood and after considerable negotiations one of them succeeded in ransoming the girl upon the payment of a barrel of Monongahela whiskey. The whiskey and the girl were exchanged at a tavern just above John Bartle's store on Broadway and the trade was celebrated by the Indians with many libations. The jollification continued until the whiskey had been pretty well consumed, whereupon having no visible evidence for their bargain the Indians concluded that they had been imposed upon and were for retaking the girl from her friends. These naturally objected in a very peaceable yet firm manner and the girl was secreted so that the Indians could not find her. The white men involved in the party were all Irishmen from Pennsylvania and were assisted by many others of their countrymen and other citizens. At that time the lower end of Broadway was very narrow but widened rapidly as it went up the hill. The east side was occupied by the artificers' shop belonging to the garrison. The Indians retired for a time but presently came back crowding down Broadway

to the number of fifty and were met at the narrow part of the street by the Irish contingent and a general *mêlée* ensued. The weapons used were stones and rocks at first but presently the Irish began to do effective work with sticks or shillalas and although much inferior in number put the redskins to flight up the hill. The leader of the Irishmen was a well-known citizen, Isaac Anderson, who had been taken captive at Laughery's defeat and who felt that he had a grudge against the whole race of redskins regardless of their nation and was endeavoring to pay off part of it. It became necessary for Captain Pierce, who was in command at the garrison at that time, to send out troops to quiet the disturbance but they arrived after the fight was over. As a result of this engagement, the row of cabins on the east side of Broadway near the river was called Battle row; this name it retained until 1810 when the houses were removed. The girl who caused all the controversy was returned to her friends in Pennsylvania and is said by Mr. Cist to have been living as late as 1859. (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 135.)

Again in September of the same year it became necessary to issue orders for the protection of these and other friendly Choctaw Indians who were returning from the Miamis of the Lakes where they had been assisting Wayne against the hostiles. The feeling of the community against all Indians was very high at this time and a number of lawless spirits assaulted this party. The Secretary of the Territory, Mr. Sargent, who was at that time the commander of the militia, applied to Judge McMillan about four o'clock in the afternoon stating that it had been represented to him that great violence had been committed on a party of Choctaw Indians by a number of people of the town armed with clubs and calling upon him to take legal measures to prevent a repetition of the outrage and the sacrifice of the lives not only of the Indians but of inhabitants. Two hours later he felt called upon to write to Captain Pierce, then in charge of the garrison, as follows:

"Since I parted from you, I have too sufficient reason to believe that attempts may, indeed, will be made upon the lives of the Choctaw Indians this night; and, although I have ordered out a militia guard, and shall make every possible exertion to prevent mischief, it appears to me that it can not be done unless you take the Indians into the fort immediately. I, therefore, presume thus, in writing, to reiterate my advice, and stand exculpated under all possible circumstances."

In accordance with this suggestion it appears that the Indians were taken into the fort for protection over night.

The following militia order was also issued:

"Twenty privates from the militia, with the due complement of non-commissioned officers, to be paraded immediately, at Mr. Cutter's, near the churchyard. Major Gano will command this party, and make such dispositions as shall seem best calculated to establish and preserve order at Cincinnati, and afford protection to the Choctaw Indians.

"Colonel Sargent, with the civil officers of the town, and some private gentlemen, will reinforce this guard at an early hour.

"WINTHROP SARGENT,
"Commanding the Militia."

The lawlessness of the mob in Cincinnati was certainly very great, for not only were the friendly Indians assailed with clubs and stones and guns, but two balls were fired into the dwelling of Secretary Sargent, and for several nights violence ran riot in the streets of the town. The County Court paying no attention to the matter, when the United States Court met, the Secretary addressed a communication to Judge Putnam, reciting the facts and asked for a special inquiry. He also said that, unless the hatred of the old pioneers against the Indians could be controlled, it would lead to serious consequences. (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, pp. 328 and 336.)

A curious illustration of the feelings of the old citizens of the Territory at this period towards the Indians, and of the difficulties which Governor St. Clair had to encounter to preserve peace and the lives of the inhabitants, is afforded by an advertisement which was issued by citizens in the Miami purchase in 1794. It was as follows:

"PUBLIC NOTICE."

"Whereas, many good citizens of this Territory, with a design to check the incursions of hostile Indians now at war with the people of the United States, have voluntarily entered into and subscribed their names to certain articles; each name having a sum annexed thereto, and have severally bound themselves, their heirs, etc., to pay the same, as in the said articles are mentioned:

"We, the subscribers, therefore, being nominated and appointed to superintend the business of collecting and paying the money thus subscribed, hereby give notice that the following

arrangement is made for the reward to be given for Indian scalps, to be taken and produced within the period of the 18th day of April last past, and the 25th day of December next ensuing, and within the boundaries following, to-wit: Beginning on the Ohio, ten miles above the mouth of the Little Miami, on a direct line thence northwardly, the same distance from the said Miami until it shall extend twenty-five miles above where Harmar's trace first crosses the said Miami; thence, due west, crossing the said Little Miami, until it shall extend ten miles west of the Great Miami; thence, southwardly, keeping the distance of ten miles from the said Great Miami, to the Ohio; thence up the middle of the said River Ohio to the beginning; that for every scalp, having the right ear appendant, of the first ten Indians who shall be killed within the time and limits aforesaid by those who are subscribers to the said articles, shall, whenever collected, be paid the sum of one hundred and thirty-six dollars; and for every scalp of the like number of Indians, having the right ear appendant, who shall be killed within the time and limits aforesaid, by those who are not subscribers, the Federal troops excepted, shall, whenever collected, be paid the sum of one hundred dollars; and for every scalp, having the right ear appendant, of the second ten Indians who shall be killed within the time and limits aforesaid by those who are subscribers to said articles, shall, whenever collected as aforesaid, be paid the sum of one hundred and seventeen dollars; and for every scalp, having the right ear appendant, of the said second ten Indians who shall be killed within the time and limits aforesaid, by those who are not subscribers to the said articles, except before excepted, shall, whenever collected, be paid the sum of ninety-five dollars.

"Cincinnati—

"Levi Woodward,
"Darius C. Orcutt,
"James Lyons,

"Columbia—

"William Brown,
"Ignatius Ross,
"John Reily,
"Committee."

It was this feeling and such occurrences as those already described which made Wayne feel it necessary to issue his proclamation of February 22, 1795, warning the settlers against attacking the Indians. The same Captain Pierce was called upon about six weeks later to detail soldiers to assist the sheriff in making arrests of parties who had resisted the apprehension of some alleged law breakers.

It is apparent from casual references that Indians were kept at the fort much of the time and a party under General Scott which made the raid on the Indian towns in 1792 brought in over twenty prisoners including old men, women and children who were left in charge of the garrison at Fort Washington. Garret Burns, who was one of the party that captured them, said he saw them still confined as prisoners in 1793 after Wayne had come to the city. Heckswelder also speaks of them in his account.

Judge Symmes, in his letter of August 15, 1791, refers to a previous raid of Scott's in which he brought in forty Indian prisoners who were kept at the fort.

THE INDIAN BURIAL.

Not the least interesting ceremony which took place at the fort is described in a letter written by Dr. William Goforth, of September 3, 1791, from which several quotations have been already given:

"One of the Indian captives lately died at this place.—His Excellency Gov. St. Clair gave liberty to the rest to bury the corpse according to the custom of their nation; the mode is that the body be wrapped in a shroud, over which they put a blanket, a pair of moccasins on the feet, a seven days' ration by the side of the head, with other necessaries. The march from Fort Washington was very solemn; on their arrival at the grave, the corpse was let down, and the relatives immediately retired; an aged matron then descended into the grave, and placed the blanket according to rule, and fixed the provisions in such a manner as she thought would be handy and convenient to her departed friend; casting her eyes about to see if all was right, she found the deceased was barefoot, and inquired why they had omitted the moccasins? The white person who superintended the whole business, informed her that there were no good moccasins in the store, but by the way of amends they had put a sufficiency of leather into the knapsack to make two pairs, at the same time showing her the leather. With this she appeared satisfied, saying that her friend was well acquainted with making them." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 200.)

It is thought that it was due to the contact with the savage prisoners and friendlies that in the fall of 1794, shortly after Wayne's army had left the settlement, smallpox broke out among the soldiers in the fort and spread about the town with such malignity as to carry off many of the soldiers and citizens.

One of the elements that contributed considerably to the feeling of the military and civilians was the constant aid given by the latter to deserters.

The first executions in the new settlement took place at the southeast corner of the fort in 1789, at which time two soldiers, John Ayres and Mathew Ratmore, were shot for desertion. The matter of desertion seems to have been a very serious one. In a letter written by John Wilkinson, May 11, 1792, while commanding the fort, to Capt. John Armstrong at Fort Hamilton, the following instructions were given:

"Should any men desert you, the scouts are to take the track, pursue, overtake, and make prisoners of them; and for every one so apprehended and brought back, you may engage them twenty dollars. If the deserter is discovered making for the enemy, it will be well for the scout to shoot him and bring his head to you; for which allow forty dollars. One head lopped off in this way and set upon a pole on the parade might do lasting good in the way of deterring others."

THE HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS.

On the other hand the citizens and soldiers frequently participated in the functions of each other. On the Fourth of July, 1790, the national salute of 13 guns was fired from the fort and a special military parade passed through the streets of the town in honor of the day. In the following year Washington's birthday was celebrated in grand style by the officers of the fort. Salutes were fired from the cannons, rockets and fireworks and firearms were discharged and in the evening there was a grand ball to which citizens and their wives from all three settlements were invited. This practice of firing salutes on public occasions seems to have been the usual one.

The militia, too, felt called upon to indulge in the expenditure of gunpowder and at a later time when the Territory was being divided into parties quite a little rivalry existed between the citizens and soldiers in this respect. This is referred to in an extract from a letter written in 1797 at which time the Fourth was observed by a dinner at Yeatman's Tavern and a Federal salute from the guns of the fort:

"One brilliant Fourth of July celebration was terminated by a sad accident. The party opposed to the Governor, glowing with all the heroism of 'Seventy-six,' mounted a blunderbuss on the bank of the river, and with a few hearts of steel made its shores resound, rivalling in their imagination the ordnance of the garrison! Delighted with their success, the load was increased in proportion to their enthusiasm; and when the 'Western Territory' was toasted, the gun summoned every power within it, carried its thunder to the Kentucky hills, and burst in pieces! Major Ziegler, on taking a view of the field reports as follows: Wounded, four men —killed, one gun!"

The Fourth of July, 1799, called for a special celebration an account of which is given in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* of July 9th of that year. This account is well worth reproducing especially in view of the toasts given at the banquet.

"Last Thursday being the Fourth of July, it was celebrated by the citizens of this town in a manner which does credit to its inhabitants, and testifies that they hold in just estimation the DAY which gave BIRTH to our NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

"The morning was ushered in by a Federal Salute from Fort Washington, the 1st Battalion of Hamilton Militia paraded at the muster ground in the vicinity of this place, and went through the customary evolutions and firings.—As to their performance, we only need refer our Readers to the Governor's General Orders. —After the Battalion was dismissed, the Governor, the Federal Officers from Fort Washington, the officers of Militia, and a large number of respectable citizens dined under a bower prepared for that purpose.—Capt. Miller having furnished a piece of Artillery, which with Capt. Smith's company of Militia, accompanied by martial music made the woods resound to each of the following:

TOASTS.

1. The PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA. May the display of his firmness and Patriotic Spirit, endear him to all who live under his administration.

2. GENERAL WASHINGTON, the Father and Friend of his country.

3. The ANNIVERSARY we celebrate; May every year impress on our minds a stronger sense of its consequence and blessing.

4. The Memory of those who fought and bled to establish AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. May they never be forgotten.

5. Our INFANT NAVY. May it add to the Nation's honor and wealth and confound her enemies.

6. The ARMY of the United States. May they stand and be ever ready to guard our rights and support our Government.

7. Our Foreign Ministers. May they be respected as the representatives of a great, free and independent people.

8. PEACE throughout all the world on just principles.

9. The OFFICERS of the different Departments in the General Government. May they be faithful in executing the duties of their important stations.

10. The NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY.

11. The FAIR SEX of AMERICA. May their influence lead to the happiness of the nation.

12. Agriculture and Commerce. May we feel their happy effects like the SUN from East to West making a plentiful harvest.

13. The Old Patriots of Seventy-six. May they retain their energy and hand down their principles to the latest posterity.

14. Confusion and Reformation to all designing Bad Men, who are endeavoring to mar the peace and prosperity of our country.

15. May the AMERICAN EAGLE soar triumphantly when danger approaches.

"In the evening the Gentlemen joined a brilliant Assembly of Ladies at Mr. Yeatman's in Town, and it is impossible to describe the ecstatic pleasure that appeared to be enjoyed by all present at the Celebration of the Auspicious Day, and the scene closed in perfect harmony."

WASHINGTON'S FUNERAL.

Very shortly after Fourth of July came the memorial funeral for General Washington which was held on February 1st. The account of this in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* of February 5, 1800, is as follows:

"At 12 o'clock the troops formed on the flat in front of the garrison (then under command of Capt. Miller), where they were joined by Captain Findlay's (and Capt. Brown's) troop of horse, the Masonic brethren and a large concourse of citizens, all eager to testify their high veneration for the character of the deceased. The bier was received by the troops formed in lines, with presented arms, officers, drums and colors saluting.

"The procession then moved on in the following order—Minute guns firing from the garrison and the music performing a solemn dirge.

Cavalry
Regular Troops
Horse, representing that of the General, with saddle, holsters and pistols, and boots reversed.
Rev. Mr. Wallace
Pall Bearers

To the left of Bier	To the right of Bier
Dr. Sellman	Dr. Elliott
Capt. Prince	Maj. Ziegler.
Col. Spencer	Major Goforth

His excellency the Governor and the Attorney General as Mourners
Masonic Brethren
Militia Officers in Uniform
Citizens.

"Having proceeded through different streets, and arrived at the place representing that of interment, the military halted, and opening their lines formed an avenue for the bier and those immediately attendant on it to pass through the troops leaning on reversed arms.

"The coffin having been deposited in the grave, a prayer suitable to the occasion was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Wallace, after which the Masonic Brethren performed their ceremony.

"Three discharges of musketry over the grave concluded the ceremonies."

From time to time little notices appeared in the local press which throw light upon the little happenings of the garrison.

In *Freeman's Journal* of Saturday, October 27, 1798, appears an advertisement in which we can recognize under a changed form a well-known name:

"Bohongedelass a Delaware Chief has brought into this place Eight Horses the property of the citizens of the United States. The owner or owners may have them by applying to me. "A. WHITLOCK,

"*For the Quartermaster.*"

"FORT WASHINGTON, October 26, 1792."

The *Spy* of October 29th contains a notice to the citizens that the quartermaster of the garrison would no longer furnish horses for the accommodation of the citizens who desired to indulge in the pleasant sport of riding.

In the report of the Secretary of War published in the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*, of January 30, 1802, the growing strength of the settlement is indicated by the proposition in the following year to divide one company of infantry between Pittsburg and Cincinnati, so that Fort Washington would have but half a company.

In April, 1802, one of the citizens, James Wilson, published his opinion of one of the officers of the post in the following terms: "The treatment that I received on the 6th inst., from Captain Cornelius Lyman of the 2nd United States regiment of infantry together with the subsequent conduct authorizes me thus publicly to declare him a Rascal, a Lyar and a Coward."

THE SALE OF THE FORT.

The government purchased from James Taylor, in 1803, the ground upon which afterwards the Newport barracks were built and thereafter as soon as the barracks were completed the troops removed across the river and Fort Washington was evacuated. After this time there was little of interest connected with the history of the fort except its demolition which took place in 1808. Dr. William Goforth and his pupil, the celebrated Dr. Daniel Drake, from time to time occupied rooms in the officers' quarters of the fort. In 1808 Congress ordered the military reservation condemned and sold. The sale was in charge of the surveyor-general, Jared Mansfield, who in accordance with the act of Congress, approved February 28, 1806, made a survey and prepared a plat dated July 8, 1807. The certificate on said plat is as follows:

"I do hereby certify that agreeably to instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury, I have surveyed, or caused to be surveyed, and laid off into lots, streets and alleys, the fifteen acres of land belonging to the United States lying in the town of Cincinnati, in the form and manner exhibited in the Plat, and the field notes of the Survey are deposited in the office of this department.

"JARED MANSFIELD,
"Surv. Gen'l."

"Certified this 8th day of July 1807."

By virtue of this act, the land was advertised for sale in the *Liberty Hall and Mercury*, January 15, 1808, to take place on the "first Thursday of March next," March 14, 1808. The actual break up of the buildings and sale took place on St. Patrick's Day, March 17th.

The entire population of the city and the neighborhood attended the sale and made of it an occasion of great rejoicing. Little of the material was of any consequence and most of it was sold for firewood. The logs of the cabins between the fort and the artificers' yard are said to have been bought by Col. Stephen McFarland and used by him for many years for fire-wood. The lock of the old fort passed into the possession of Joseph Coppin of Pleasant Ridge and has remained in the possession of his family. A picture of it is given in R. R. Jones' monograph on Fort Washington. Mr. Coppin was present at the sale and gives the following account of one of the episodes connected with it:

"During the taking down of the fort, two men got into a fight, and upset a barrel of soft soap. Here they were down in soap, and then in the dirt; and when the people thought they had fought enough and were fit for the river, they marched them down to the tune of the 'Rogue's March,' and in the river they had to go and wash off in presence of the crowd that followed."

The following title page of the fourth volume of the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, introducing an elaborate paper read before that society July 14, 1797, indicates that the same spirit of scientific inquiry which induced General Harmar to send out a surgeon to investigate the big bones found in the neighborhood extended in other directions:

THERMOMETRICAL OBSERVATIONS.
MADE AT FORT WASHINGTGON,
COMMENCING JUNE, 1790, AND ENDING
APRIL, 1791.
By Daniel Britt and G. Turner.
To which are added, for some time,
THE RISE AND FALL OF THE OHIO.
Communicated by G. Turner.

Read July 14th, 1797, at a special meeting.

THE SECOND REGIMENT.

This chapter on Fort Washington can have no better conclusion than the paragraph which concludes Mr. Jones' monograph:

"At the formal dedication of the monument which now marks the site of Fort Washington, an interesting coincidence presented itself. In the year 1791, the Second Regiment of Infantry was organized at Fort Washington, a little prior to starting out on the ill-fated campaign of General St. Clair, when Major Heart, the first commandant of the regiment was slain, to-

gether with many other officers and men of the regiment, on the 4th of November of the same year. At the dedication of the monument in 1901, a detachment of this Second Regiment was present and took part in the ceremonies. The trim blue-clad soldiers, who stood about the monument in 1901, were the legal heirs, so to speak, of the old Second Regiment which had gone forth to battle from the same spot, one hundred and ten years before.

"Four buglers from the regiment stood at 'Attention' by the old guns which formed the railing around the monument. At the word of command, they gave out clearly and distinctly the 'reveille.' The call had been sounded by the trumpeters of the old regiment more than a century before, waking the slumbering echoes of the valley and startling the wild bird from its nest, as the silver notes rolled across the shimmering waters of the Ohio, or were hurled back with increased volume from the forest-clad hills behind the fort.

"Then came the final 'taps,' always of mournful association, as the last tribute of the living to the memory of the dead; and in this case, as it seemed, a fitting conclusion to the obsequies of those who had passed for the last time the frowning portal of old Fort Washington."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS.

Indian Depredations—Harmar's Expedition—The Battles of the Indian Towns—The Effect on the Settlements—Wilkinson's Expedition.

As Fort Washington was the frontier post and in fact the principal post of the United States Army at this time and as it was from this point that the various expeditions which subsequently concluded the Indian occupancy of the Northwest took their start, the description of the events of those expeditions is a legitimate part of the history of Cincinnati. A very large number of the forces of the soldiers and officers were either drawn from the population of the village at that time or subsequently settled there. The experiences of pioneer life had largely to do with the Indians and the news that most occupied the attention of the settlers in the early days was from the Indian country either detailing some new outrage on the part of the red men or some effort of the pioneers or of soldiers to quell them. In fact until the various expeditions had succeeded in vanquishing the redskins, it was a daily question with the settlements on the Ohio as to whether they should be able to continue their existence. The large part of the trade, too, of the settlements depended upon the presence of the army and its necessities. It is apparent from letters of Symmes and others that the fluctuation in real estate was due to the success or lack of it of the soldiers and even the price of food was affected by the same causes. A serious defeat would throw on the market an excessive supply of provisions which would lower the prices to the settlers while at other times the increasing numbers of soldiers made it difficult if not almost impossible to supply a sufficient quantity of provisions. The three great expeditions of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne are a part of the history of the United States and the battles fought by these generals did not take place within the limits of the city of Cincinnati; the history of that city, however, would be as incomplete without a narrative of these expeditions as it would be without a reference to the negotiations with Congress or the preparations of the settlers in the East which led to its establishment.

INDIAN DEPREDATIONS.

The necessity for some expedition against the savages became more and more apparent as the outrages on the part of the redskins increased in number. During the years preceding the settlement many settlers with their families had been slain and whole bodies of emigrants destroyed and the only punishment received by the Indians was the killing of a few of their number by rescue parties. The Ohio River was watched by the Indians with great care and below the Muskingum no boat was safe. It was necessary for parties going down the river to move in compact bodies. One of these parties is described by Denny. The expedition consisted of sixteen "Kentuck boats" and two keels. The Kentucky boats were lashed three together and kept in one line. The women and children and stock were all put into the middle boats and the outside boats only were worked. The men belonging to each block of boats had their own commanding officer and the whole party could repair to either side as necessity might require. The keels kept on the flanks.

All efforts to negotiate peace were received with apparent sincerity which in many cases covered the deepest treachery. St. Clair writing to the Secretary of War, July 12, 1788, reports that one of his officers carrying supplies to a place on the Muskingum where the treaty was to be held had been attacked by a party of Indians and had lost one man killed, two badly wounded and several missing. The Indians were repulsed and one left dead on the spot although the attack was a very spirited one on the part of the Indians, who, armed with spears only, rushed between the guard and their huts. The party of Indians who were Chippewas had retreated to Mackinaw where their prisoners were saved from torture by the fortunate interposition of the British commander at that post. In the early spring of 1790 a band of Indians about 54 in number, largely Cherokees and Shawanees, located their camp near the mouth of the Scioto. From here they attacked a new station a little below Limestone and killed or captured all of its inhabitants, 15 in number. Two of their captives were spared and used to serve as decoys for the purpose of attracting passing boats. On one occasion a boat was coming down the river containing four men and two unmarried girls and a quantity of stores for the Kentucky towns. The two captives came to the bank on the Ohio side and asked that the boat put in and take them aboard as they had just escaped from the savages. Three of the men objected to landing but the fourth, a man named Flynn, and the two girls, more good natured than discreet, insisted upon taking the suppliants aboard. The boat was put ashore and Flynn jumped on to the bank to be immediately captured by the Indians who fired at the others in the boat. The party tried to get away but were unsuccessful. One man and one girl were shot and another wounded. The savages took all the stores and got very drunk on a keg of whiskey. The man Flynn was taken to one of the Miami towns and burned alive after dreadful torture. The other girl, after suffering repeated outrage and direst hardships, was about to be burned at the stake when a merciful Indian interposed in her behalf and she was sent home. At another time the same party of Indians captured a pirogue going up the stream and killed all its occupants, six in number. Another party descending the river near the Virginia shore was accosted by one of the white captives from the bank and told that the Indians fifty or sixty in number would murder them if they did not surrender without resistance. The boat party attempted to escape down the river but were fired upon by the Indians and pursued. The Americans were obliged to abandon one of their boats containing many horses and much valuable property and crowd into the other boats. Although pursued some six or eight miles they escaped from their pursuers and arrived at Limestone. They lost 28 horses and merchandise valued at £1,500. This was the Buckner Thurston party referred to by Harmar in his letter of March, 1790, quoted in Chapter XIV. The boat with which the Indians pursued was the one captured just before and belonged to John May.

In January, 1790, a number of men were killed at various stations throughout Kentucky. About the same time a hunting party was fired upon six miles below Limestone and one of the members killed. Major Doughty, who was then passing down the river with a detachment of troops pursued the enemy but failed to overtake them. In the same month another boat containing about a dozen persons including a woman was captured fifteen miles above Limestone and the boat was afterwards found containing nine dead bodies; the others including the woman had been taken prisoner. A boy who had been hunting up the Licking with two men was captured while the two men were killed; the boy subsequently made his escape. In May Ensign Hartshorn, who was descending the river with a body of United States troops, was attacked about nine miles above Limestone where he had landed for the night. The attack was a furious one and resulted in the loss of one of the boats. The party escaped to Limestone and returned the next day to punish the savages. The red men had gone but they found the bodies of one man, one woman and three children, all of whom had been scalped. During this attack thirteen were killed and missing. On the 13th of May, 1790, the Indians killed two white men, two girls and two negroes in Jefferson County, Kentucky, and about the same time scalped one woman and made prisoner of another. A little later in the same county, at one point two young men and a negro woman had been captured and at another two men at work in the field and at a third point two boys had been taken. In still another case a man and young woman returning from a meeting were taken by the Indians; the man was killed instantly and the young woman was carried about ten miles then tomahawked and

scalped. The house of Miles Hart in Nelson County was attacked, Hart himself killed and his wife and two children carried off. The taking of young Tanner has already been described. These are but few of the instances which were being constantly reported by letters, affidavits and depositions. Horses were stolen in all directions and women and children carried off into captivity and many tortured to death in the most horrible manner. Men were usually killed and the women frequently reserved for a worse fate.

"The pioneers, who descended the Ohio on their way westward, will remember while they live the lofty rock standing a short distance above the mouth of the Scioto, on the Virginia shore, which was occupied for years by the savages as a favorite watch tower, from which boats ascending and descending could be discovered at a great distance. From that memorable spot, hundreds of human beings, men, women and children while unconscious of immediate danger, had been seen in the distance and marked for destruction. The murders and depredations committed in that vicinity at all periods of the war, were so shocking as to attract universal notice; letters were written to General Harmar from various quarters calling his attention to the subject and praying that measures might be taken without delay to check the evil. They informed him that scarcely a boat passed the rock without being attacked and in most instances captured; and that unless something were done without delay the navigation of the river would necessarily be abandoned." (Burnet's Notes, p. 94.)

HARMAR'S EXPEDITION.

In a letter of September 3, 1790, to Major Hamtramck, General Harmar referred to the unsettled condition of affairs among the Indians and on the next day in writing to General Mifflin he announces that he is preparing for an expedition against the savages to go forward the first of the next month. "Our regular force is but small. There is a prospect of being joined by a considerable body of militia who I hope will stick to the text and not leave me in the lurch." This expedition was, of course, the so-called Harmar campaign which resulted so disastrously for the whites.

General Harmar had sent out an expedition against the Indians on April 20th. He took with him about three hundred regulars and volunteers and marched for Paint creek to attack the Shawanee villages where it was thought that the Indians who had been on the Ohio would be found with their plunder. General Harmar left the expedition at the mouth of the Scioto and proceeded to Marietta, returning to Fort Washington the latter part of May or the early part of June. The troops under command of Captain Ferguson were not able to do much in this expedition, as the Indians were warned concerning their movements and abandoned their villages before the party arrived.

Governor St. Clair had arrived at Fort Washington from the Illinois country on July 11th. He had spent the winter and spring in organizing the counties in that quarter of the Territory and establishing a system of government. He remained but three days at the fort, during which time it was decided that General Harmar should conduct an expedition against the Maumee town, the residence of the renegade Indians from which issued the parties who infested the frontiers. One thousand militia were ordered from Kentucky and the Governor on his way from New York was to order five hundred more from the back counties of Pennsylvania. The day selected for the militia to assemble at Fort Washington was September 15th.

As early as the 15th of July, Lieutenant Denny in his journal refers to the preparations for this expedition which were making at the fort, stating that every day was employed in the most industrious manner. "Calculations of provisions, horses, stores, etc., were immediately made out and ordered accordingly. * * * Captain Ferguson with his company engaged in getting in complete order the artillery and military stores. Indeed every officer was busily employed in something or other necessary for the expedition but particularly the quartermaster Pratt. No time was lost."

The militia evidently did not arrive on time. Lieutenant Denny records the arrival of the Kentucky militia at Fort Washington on September 18th. Speaking of them, he says that they were "not such as we had been accustomed to see on the frontiers. They appeared to be raw and unused to the gun or the woods; indeed many are without guns, and many of those they have want repairing. Our artificers employed in putting to right the militia arms. General much disheartened at the kind of people from Kentucky. One-half certainly serve no other purpose than to swell their number.

If the leading *patriots* of Kentucky don't turn out rascals then some of the men that I know are greatly mistaken."

On the 19th the battalion of Pennsylvania militia arrived. On the 22nd Governor St. Clair returned from New York. On the 25th Major Doughty with two companions of the First Regiment commanded by Captains Ziegler and Heart arrived from Fort Harmar. They were accompanied by the rest of the Pennsylvania militia whom Denny thought were similar to the Kentuckians, too many substitutes. There seems to have been much difficulty in regulating and organizing the militia, whose colonels disputed about the command. This dispute was settled by General Harmar, after considerable trouble, with a compromise and reconciliation. The three battalions of Kentuckians were commanded by Majors Hall, McMillan and Ray, and Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Trotter, while the Pennsylvania militia were organized in one battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Truby and Major Paul. The whole was commanded by Col. John Hardin of Kentucky, subject of course to the orders of General Harmar.

Colonel Hardin was an old Continental officer and a Virginian by birth. He had served as ensign in Lord Dunmore's War and during the Revolution was with General Morgan's rifle corps. At the close of the war he removed to Kentucky (then part of Augusta County, Virginia), where he became lieutenant-colonel of the militia. He served under Clark in his expeditions against the Wabash Indians and was known as an old Indian fighter. He was killed as described later while bearing a letter to the Indians.

On September 26, 1790, the whole of the militia, amounting to 1,133, took the field under Colonel Hardin and marched on the direct route to the Indian towns. They were followed and joined on the 29th by General Harmar with the Federal troops. These, divided into two battalions, under the command of Majors Wyllys and Doughty, together with Captain Ferguson's company of artillery carrying three light brass pieces, numbered 320, mkaing a total number in the expedition of 1,453.

The route taken by General Harmar known for a long time as "Harmar's Trace" has been pretty well identified through the greater part of its course. The natural course for the settlers to take when following up the Indians after their raids was along the trails which the Indian himself had made. These trails eventually became well known and developed into highways when they constituted the first roads of the settlers. The route of the main body ran out Main street and up the hill now known as Mount Auburn about where Sycamore street now runs and then probably along Auburn and East Auburn avenues and the old Lebanon road now Reading road near Oak street (Mad River road) in Avondale. From this point the line ran probably in the direction now taken by Reading road, turning off into the little valley running from Mill creek to the Little Miami. At nightfall a camp was made near Ross Run. A western wing of the army went up the Mill creek valley going seven miles northeastwardly on the first day through a rich hilly land terminating on the second day near the present town of Sharonville. Major Denny records that on October 3rd, they encamped on the waters of the Little Miami, 31 miles and on the 4th on the branch of the Little Miami, 42 miles from Fort Washington. On the 5th they had reached Glade creek a branch of the Little Miami, 52 miles from Fort Washington and on the 6th after passing through a beautiful open country encamped three miles north of Old Chillicothe, 62 miles from the fort. On the following day they encamped at Mad River on the Pickaway fork of the Great Miami, 71 miles from the fort. Next day they gained nine miles and encamped on the Great Miami. This river they followed for the next few days, reaching the so-called French Store, 112 miles from Fort Washington on the 11th. Next day they passed New Chillicothe on Grave creek, the branch of the Maumee, 125 miles from the fort where a half pound of powder and a pound of lead were served out to each rifleman and 24 rounds of cartridges to the musketry. A Shawanee Indian was captured the next day, from whom they learned that the Indians were clearing out as fast as possible, and that the towns would be evacuated before their arrival. As it was impossible for the entire army to hasten its march, Harmar detached Colonel Hardin with six hundred light troops to push for the Miami village. The army itself pushed ahead through the flat country keeping itself in readiness to start early each morning. The marching over the

beech roots and brush was very difficult and although the horses were tied at night and grass cut and brought to them so that they would not be delayed on their march by grazing the horses, they found it very difficult to keep them together and many horses were lost. Reports came back from Colonel Hardin that every place was abandoned by the enemy before his arrival and when the main body of the army arrived at the Miami village or Maumee towns, one hundred and seventy miles from Fort Washington at the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary, they were found to be unoccupied. They found here several good log houses belonging to British traders, some good gardens with some fruit trees and vast fields of corn in almost every direction.

THE BATTLES OF THE INDIAN TOWNS.

Colonel Trotter was ordered to make a reconnaissance with three hundred men, but after marching a few miles and overtaking and killing two of the savages he turned back and marched to camp. Colonel Hardin was disgusted with this and asked the command. On the following day he started out but it was apparent that the militia were dissatisfied and many of them dropped out of the ranks and returned to camp. At a point about ten miles from the camp he was surprised by a party of about one hundred Indians. Owing to the bad order of his men and their cowardly conduct, he was entirely defeated. The Indians made the first discovery and commenced to fire at a distance of one hundred and fifty yards and then advanced. A great number of the militia fled without firing a shot. Some few with thirty regulars that were of the detachment stood and were cut to pieces. Of the militia forty were missing but it was well known that very few of them were in the fight, most of them running back and pushing for the Ohio. Twenty-five of the regulars were missing. The next day the army moved from the Miami village to Chillicothe (a Shawanee town two miles east) for the purpose of destroying the houses and corn. During the night two of the captains took a notion to trap some of the Indians who were lurking about and carrying off some of the straggling horses. They put a horse outside the sentries with a bell on as a decoy and in a short time an Indian stalked up and seized the horse. The captains rushed upon him and cut off his head and brought it into the camp claiming at least the price of a wolf's scalp. The next day after burning everything that could be of use, such as corn, beans, pumpkins, stacks of hay, fencing, cabins, etc., and five villages including the capital town and destroying twenty thousand bushels of corn in ears the army took up its line of march back to Fort Washington. During the night Harmar sent back four hundred choice men, militia and regulars under the command of Major Wyllys, to surprise any Indian parties that might have returned to their towns. A part of the force were decoyed by small bodies of the Indians who then attacked Major Wyllys in force. After sustaining a very unequal fight for some time he was obliged to give way. One of the wounded escaping to the camp of General Harmar gave an imperfect account of the business, as a result of which a battalion was sent forward to aid the scattered troops. He met Colonel Hardin, who with a view of retrieving his affair of the 19th had volunteered to serve under Wyllys in command of the militia, returning with the wounded. In this affair two officers, Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Frothingham, were killed and 48 of the regulars. The whole of the killed and missing in the army was stated by Denny to be 183. It is believed, however, that a number of the militia who were missing had deserted and were on their way to Kentucky. Denny comments upon the matter to the effect that the design of sending back Wyllys would have been successful had the militia been able to control themselves. The army immediately returned to Fort Washington, arriving there November 3rd, and on the following day the militia were mustered out on the south side of the Ohio.

General Harmar's opinion with regard to the militia undoubtedly accords with that of Lieutenant Denny as is shown by his general order which he issued on October 20th, as follows:

"The party under the command of Captain Strong is ordered to burn and destroy every house and wigwam in this village, together with all the corn, etc., which he can collect. A party of one hundred men (militia), properly officered, under command of Colonel Hardin, is to burn and destroy effectually, this afternoon, the Pickaway town, with all the corn, etc., which he can find in it and its vicinity.

"The cause of the detachment being worsted yesterday was entirely owing to the shameful, cowardly conduct of the militia, who ran away and threw down their arms without firing scarcely a single gun.

"In returning to Fort Washington, if any officer or men shall presume to quit the ranks, or not to march in the form that they are ordered, the General will, most assuredly, order the artillery to fire on them. He hopes the check they received yesterday will make them, in future, obedient to orders."

The conduct of the militia on the 22nd however was such as to retrieve in part their unfortunate behavior in the earlier conflict and called forth the following order on the afternoon of the day of the second battle:

"The General is exceedingly well pleased with the behavior of the militia in the action of this morning. They have laid very many of the enemy dead upon the spot. Although our loss is great, still it is inconsiderable in comparison to the slaughter among the savages. Every account agrees that upward of one hundred warriors fell in the battle; it is not more than man for man, and we can afford them two for one. The resolution and firm determined conduct of the militia this morning has effectually retrieved their character in the opinion of the General. He knows they can and will fight."

The heat of the action on the second day is indicated by a number of anecdotes told by survivors. Capt. Jonathan Heart in a letter written December 3, 1790, speaks as follows: "A regular soldier on the retreat near the St. Joseph River, being surrounded and in the midst of the Indians, put his bayonet through six Indians, knocked down the seventh, and the soldier himself made the eighth dead man in the heap."

Samuel L. Metcalf, of Lexington, Kentucky, writing in 1829, pays a tribute to the bravery of the Indians: "Nothing could exceed the intrepidity of the savages on this occasion; the militia they appeared to despise, and with all the undauntedness conceivable, threw down their guns, and rushed upon the bayonets of the regular soldiers; a number of them fell, but being so far superior in numbers, the regulars were soon overpowered, for while the poor soldier had his bayonet in one Indian, two more would sink their tomahawks in his head."

Another incident is as follows: "A young Indian, accompanied by his father and brother, were crossing the river when a ball from the rifle of a white man passed through his body. As he fell his father dropped his rifle and attempted to raise his stricken son so as to carry him beyond the reach of the enemy when the other son fell mortally wounded at his side. He carried them both to the shore and then sat down with their bodies one on each side of him and with absolute composure awaited the attacking foe who soon caught up with him and stretched his body dead upon the ground between his sons."

Captain Armstrong himself broke through the Indians who were pursuing him and plunged into the morasses about the field of battle and remained concealed there all night, lying in water to his chin with his head concealed by a tuft of high grass. All night long he heard the dancing and yelling of the savages celebrating their success by committing all sorts of indignities upon the dead bodies of his soldiers. In the morning although thoroughly chilled he was able to slip out from the swamp undiscovered by the enemy who were resting from their orgies and finally reached a ravine where he was able to light a fire with his tinder box which he had preserved. He recovered the use of his limbs which had been stiffened by the cold and at last reached the camp in safety. Major Fountain or Fontaine who led the cavalry in the charge at the second battle was deserted by his men and fell pierced with 18 bullets. After his death he hung for some minutes to his saddle until taken off by some of his soldiers and buried beside a lake near by.

Harmar was much criticised for keeping the main body of his troops away from the battle and for the manoeuvre of sending Wyllys back with so small a body. The popular opinion is shown by Judge Symmes' letter quoted hereafter and by the comment of the historian, Mr. Cist, published considerably over a half a century afterwards:

"A general who encamps in the neighborhood of the enemy, with a force large enough to exterminate him, and contents himself with sending out detachments to be destroyed successively, where no adequate reason exists why the whole force should not have been brought into action, deserves not the name of a military man. Harmar kept two-thirds or three-fourths of his

troops eight miles from the battle-ground inactive, and of as little service as if he had left them at Fort Washington. He appeared to be fully consoled for the loss of the brave officers and soldiers, who fell by the savage tomahawk and rifle, by the reflection expressed in the general orders, that the American troops could afford to lose twice as many men as the Indians. My unfavorable judgment on this subject is supported by that of the actors of that campaign who still survive."

The latest commentator upon the campaign, Robert Ralston Jones, calls attention to the fact that Harmar could exercise but little control over the two elements which were most prominent in defeating his plans: the undisciplined condition of the auxiliary troops and the wholly inadequate nature of the commissary department. The circumstances were such that Mr. Roosevelt states that the keenest observers on the frontier foretold failure from the start. The Indians at these battles were commanded by the celebrated Indian chief Little Turtle, Me-che-cun-na-qua.

The report of Governor St. Clair to the Secretary of War, written from Fort Washington on October 29, 1790, is rather remarkable:

"I have the pleasure to inform you of the entire success of General Harmar at the Indian towns on the Miami and St. Joseph rivers, of which he has destroyed five in number, and a very great quantity of corn and other vegetable provisions. It is supposed that about two hundred of the Indians likewise have fallen in the different encounters that have happened between them and the detachment, for there has been no general action; but it has not been without considerable loss on our part. The particulars I can not give you, as the officer (Ensign Britt) who has charge of the General's dispatches is not yet arrived, and there is some reason to fear he may be killed or taken, as the party, which consisted of six only, were fired upon by the Indians about one hundred and twenty miles from hence and dispersed. Three of them are come in, and from them I have this intelligence, which may, I believe, be depended upon so far as it goes.

"Of the Federal troops, Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Frothingham and seventy-seven men; of the militia, Major Fontaine, Captain McMurtry, and Captain Scott, a son of General Scott, and seventy-three men, are among the slain. It is said that the Indians, though they could not be brought to a general action, fought by detachment in a very determined and desperate manner. The moment Mr. Britt arrives, or I can get an authentic account, it shall be forwarded." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 188.)

This letter was followed by one on November 6, 1790, written from the same place in which he says: "On the 29th of last month, I had the honor to inform you generally of the success that attended General Harmar. I could not then give you the particulars, as the General's letters had not reached me (the officer, however, who had them in charge, got in a few days afterwards); it is not now necessary, because he writes himself. One thing, however, is certain, that the savages have got a most terrible stroke, of which nothing can be a greater proof than that they have not attempted to harass the army on its return. They arrived at this place on the 3d instant, in good health and spirits." (Id., p. 190.)

Judge Burnet concludes that the expedition, although usually spoken of as a defeat, when correctly and impartially considered will be found worthy of a more honorable name and that the great object of the campaign, the destruction of the Miami towns, had been accomplished. The subsequent efforts to inflict further injury on the enemy proved disastrous as a result of the bad conduct of the militia and their poor equipment, neither of which could be charged to the account of the general or the officers or soldiers of the Federal troops.

Dayton in his letter to Symmes, March 12, 1791, after informing him of the adjournment of Congress without any settlement of the matter of his contract, quotes two members of Congress as saying "that the President of the United States was specially authorized by Congress, just before they adjourned, to set on foot another expedition against the hostile Indians with as little delay as possible, but that it was not yet known whom he would appoint to command it. This was pleasing information to me, and will doubtless be as much, or more so, to you, who are more immediately exposed to the approaches of the savages, who were rather enraged and encouraged than quieted and subdued by the event of the late expedition. It is not doubted that the one now planning will be an effectual and de-

cisive one, and so successful in its operation and consequences as to establish the quiet and safety of your settlements and place you out of all danger of any serious interruption or disturbance in future."

THE EFFECT ON THE SETTLEMENTS.

The feeling at the settlements on the Ohio as a result of this defeat was shown by Judge Symmes' letters written from "Cincinnata," November 4, 1790. After informing Captain Dayton of the presence of Governor St. Clair and Judge Turner who with Symmes were discussing the matter of legislation for the Territory, he says:

"Yesterday General Harmar returned with the army to this town. He has caused several Indian towns to be burned, but for this achievement we have paid much too dear. One hundred and eighty brave men were left dead and wounded in the hands of the enemy. But I choose to say very little on this business. We were beaten in detail in two actions—in the first, we had not above two hundred men engaged; in the second, about four hundred of our men fought. The main army lay within eight or ten miles of both actions, and to me it is mysterious that in neither was any attempt made to regain the ground and bury the dead and bring off the wounded. But, perhaps, the whole business may be set right to the public when official letters and accounts are published.

"We have lost about five hundred horses. The army was extremely well supplied. Upward of forty bullocks were brought back to this town, and twelve thousand weight of flour, though the horse of the army had been fed with flour on the retreat. Many persons are much mortified at the issue of the expedition, as the most sanguine expectations were formed of the success of the enterprise."

Judge Symmes' business instincts led him to comment: "It is impossible to describe the lands over which the army passed on their way to the Indian towns. I am told that they are inviting to a charm. This being the case. I conceive the lands in the purchase will sell, even though Congress open a land office, unless they sell at a very low price and suffer their lands to be gutted of all the most eligible spots and situations. I only ask one favor in this business, which is, that Congress will not charge me more for lands than they do purchasers, when they open their land office, either in specie or certificates. This certainly will be but just, and what I hope they never will think of refusing.

"Never had been fairer prospects of speedy sales and settlement of lands in the purchase, than were about the time the army marched. Great numbers were arranging their business to emigrate from Kentucky and the Pittsburgh country, but the strokes our army has got seem to fall like a blight upon the prospect, and for the present seem to appal every countenance. I confess that as to myself, I do not apprehend that we shall be in a worse situation with regard to the Indians than before the repulse. What the Indians could do before, they did; and they have now about one hundred less of their warriors to annoy us with, than they had before the two actions; besides, it will give them some employment this winter to build up new cabins, and repair by hunting the loss of their corn. * * *

"I hope, sir, you will do your endeavor to dissipate the fears which some intended emigrants in Jersey may feel on account of our late losses. I pledge myself to them, that they may be perfectly safe here as to their wives and children. All men, to be sure, are, and must be more or less exposed when abroad. Last week, in attempting to go from North Bend to Capt. Ludlow's station, I got lost, and was two days in the woods alone, and at last found myself near Dunlap's station, on the big Miami. The weather was very dark and rainy all the while. I escaped the Indians, but the wolves had nearly devoured me in the night, as I could make no fire. I expect this incident will give fresh occasion to some to report that the Indians have got me, as some people went from this for Lexington while I was missing. * * *"

Symmes' policy which was to encourage the founding of new stations was of course retarded by the defeat of the army.

"But for the respulse of our army, I should have had several new stations advanced farther into the purchase by next spring, but I shall now be very happy if we are able to maintain the three advanced stations. The settlers at them are very much alarmed at their situation, though I do not think that the houses will be attacked at those stations, yet I am much concerned for the safety of the men while at their work, hunting, and traveling. Unless the President follows his blow with the Indians, I be-

lieve the hundred thousand pounds (if so much) expended in the late expedition may be set down as lost. I hope his excellency will be sensible of this, and have at them again in the spring. I expect that the panic running through this country will reach Jersey and deter many."

Two days later he announces the arrival of the report that at "Cincinnata," Major Hamtramck (or Hamtramach), who had commanded the detachment up the Wabash River, had been successful. He had destroyed a number of the Indian towns with a loss of but three men who were taken while hunting their pack horses. The Indians flew before them in every quarter and refused to fight as they would not attack the main body and no detachments were made. This success coming so soon after the defeat of Harmar was the more encouraging. "Pretty good prospect of some quiet from the Indians. They certainly must feel sensibly for the loss of so many towns and so much corn in different parts of the country."

One difficulty which seems to have existed at all times in the history of warfare and which played so important a part not only in Harmar's defeat but in many other defeats, is mentioned by Symmes with dread as tending to work injury in future attempts against the Indians: "A most bitter jealousy and reviling has taken place between the regular troops and the militia, and this is not confined to the privates alone. I fear a flame of abuse will ere long break out. As I was not on the expedition, I cannot judge between them, but I much fear the effects thereof."

Lieutenant Denny usually so calm shows in his diary that Judge Symmes knew whereof he spoke. Not only does he attribute the defeat to the ungovernable disposition of the militia but complains of the difficulty of keeping them within bounds on the return trip. All idea of discipline seems to have disappeared and one of the Kentuckians who was a son of a Baptist preacher was punished for violating an order about the discharge of firearms. Denny says that his associates opposed the punishment and he had no doubt that a hue and cry would be raised against Harmar as soon as the militia arrived home. "If he is blamable it is only for being too indulgent to the militia."

The feeling of the regular is shown in his statement of the duties imposed upon him but he concludes with special satisfaction and "the hope never to be employed in a similar situation with such *materials*." The following day Lieutenant Denny left headquarters for the seat of government. He passed through Lexington, the Crab Orchard and over the Wilderness road and after a most inclement ride he arrived at Philadelphia on December 12th, having been detained by "high water and very bad roads" so that he was 35 days on the way. He carried with him most complimentary letters from Governor St. Clair and General Harmar.

General Harmar was keenly sensitive to the criticisms showered upon him and demanded a court of inquiry which sat at Fort Washington in September, 1791. It was presided over by Maj.-Gen. Richard Butler and had for its other two members Lieutenant-Colonels Gibson and Darke; the two former of these officers lost their lives in the St. Clair defeat within six weeks and the third lost his only son at that time. The court of inquiry spent several days in examining the testimony and finally made a report to the commander-in-chief highly honorable to General Harmar. After this, Harmar insisted upon resigning from the army which he did on January 1, 1792.

The soldiers of the fort were called upon from time to time during this year, 1791, to give assistance to the various stations in the neighborhood. In January occurred the attack on the station at Colerain which at that time consisted of 14 inhabitants under the protection of Lieutenant Kingsbury with a detachment of 18 regulars. On the 8th, John S. Wallace, John Sloane, Abner Hunt and Mr. Cunningham, who were exploring the country to the west of the Great Miami, fell in with a large body of Indians by whom Cunningham was killed and Hunt taken; the other two escaped.

On the morning of the 10th, the Indians three hundred in number, appeared before the station and demanded its surrender which was refused. An express was sent to Cincinnati for reinforcements and Captain Trueman with 30 regulars and 33 volunteers reached the station next morning about ten o'clock but before he arrived the Indians departed. Hunt was found a short distance from the station fastened to the ground with his legs and arms extended. He had been scalped, his body was mangled and blazing firebrands placed in his bowels. During the attack the women had made bullets by melting their spoons and plates.

WILKINSON'S EXPEDITION.

The indecisive character of the campaigns against the Indians and the fear that the latter would combine for a general attack led to a determination to carry on another campaign against the savages on a more extensive plan than the last. Up to this time the army of the United States had consisted of but one regiment and an additional force of artillery. A local board of war was appointed by the general government to arrange for bodies of volunteers who should make raids into the Indian country. One of these under Gen. Charles Scott marched to the mouth of the Kentucky River in the month of June, 1791, and attacked the Indian villages on the upper Wabash. The second expedition numbering 525 men, under the command of Brig.-Gen. James Wilkinson, left Fort Washington, August 1st.

Wilkinson first made for the villages on the Wabash and afterwards changed his course to the West and Detroit and a number of towns near the present site of Logansport. A number of Indians were killed and taken prisoners and the growing corn was cut down a second time that season. The laming of his horses necessitated an earlier return than had been desired. This expedition returned to Fort Washington on August 21st, after having marched 450 miles in 21 days.

In the instructions given by General St. Clair to General Wilkinson on July 31, 1791, before setting out on his expedition occurs the following passage:

"I beg you, sir, to oblige the people under your command to refrain from scalping the dead. It is an act which, though it does no injury to the dead carcass, debases the persons who commit it."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONQUEST OF THE INDIANS.

St. Clair Commander-in-Chief—St. Clair's Defeat—Carrying the News to Washington—Burying the Dead—The Consternation of the Settlers—The Death of Trueman and Hardin—Wayne Commander-in-Chief—Camp Hobson's Choice—Fort Recovery—Wayne's Scouts—Fort Defiance—The Battle of Fallen Timbers—The Treaty of Greenville—The Death of Wayne.

ST. CLAIR COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Congress had appointed Governor St. Clair commander of the new main expedition which was planned to take place against the Indian towns. He was made a major-general and prepared to conduct the campaign himself. Gen. Richard Butler was selected as second in command and the commander of the new levies. The militia were to be commanded by General Scott. These appointments as is apparent from the correspondence between Denny and Harmar were very unwelcome to the latter, who not only resented the criticisms made upon his campaign and his displacement by the Governor but particularly the promotion of Butler over his head. This is probably one of the principal reasons for his resignation. Preparations began at once for the campaign. The Governor had stopped three days at the fort in January of the previous year, in which time he erected the new county and changed the name of the city but was absent until midsummer. After that time he writes usually from the fort. His residence was on Front street about fifty yards west of Lawrence street down the trace running along the ravine which occupied the present site of Ludlow street.

There seems to have been constant complaint with regard to the delays in the preparation. The troops were not ready and supplies were not forthcoming. The recruiting went on indifferently and as late as September the promised army had not been supplied and the deficiency had to be made up from the militia. The Secretary of War writes to General Butler on August 11th, "that it is considered by the President of the United States as an unhappy omen that all the troops of the campaign had not descended the Ohio." Again the same officer writing to St. Clair on August 25th, says "that the President of the United States laments exceedingly the unfortunate detention of the troops on the upper part of the Ohio, for which no reasons sufficiently strong have been assigned. This detention will undoubtedly retard the commencement of the operations, and will require the highest exertion to accomplish the objects of the campaign. The President reiterates his confidence in your activity, and that every thing will be put in motion on the arrival of the rear of your troops under Major-General Butler."

On the same day he writes to Butler that he is commanded by the President "to inform you that he is by no means satisfied with the long detention of the troops on the upper part of the Ohio, which he considers as unnecessary and improper. And that it is his opinion, unless the highest exertions be made by all parts of the army to repair the loss of the season, that the expenses which have been made for the campaign will be altogether lost, and that the measures from which so much has been expected will issue in disgrace."

The Secretary reports to the President on September 16th St. Clair's complaints at the non-arrival of General Butler and the quartermaster and that he will not be able to move forward with the whole army until the first of September; he expected to move, however, on the following day with the troops that he had, about six miles in advance and there wait for General Butler. On September 18th, St. Clair reports the arrival of Butler with his troops and that upon the arrival of the militia from Kentucky on the 25th he had moved from the camp on the Great Miami. The finding of the committee of the House of Representatives appointed to inquire into the campaigns explained Butler's delay by his being obliged to protect the frontiers and also by the want of supplies and boats. General Harmar in his testimony spoke of the complaints with regard to the absence of the quartermaster and his arrangements which were bad. There was a lack of forage, tents were too small and the pack saddles and other articles of bad quality; the clothing of the levies was miserable indeed; the increased toil of the General was caused by the absence of the quartermaster. Major Ziegler testified very much to the same effect; the tents were infamous and as a result many hundred dozen of cartridges were destroyed and the troops not being kept dry were sick in great numbers; the clothing for the levies was infamous and many arrived almost naked; the powder was extremely weak "and would not carry a ball but a small distance"; the axes were soft and would bend up like a dumpling. "General St. Clair was the first up in the morning, going from shop to shop to inspect the preparations."

Major Ferguson who complained bitterly of the supplies was obliged to arrange as best he could. Fort Washington became an armory. The shells were fixed there as well as the wheels of the carriages and the carriages themselves. Ziegler's conclusion was that he had never seen such a degree of trouble thrown on the shoulders of any other general as on the shoulders of General St. Clair and "in his opinion it was well for the quartermaster that he served in a republican government."

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.

By order of the commander-in-chief, the troops had marched to Ludlow's Station five miles from the fort where they remained until September 17th. On this date the army moved to the Big Miami River about thirty-five miles from Fort Washington where they erected a fort named Fort Hamilton. On this expedition a road twenty feet wide and ninety miles long was to be made and two forts were constructed suitable for sustaining a siege. Fifteen days were consumed in building Fort Hamilton, after which time they proceeded on their march forty-four miles farther to Fort Jefferson in what is now Darke County. The number, after deducting the garrisons at Fort Washington and Fort Hamilton, as given by Governor St. Clair, was about two thousand exclusive of the militia. On the 23rd of October two men were taken in the act of deserting to the enemy and one for shooting another soldier and threatening to kill an officer. All three were hanged upon the grand parade in the presence of the whole army. At this time the congressional finding states that the army consisted of seventeen hundred noncommissioned officers and privates fit for duty and that it was very short of supplies. This deduction of number is accounted for by the fact that the desertions were very heavy by the time Fort Jefferson had been reached. Three hundred militia had deserted and returned to their homes and it became necessary to send back soldiers to prevent the deserters from capturing the supplies that were on the road.

Throughout the whole time St. Clair himself was extremely ill, so much so that he was scarcely able to accompany the army. On the 30th of October his illness was so severe that Denny speaks of the general feeling that he could not proceed. The march was through wet prairie ground made almost impassable by the continuous heavy rains. On the morning of the 4th of November, the army consisted of about fourteen hnudred effective men. About a half hour before sunrise, "a general attack was commenced, and, in a few minutes thereafter, nearly the whole army was surrounded by the enemy; the action continued about four hours, during which several charges were made by a part of the army, which caused the enemy to give way, but produced no good effect; the attack was unexpected, the troops having been just dismissed from the morning parade; it commenced upon the militia, who were in advance of the main army, and who fled through the main army without firing a gun; this circumstance threw the troops into some disorder, from which, it appears, they never completely recovered during the action; the fire of the army was constant, but not well directed, and it appears that a part of the troops behaved

as well as could be expected, from their state of discipline and the manner and suddenness of the attack; the Commander-in-Chief appears to have been cool and deliberate in the whole action, and the officers in general active and intrepid; the whole order of march, as far as the committee are capable of expressing an opinion, appears to have been judicious; and the ground for action well chosen; the retreat was disorderly in the extreme; after it was commenced, no orders were obeyed, if any were given, the men having lost all regard to discipline or control; all the precaution seems to have been taken for the safety and comfort of the wounded which the circumstances of the case would admit of." (Report of a Special Committee of the House of Representatives on the Failure of the Expedition against the Indians. (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 286.)

The diary of Major Denny gives as fair an account of the events of the St. Clair campaign as can be desired. In his entry of September 1st, dated Fort Washington, he speaks of St. Clair's impatience at the delay or detention of some of the corps and remarks that the preparations for the campaign are very backward. General Harmar who was still in the fort with his family refused to go in the campaign and was determined to quit the service. On the 7th he records General Harmar's demand for a court of inquiry and the appointment of such a court with Gen. Richard Butler as its president. After several days spent in examining the testimony the court made a report to the commander-in-chief highly honorable to General Harmar. The troops left Fort Washington on September 17th, and moved up to a point about twenty-three miles away on the Great Miami where a stockade fort with four bastions and barracks to accommodate one hundred men were built.

The entry in Denny's journal of the fatal day, November 4th, is as follows: "Camp on a creek twenty yards wide, supposed to be the Pickaway fork of the Omee, ninety-eight miles from Fort Washington. The frequent firing of the sentinels through the night had disturbed the camp, and excited some concern among the officers. The guards had reported the Indians to lie skulking about in considerable numbers. About ten o'clock at night General Butler, who commanded the right wing, was desired to send out an intelligent officer and party to make discoveries. Captain Slough, with two subalterns and thirty men, I saw parade at General Butler's tent for this purpose, and heard the General give Captain Slough very particular verbal orders how to proceed. Myself and two or three officers staid with the General until late, when I returned to the commander-in-chief, whose tent was at some distance on the left, and who was unable to be up.

"The troops paraded this morning at the usual time, and had been dismissed from the lines but a few minutes, the sun not yet up, when the woods in front rung with the yells and fire of the savges. The poor militia, who were but three hundred yards in front had scarcely time to return a shot—they fled into our camp. The troops were under arms in an instant, and a smart fire from the front line met the enemy. It was but a few minutes, however, until the men were engaged in every quarter. The enemy from the front filed off to the right and left, and completely surrounded the camp, killed and cut off nearly all the guards, and approached close to the lines. They advanced from one tree, log, or stump to another, under cover of the smoke of our fire. The artillery and musketry made a tremendous noise, but did little execution. The Indians seemed to brave everything, and when fairly fixed around us they made no noise other than their fire, which they kept up very constant and which seldom failed to tell, although scarcely heard. Our left flank, probably from the nature of the ground, gave way first; the enemy got possession of that part of the encampment, but it being pretty clear ground, they were too much exposed and were soon repulsed. Was at this time with the General engaged toward the right; he was on foot and led the party himself that drove the enemy and regained our ground on the left. The battalions in the rear charged several times and forced the savages from their shelter, but they always turned with the battalions and fired upon them back; indeed they seemed not to fear anything we could do. They could skip out of reach of the bayonet and return, as they pleased. They were visible only when raised by a charge. The ground was literally covered with the dead. The wounded were taken to the centre, where it was thought most safe, and where a great many, who had quit their posts unhurt, had crowded together. The General, with other officers, endeavored to rally these men, and twice they were taken out to the lines. It appeared as if the officers had been singled out, a very great proportion fell, or were wounded and obliged to retire from the lines early in the action. General Butler was among the latter, as well as several other of the most experienced

officers. The men being thus left with few officers, became fearful, despaired of success, gave up the fight, and to save themselves for the moment, abandoned entirely their duty and ground, and crowded in toward the centre of the field, and no exertions could put them in any order even for defense; perfectly ungovernable. The enemy at length got possession of the artillery, though not until the officers were all killed but one, and he badly wounded, and the men almost all cut off, and not until the pieces were spiked. As our lines were deserted the Indians contracted theirs until their shot centred from all points, and now meeting with little opposition, took more deliberate aim and did great execution. Exposed to a cross fire, men and officers were seen falling in every direction; the distress too of the wounded made the scene such as can scarcely be conceived; a few minutes longer, and a retreat would have been impracticable. The only hope left was, that perhaps the savages would be so taken up with the camp as not to follow. Delay was death; no preparation could be made; numbers of brave men must be left a sacrifice, there was no alternative. It was past nine o'clock, when repeated orders were given to charge toward the road. The action had continued between two and three hours. Both officers and men seemed confounded, incapable of doing anything, they could not move until it was told that a retreat was intended. A few officers put themselves in front, the men followed, the enemy gave way, and perhaps not being aware of the design, we were for a few minutes left undisturbed. The stoutest and most active now took the lead, and those who were foremost in breaking the enemy's line, were soon left behind. At the moment of the retreat, one of the few horses saved had been procured for the General; he was on foot until then; I kept by him, and he delayed to see the rear. The enemy soon discovered the movement and pursued, though not more than four or five miles, and but few so far; they turned to share the spoil. Soon after the firing ceased, I was directed to endeavor to gain the front, and if possible, to cause a short halt that the rear might get up. I had been on horseback from the first alarm, and well mounted; pushed forward, but met with so many difficulties and interruptions from the people, that I was two hours at least laboring to reach the front. With the assistance of two or three officers I caused a short halt, but the men grew impatient and would move on. I got Lieutenants Sedam and Morgan, with half a dozen stout men, to fill up the road and to move slowly, I halted myself until the General came up. By this time the remains of the army had got somewhat compact, but in the most miserable and defenseless state. The wounded who came off left their arms in the field, and one-half of the others threw theirs away on the retreat. The road for miles was covered with firelocks, cartridge boxes and regimentals. How fortunate that the pursuit was discontinued; a single Indian might have followed with safety upon either flank. Such a panic had seized the men, that I believe it would not have been possible to have brought any of them to engage again. In the afternoon Lieutenant Kearsey, with a detachment of the first regiment, met us. This regiment, the only complete and best disciplined portion of the army, had been ordered back upon the road on the 31st of October. They were thirty miles from the battle ground when they heard distinctly the firing of the cannon, were hastening forward and had marched about nine miles when met by some of the militia, who informed Major Hamtramck, the commanding officer, that the army was totally destroyed. The Major judged it best to send on a subaltern to obtain some knowledge of things, and to return himself with the regiment to Fort Jefferson, eight miles back, and to secure at all events that post. He had made some arrangements, and as we arrived in the evening, found him preparing again to meet us. Stragglers continued to come in for hours after we reached the fort.

"The remnant of the army, with the first regiment, were now at Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the field of action, without provisions, and the former without having eaten anything for twenty-four hours. A convoy was known to be upon the road, and within a day's march. The General determined to move with the first regiment and all the levies able to march. Those of the wounded and others unable to go on, were lodged as comfortably as possible within the fort. Accordingly we set out a little after ten and continued our route until within an hour of daylight, then halted and waited for day and until the rear came up. Moved on again about nine o'clock; the morning of the 5th we met the convoy. Stopped a sufficiency to subsist us to Fort Hamilton; sent the remainder on to Fort Jefferson under an additional escort of a captain and sixty men; proceeded, and at the first water

halted, partly cooked and eat for the first time since the night preceding the action. At one o'clock moved on, and continued our route until nine at night, when we halted and made fires within fifteen miles of Fort Hamilton. Marched again just before day, the General soon after rode on to the fort. Troops reached in the afternoon."

Denny records the following comments on the campaign in his entry of November 7th:

"The prediction of General Harmar, before the army set out on the campaign, was founded upon his experience and particular knowledge of things. He saw with what material the bulk of the army was composed; men collected from the streets and prisons of the cities, hurried out into the enemy's country, and with the officers commanding them, totally unacquainted with the business in which they were engaged, it was utterly impossible they could be otherwise. Besides, not any one department was sufficiently prepared; both quartermaster and contractors extremely deficient. It was a matter of astonishment to him that the commanding general, who was acknowledged to be perfectly competent, should think of hazarding, with such people, and under such circumstances, his reputation and life, and the lives of so many others, knowing, too, as both did, the enemy with whom he was going to contend; an enemy brought up from infancy to war, and perhaps superior to an equal number of the best men that could be taken against them. It is a truth, I had hopes that the noise and show which the army made on their march might possibly deter the enemy from attempting a serious and general attack. It was unfortunate that *both* the general officers were, and had been disabled by sickness; in such situation it is possible that some essential matters might be overlooked. The adjutant-general, Colonel Sargent, an old Revolutionary officer, was, however, constantly on the alert; he took upon himself the burden of everything, and a very serious and troublesome task he had. But one most important object was wanting, can't say neglected, but more might have been done toward obtaining it; this was, *a knowledge of the collected force and situation of the enemy; of this we were perfectly ignorant.* Some few scouts out, but to no great distance. The one which left camp on the 29th of October, under direction of Captain Sparks, and composed chiefly of the friendly Indians, had missed the enemy altogether, and on their return to join the army, the morning after the defeat, met an Indian runner who had been in the engagement, of him they got the news which enabled them to escape. When the army advanced from Fort Jefferson, it did not exceed two thousand men; discharges, desertions and the absence of the First Regiment, reduced the effective strength on the day of action to about fourteen hundred. The Second Regiment had but one battalion with the army—it was well appointed, but young in service. The officers and men, however, did their duty; *they,* with the battalion of artillery, were nearly all cut off. The whole loss, as now ascertained by the different returns, is thirty-seven officers and five hundred and ninety-three privates killed and missing; thirty-one officers and two hundred and fifty-two privates wounded."

CARRYING THE NEWS TO WASHINGTON.

Denny, who was mentioned in St. Clair's report, was selected to carry the dispatches to the Secretary of War. He left Fort Washington on the 19th, embarked on a 14-oared barge. He reached Wheeling on December 9th, after an extremely hard and tedious passage of twenty days, a journey usually of fifteen days. Here he hired a boy and horses and reached Pittsburg on the 11th and Philadelphia on the 19th, at which time he records the proceedings as follows:

"Waited immediately upon the Secretary of War. Since I left Fort Washington, have endeavored to banish from my mind, as much as possible, every idea of the slaughter and defeat of the army; to talk at all on the subject is an unpleasant task to me, but there are certain persons to whom I must make a full communication. My friends at Pittsburgh, and on to this place, seem to view me as escaped from the dead—astonishment takes place of pleasure; and having in some degree got over those feelings myself, am considered as little better than one of the savages—but all this will soon be forgotten.

"The morning after my arrival here, General Knox, the Secretary of War, called at my quarters and took me to the President's, where we breakfasted with the family, and afterward had much talk on the subject of the campaign and defeat."

The interview with the President has been the occasion of considerable discussion among writers of history. Tobias Lear, Washington's private secretary, gives a version which many have attempted to discredit without any apparent good reason, however. Mr. Roosevelt comments upon Lear's version as the report of an eye

witness and says that Lear could not have been mistaken about Washington's speech. The story is given in Richard Rush's "Washington in Domestic Life," and is worth reprinting:

"Towards the close of a winter's day in 1791, an officer in uniform was seen to dismount in front of the President's in Philadelphia and, giving the bridle to his servant, knock at the door of his mansion. Learning from the porter that the President was at dinner, he said he was on public business and had dispatches for the President. A servant was sent into the dining-room to give the information to Mr. Lear, who left the table and went into the hall where the officer repeated what he had said. Mr. Lear replied that, as the President's Secretary, he would take charge of the dispatches and deliver them at the proper time. The officer made answer that he had just arrived from the Western army, and his orders were to deliver them with all promptitude, and to the President in person; but that he would wait his directions. Mr. Lear returned, and in a whisper imparted to the President what had passed. General Washington rose from the table, and went to the officer. He was back in a short time, made a word of apology for his absence, but no allusion to the cause of it. He had company that day. Everything went on as usual. Dinner over, the gentlemen passed to the drawing-room of Mrs. Washington, which was open in the evening. The General spoke courteously to every lady in the room, as was his custom. His hours were early, and by ten o'clock all the company had gone. Mrs. Washington and Mr. Lear remained. Soon Mrs. Washington left the room.

"The General now walked backward and forward slowly for some minutes without speaking. Then he sat down on a sofa by the fire, telling Mr. Lear to sit down. To this moment there had been no change in his manner since his interruption at table. Mr. Lear now perceived emotion. This rising in him, he broke out suddenly, '*It's all over—St. Clair's defeated—routed;—the officers nearly all killed, the men by wholesale; the rout complete—too shocking to think of—and a surprise into the bargain!*'

"He uttered all this with great vehemence. Then he paused, got up from the sofa and walked about the room several times, agitated but saying nothing. Near the door he stopped short and stood still a few seconds, when his wrath became terrible.

"'*Yes,*' he burst forth, '*here on this very spot, I took leave of him; I wished his success and honor; "you have your instructions," I said, "from the Secretary of War, I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word—beware of a surprise. I repeat it,* BEWARE OF A SURPRISE—*you know how the Indians fight us." He went off with that as my last solemn warning thrown into his ears. And yet!! to suffer that army to be cut to pieces, hack'd, butchered, tomahawk'd, by a surprise—the very thing I guarded him against! O God, O God, he's worse than a murderer! how can he answer it to his country!—The blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of Heaven!*'

"This torrent came out in tones appalling. His very frame shook. 'It was awful,' said Mr. Lear. More than once he threw his hands up as he hurled imprecations upon St. Clair. Mr. Lear remained speechless; awed into breathless silence.

"The roused Chief sat down on the sofa once more. He seemed conscious of his passion, and uncomfortable. He was silent. His warmth beginning to subside, he at length said in an altered voice: 'This must not go beyond this room.' Another pause followed—a longer one—when he said in a tone quite low, 'General St. Clair shall have justice; I looked hastily through the dispatches, saw the whole disaster but not all the particulars; I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice.'

"He was now, said Mr. Lear, perfectly calm. Half an hour had gone by. The storm was over; and no sign of it was afterwards seen in his conduct or heard in his conversation. The result is known. The whole case was investigated by Congress. St. Clair was exculpated and regained the confidence Washington had in him when appointing him to that command. He had put himself in the thickest of the fight and escaped unhurt, though so ill as to be carried on a litter, and unable to mount his horse without help."

The anecdotes of the personal bravery of different individuals throughout the fight as well as during the retreat are numberless. For one time, however, the Indians seemed to fight with even greater courage than the whites. After the battle the scene became a slaughter in which most of the wounded who were left on the field as well as a large number of women who accompanied the army were slain and their bodies treated with the greatest indignities. There

seems to be no record of torture but there was one instance of cannibalism engaged in by the Chippewas. (See Buntin's letter infra.)

St. Clair's own feeling with regard to the battle was of course very deep. He felt that he would be charged with what up to that time was regarded as the greatest disaster the colonists had ever suffered in the Western country. He felt also that he was not properly chargeable with that disaster. He had worked against great odds and harder than any one else to achieve a successful result and in the battle itself he had displayed the greatest courage. During the engagement, although so severely afflicted with gout as to be unable to mount or dismount a horse without assistance he kept continually going up and down the line and endeavored to encourage the troops by his voice and presence. The first horse that he succeeded in mounting, with the assistance of three or four other men, was shot through the head and the boy who held it was shot through the arms. The second horse and the servant who held it were killed. The third horse which was got ready for him was sent towards him with a man and both were killed, and the fourth horse was killed while being brought to him by one of his aides. During the action eight balls passed through his clothes and hat, one of them grazing the side of his face and carrying off one of his large gray locks which flowed beneath his beaver. During the entire action he displayed courage and presence of mind worthy of the best fortune and during the retreat he forced his soldiers to repel the enemy by drawing his pistols and threatening them.

General Butler had his arm broken quite early in the attack, but he quickly removed his coat and had the wounded limb put into a sling. He continued to pass to and fro along the line encouraging the men as best he could until another bullet entered his side which inflicted a mortal wound. He was carried to the middle of the camp, where he sat propped up by knapsacks. Denny, who acted as aide to St. Clair, endeavored to help him, but he refused assistance. While they were speaking a young soldier near by was hit on the knee-cap by a spent ball which of course was harmless and shrieked aloud from terror and shock. In spite of Butler's terrible agony he regarded this as immensely amusing and laughed aloud so as to further injure the wound in his side. The exact circumstances of Butler's death are not known, but it is said that in one of the sudden attacks an Indian jumped in and buried his tomahawk in his brain before he could be stopped. Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Territory, acted also as an aide as well as a young Frenchman from Gallipolis, Malartie; both were wounded and were specially commended in the report of the action.

Dr. Allison, according to Dr. Drake, was much exposed, and was obliged to leave the wounded and mingle in the fight. His horse received a bullet in the head. It remained imbedded in the skull, and afterwards when the Doctor would be riding his horse through the village it was the favorite joke of his to remark "that his horse had had more in his head than some doctors he had known."

The retreat was even more disastrous than the battle:

"The retreat in those circumstances was, you may be sure, a very precipitate one; it was, in fact, a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned, but that was unavoidable; for not a horse was left alive to have drawn them off had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accouterments, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself, and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front, or to prevent the men parting with their arms, were unattended to." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 264.)

St. Clair's own comment is as follows:

"I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, which is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy upon the officers, who did everything in their power to effect it. Neither were my own exertions wanting; but, worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and, perhaps, ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe that, though composed of so many different species

of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign." (Id., p. 265.)

General Knox in his letter to St. Clair of December 23, 1791, in regretting the misfortune of the defeat reassures him with the statement that "however great the defeat, that both your reputation and the reputation of the troops under your command, are unimpeached. The fact seems to be pretty well ascertained, by way of Detroit, through different channels of communication, that you must have had opposed to you, 2,500 Indians. If this should prove true eventually, a consolation would at least arise that you were beaten by superior numbers."

The statement is made in the life of Joseph Brant that although the Indians at this time were commanded by Little Turtle, he had the council and assistance of another and an older chief, who was no other than Thayendanegea.

St. Clair finally asked of the President that an inquiry into his conduct should be instituted, after which he desired to resign his commission as major-general, but Washington was compelled to decline such an inquiry because of the deficiency of officers of competent rank to form a legal court for that purpose. A special committee of the House of Representatives however investigated the causes of the failure of the expedition, which they found to be the delays in furnishing materials and the gross mismanagements of the quartermaster's and contractors' departments and the want of discipline and experience in the troops. They found with reference to the commander-in-chief that "the failure of the late expedition can, in no respect, be imputed to his conduct, either at any time before or during the action; but that, as his conduct, in all the preparatory arrangements, was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct, during the action, furnished strong testimonies of his coolness and intrepidity." In spite of this finding strangely enough the quartermaster, Hodgdon, continued at the head of his department for years.

St. Clair, however, we are told by Chief Justice Marshall retained the undiminished esteem and good opinion of Washington, who accepted his resignation just prior to the report of the committee to Congress.

The quartermaster, Hodgdon, became involved of course in quarrels with many of the officers. Major Ziegler resigned because of this and Captain Ford, who had been wounded at St. Clair's defeat and thereby felt that he had suffered from the quartermaster's inefficiency, publicly insulted him and threatened to horsewhip him. Wilkinson, who seemed to stand well in the estimation of General Knox, the Secretary of War, was in constant correspondence with him. He was very free in his criticisms. Sargent was about the only one of whom he speaks well, although he seems to have desired the retention of St. Clair in command. He comments upon the acceptance of Ziegler's resignation in such a way as to leave the inference that the resignation had been requested. Even General Harmar does not escape his innuendos. He criticises him as addicted to drink and a bad disciplinarian. Colonel Darke preferred charges against Major Hamtramck, who with his regiment of regulars was advancing towards the field, and when he heard of the defeat had returned to Fort Jefferson instead of continuing in his movement forward to protect the retreat. Mr. Roosevelt quotes from the "Knox Papers" a most extraordinarily mispelled letter by Darke with reference to this. Hamtramck was tried by court martial and acquitted.

The feeling along the banks of the Ohio after this horrible defeat was that of the deepest consternation. Mr. King in his history of Ohio quotes a ballad entitled "Sainclaire's Defeat," which shows how the popular mind was impressed:

At Bunker's Hill and Quebeck, there many a hero fell,
Likewise at Long Island (it is I the truth can tell),
But such a dreadful carnage may I never see again
As hap'ned near St. Mary's, upon the river plain.

* * * * * * *

Major Butler was wounded the very second fire;
His manly bosom swell'd with rage when forc'd to retire;
And as he lay in anguish, nor scarcely could he see,
Exclaim'd, "Ye hounds of hell! Oh, revenged I will be."

We had not been long broken when General Butler found
Himself so badly wounded, was forced to quit the ground;
"My God!" says he, "what shall we do? we're wounded every man;
Go charge them, valiant heroes, and beat them if you can."

He leaned his back against a tree, and there resigned his breath,
And like a valiant soldier sunk in the arms of death;
When blessed angels did await his spirit to convey,
And unto the celestial fields he quickly bent his way.
* * * * * * *
Alas, the dying and wounded, how dreadful was the thought!
To the tomahawk and scalping-knife in mis'ry are brought.
Some had a thigh and some an arm broke on the field that day,
Who writhed in torments at the stake to close the dire affray.

BURYING THE DEAD.

In the month of January, 1792, General Wilkinson was detailed to go to the St. Clair battle-ground and bury the dead and bring off the valuable public property which was reported to be still on the spot. He issued a call for mounted volunteers and some one hundred and fifty men from various parts of the country responded. On January 24, 1792, the detachment consisting of two hundred regulars and the volunteers just mentioned left for the scene of the defeat. The weather was bitterly cold and there had been the heaviest fall of snow known within the memory of the whites, which covered the earth to the depth of two feet. The Ohio was frozen and the ice was so thick that above the mouth of the Miami the horses were brought across a road made on the surface. Among the officers accompanying Wilkinson at this time was William Henry Harrison, then acting as ensign. Harrison had but recently arrived at the fort, whereas he tells us in his autobiography he was having a hard time of it socially, because of the jealousy of the other younger officers. It seems that the position to which he had been appointed was desired by the son of the senior captain, who of course was supported by the other officers of the post.

Wilkinson's party took the old trace which had been followed by General St. Clair. On the first night they encamped near Mount Pleasant, where subsequently was Cary's Academy, and on the following night at Fort Hamilton. On the next day they reached Seven Mile creek and a day later Fort Jefferson, at that time the farthest limit of the fortifications. The season was so bitter that Wilkinson was obliged to issue an order here announcing the abandonment of his intended attack upon an Indian town on the branch of the Wabash, fifteen miles below. He therefore sent back the regulars to Fort Washington and proceeded with the mounted volunteers to the battle-ground with a large sled to bring off such of the artillery as might be recovered. Two days later they came on the field of battle.

Judge Matson of North Bend contributed to Mr. Cist the following description of the scene: "On this day's march, and when we were about half way to the battle-field, we arrived where the pursuit had ceased, and on counting the number of dead bodies which appeared to have been dragged and mutilated by wild beasts, I made it seventy-eight, between that spot and the battle-ground. No doubt there were many more who, finding themselves disabled, crawled into the woods and perished there.

"We were ordered to encamp directly where the artillery, etc., had been left, I suppose with the view of beating down the snow to facilitate finding what we were in search of. Here we found the artillery dismounted, except one piece, a six pounder. Some of the carriages had been destroyed, as far as they could be, with fire. We brought off that piece and two carriages, with the irons of the rest, together with several muskets. We previously buried the dead by the fatigue parties digging a large pit, into which as many of the dead were thrown as it would contain. We had not a sufficiency of spades, etc., to do justice to the undertaking, and left great numbers unburied, as we worked little more than the residue of that day. The men had been all scalped, and so far as their clothing was of much value, all stripped. Hardly one could be identified, the bodies being blackened by frost and exposure, although there did not appear any signs of decay, the winter having set in early, and proving very severe. One corpse was judged, by Gen. Gano and others, to have been that of Gen. Richard Butler. They had noticed the spot where he fell during the action, and entertained little doubt as to his identity. He lay in the thickest of the carnage, the bodies on one side actually lying across each other in some instances. The pile in the pit was so numerous that it raised quite a mound of earth above the surface of the ground when we covered it up. The main body had been encamped on a large open flat, and the advanced corps of Kentuckians occupied timbered ground in front, from which they were driven in by a general assault of the savages, who then occupied sheltered ground, to pour in a destructive fire on the Americans. Two ravines, one on each side of the main encampment, put down to the creek,

which were also occupied by the Indians, who were thus enabled to creep under shelter of the edges to attack their enemies.

"We then traveled to Cincinnati, where the public horses were given up, and the troops dispersed home, many of the volunteers being frost bitten on the route.

"Most of the pieces of artillery had been carried off, and of course escaped our search at the time. Several were afterward found in the bed of the creek. One piece, a six-pounder, was plowed up a number of years after, on the battle-ground, by some person who occupied the field, and taken down to Cincinnati and sold for sixty dollars to a Captain Joseph Jenkinson, who commanded a volunteer artillery corps in the place." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 71.)

This certainly seems a sad ending for the gallant Gen. Richard Butler. He was an Irishman who had come to America previous to 1760. He served in the Pennsylvania line in the Continental Army, where he was lieutenant-colonel, and in Morgan's rifle corps in 1777. He served throughout the war and was made agent for Indian affairs in Ohio in 1787. He had previously as we have seen been one of the commissioners to negotiate peace with the Indians, particularly at Fort Finney and Fort Stanwix.

As to the matter of torture the following passage appears in a letter of Captain Buntin to St. Clair: "In my opinion those unfortunate men who fell in the enemies' hands with life were used with the greatest torture and having their limbs torn off; and the women have been treated with the most indecent cruelty, having stakes as thick as a person's arm driven through their bodies. The first I observed when burying the dead, and the latter was discovered by Colonel Sargent and Dr. Brown."

THE CONSTERNATION OF THE SETTLERS.

Symmes is of course a prejudiced witness. He had as we have seen become involved in a controversy with St. Clair and felt that he had not been treated with proper respect. His interest too in the settlement of the purchase made the defeat touch him in a sore point. In his letter to Dayton of January 17, 1792, he speaks of the condition of affairs at Miami.

"On my arrival in the purchase about the 20th of November, I found the settlers in the greatest consternation, on account of the late defeat. Several had fled into Kentucky, and many others were preparing to follow them, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I prevailed with people to stand their ground. The timely arrival of Mr. Dunlap greatly contributed to this success, as he had the good fortune to prevail with his settlers who had abandoned Colerain to return again with him and re-establish their station. Colerain has ever been considered the best barrier to all the settlements, and when that place became re-peopled, the inhabitants of the other stations became more reconciled to stay. General St. Clair, by much importunity, gave Mr. Dunlap a guard of six soldiers. With these the settlers returned to Colerain. In a very few days after the station was re-settled, the Governor ordered the six soldiers back again to Fort Washington. But the next day General St. Clair set out for Philadelphia, and Major Ziegler came to the command. His good sense and humanity induced him to send the six men back again in one hour's time, as I am told, after General St. Clair left Fort Washington, and he assured Mr. Dunlap that he should have more soldiers than six, rather than the station should break. Majors sometimes do more good than generals."

One strange result of this defeat was the throwing upon the market of a large number of beeves which had been provided by the government contractors and which were made unnecessary by the destruction of the army. The emigration feature, however, is as usual the one which occupies his mind:

"I expect, sir, that the late defeat will entirely discourage emigration to the purchase from Jersey for a long time. Indeed, it seems that we are never to have matters right.

"What from the two succeeding defeats of our army, and the Governor's arbitrary conduct towards the settlers, still more discouraging at the time than even the defeats, many settlers became very indifferent in their attachment to the purchase, and numbers had left it on account of the Governor's conduct before his unparalleled defeat. Of this shameful defeat by less than half their number of Indians, as is supposed, I have treated a little in my address to Doctor Boudinot. It is an event on which I could write a folio, and the subject not then exhausted; but I cannot, with any degree of patience, reflect thereon. You will therefore excuse me, sir, that I am now silent on the overthrow of our army. I am extremely anxious to hear how the dreadful news was received by

Congress. From the ample provision made by Government I think the news must have been very unexpected at Philadelphia. But the whole has been retrograde in this country."

His estimate of the new commander of Fort Washington is of interest, especially in view of subsequent events: "I flatter myself that the nation will find a valuable officer in Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson, who is appointed to the command of the 2d Regiment—he now commands in Fort Washington. I take him to be a temperate man of considerable military talents. He has youth, activity, ambition, bravery, of clear understanding, and, ever since I have been in this country, he has always intimated to me that a military life was what he was ever anxious to attain to. He has one advantage beyond many other men who might be appointed to the command in this country. In him are found those talents which will render him agreeable to the regular troops, at the same time that his familiar address and politeness render him very pleasing to the militia of Kentucky, by whom he is much respected and loved, and on this body of militia the United States must very much depend in their future operations against the Indians; they are nigh at hand, and they are mostly riflemen."

Two days later Symmes records that no mischief had been done in the purchase by the Indians since the defeat and scarcely a track had been seen by hunters. He announces Mr. Ludlow's intention to go as far as the battle-ground in his surveying if he meets no Indians while he is out.

St. Clair's defeat was a great shock not only to the settlers of the West but to the whole United States. The nation was as yet but loosely knit together and the public interest in the West was not general, but the feeling was strong that the Western settlements were not worth the blood and money that they were costing. The Indians on the other hand had been much encouraged and began to feel and hope that they might drive the whites back across the Ohio. The first consequence of the defeat, the lack of interest in the East, was an effort to make peace with the Indians.

THE DEATH OF TRUEMAN AND HARDIN.

In April, 1792, Major Trueman was appointed by the President to negotiate with the Western Indians. Upon Trueman's arrival at Fort Washington, Colonel Wilkinson, who had been promoted to the rank of a brigadier-general and who was in command, associated Colonel Hardin with Trueman. Hardin and Trueman left the fort some time in June, accompanied by Isaac Freeman, and proceeded to the Indian towns. The forebodings of Wilkinson are indicated by him in a letter of May 24, 1792, to Capt. John Armstrong, in which he says: "Hardin and Truman left us day before yesterday, the former for Sandusky, the latter for the Maumee, I think it is equivocal, what may be the event, but do not expect they will return."

The event, so far as Trueman was concerned, was indicated in a letter written by Armstrong to the General on July 13, 1792:

"One man taken prisoner on the 19th October, 1791, belonging to the detachment of Federal troops, then under my command, and one taken the 4th of November, 1791, in Gen. St. Clair's defeat, are also here. They made their escape from an Indian village 50 miles above Miami on the St. Joseph's, passed that village the second day, and on the morning of the third, reached Fort Jefferson. They came through the field or place where our army was defeated, and say that their different Flags from us have been received at the Auglaize River, and the messengers were then tomahawked—that the last was a Captain —poor Truman."

The news had been brought on the 3rd of July from Vincennes to Cincinnati by Colonel Vigo. The story was that four white men who were approaching the Indians under a flag of truce had been fired upon. Three of them were killed at once and the fourth, who was bearing the flag and had on his person the credentials and other papers of the expedition, was held as a prisoner for a day and murdered with great barbarity on the following day. The prisoners escaping from the Indians soon made clear that this party was that of Trueman and Hardin. The third member of the party was Isaac Freeman, who had made so many expeditions on friendly missions to the Indians. Hardin seems to have felt that he would not return alive, as he was assured that his presence would prompt the savages to attack the whole party. The exact details of the attack were never known, nor was it known whether the outrage was simply from pure wantonness and without prearrangement, or whether it was the result of orders given by one of the councils. When the chiefs wrote to Washington they spoke with great indifference without expressing regret for the occurrence: "You sent us at different times different speeches, the bearers whereof our foolish young men killed on their way."

Various stories have been told about Trueman's death. One recited by William May in his deposition taken by General Wayne at Pittsburg was to the effect that in order to allay the fears of two Indians whom he fell in with on his journey he permitted them to tie him and the others during the night and as a matter of course was murdered in the morning. This story, however, does not have the air of probability. According to Judge Burnet, Hardin stated to his friend, Capt. James Ferguson, prior to his departure that he was convinced that the Indians would violate the flag and assassinate him, and assigned as a reason that they had long feared and hated him.

Rufus Putnam aided by the Moravian missionary, Heckewelder, succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the Wabash and Illinois tribes in the fall of 1790, and in the spring of the following year three commissioners met various chiefs headed by Brant in an effort to conclude a peace. The Indians, however, supported by the British, insisted upon the Ohio as a boundary and would accept no other terms and the mission ended in failure. Strangely enough the commissioners sent home a remonstrance against the activity displayed by the new commander on the Ohio, General Wayne, whose conduct had angered the Indians and was considered by the British unfair and unwarrantable. Says Mr. Roosevelt: "This was a preposterous complaint; throughout our history, whether in dealing with Indians or with other foes, our Peace Commissioners have invariably shown to disadvantage when compared with the military commandants for whom they always betray such jealousy." (The Winning of the West, Vol. IV, p. 55.)

WAYNE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

General Wayne had been appointed major-general in command of the army in April, 1792, and had accepted the command "with the expressed stipulation that he should not be required to march into the wilderness until the army was full and so far disciplined as to justify him in assuming the responsibility to which such a movement would subject him. The misfortunes of those who preceded him were known. He had investigated their causes and ascertained that they were occasioned principally by want of discipline and want of material necessary for an army. He had seen two of his Revolutionary associates censured, the one for a total defeat, and the other for heavy losses under circumstances which neither skill nor bravery could have prevented. With these lessons before him he determined to avoid the rock on which they had made shipwreck and therefore accepted the appointment on the condition before stated. A few days after this appointment James Wilkinson, then a lieutenant-colonel in the army, was promoted to the rank of brigadier and became the second officer in command. This organization having been made, measures were immediately commenced to recruit the army and perfect the arrangements necessary for the approaching campaign." (Burnet's Notes, p. 133.)

The Indian ravages became more severe than ever. The English supplied the red men with arms, besides paint and tobacco, of which they made good use. After one skirmish with the Americans, a party of Delawares and Shawanees brought in to the British agent six scalps, which were received with gratification. Boats were waylaid as they descended the Ohio and the settlements in all directions were scourged by the red men.

Anthony Wayne was a Pennsylvanian by birth, the grandson of a Yorkshire man who had removed first to County Wicklow in Ireland, where he had fought at the battle of the Boyne and had emigrated in 1722 at the age of 63 to this country. His son Isaac took part in the colonial wars and was a member of the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania. Anthony Wayne was born January 1, 1745, in Easton. It is recorded of him that in his early days his uncle, who was educating him, complained to his father: "One thing I am certain of and that he will never make a scholar. He may make a soldier; he has already distracted the brains of two-thirds of the boys under my direction by rehearsals of battles and sieges; * * * some laid up with broken heads, others with black eyes. During noon, instead of the usual games and amusements, he has the boys employed in throwing up redoubts, skirmishing," etc. Anthony became a surveyor and at the age of 20 he was selected by Benjamin Franklin and associates to lead a band of settlers to Nova Scotia, where the great philosopher had become involved in a land speculation. The difficulties with England stopped emigration and Wayne returned to take part in the conventions and assemblies that led up to the Revolution. He was provincial deputy in his own State in 1774 and 1775. His record in the Revolutionary War is well known. No other general, American,

British or French, says Mr. Roosevelt, "won such a reputation for hard fighting and for daring energy and dogged courage. He felt very keenly that delight in the actual shock of battle which the most famous fighting generals have possessed. He gloried in the excitement and danger, and shone at his best when the stress was sorest; and because of his magnificent courage his soldiers had affectionately christened him 'Mad Anthony,' but his head was as cool as his heart was stout. He was taught in a rough school; for the early campaigns in which he took part were waged against the gallant generals and splendid soldiery of the British King. By experience he had grown to add caution to his dauntless energy." (The Winning of the West, Vol. IV, p. 67.)

At the end of the war, Wayne had made a successful campaign against the Creek Indians in Georgia. He afterwards attempted to enter Congress from that State, but lost his seat upon a contest.

CAMP HOBSON'S CHOICE.

Immediately after his appointment, Wayne began his preparations. He went to Pittsburg in June, 1792, where just below the old Logs Town at a place now called Legionville, he began the training of his soldiers. The army when organized was to be known as the "Legion of the United States." Wayne began immediately to recruiting the men to fill up the deficiency and to drilling them for action. Some of the men under his command are reported as being so terrified with the name Indian that on one occasion one-third of the sentries deserted their posts upon the mere rumor that savages were in the neighborhood. By St. Patrick's Day he had to a large extent brought order out of chaos, and in May, 1793, he dropped down the Ohio with his legion to Fort Washington. He located his soldiers at a point a little below the fort on the banks of the Ohio, between the village itself and Mill creek. To this encampment, which occupied the place about where the present gas works are located, he gave the name "Hobson's Choice," it being the only place in the vicinity suitable for the purpose.

Judge Burnet tells the following story as to the origin of the name: "On the arrival of General Wayne at Cincinanti with the troops from Legionville, late in 1793, he ordered the quartermaster, with two or three of his officers, to make a careful examination of the grounds adjoining the town and select the most eligible spot for the construction of an encampment. After a careful execution of the order they reported that there was no situation near the town on which the army could be conveniently encamped; and that the only ground which was in any degree calculated for the purpose was on the river bank between the village and Deer creek. The General replied, 'if that be so we have Hobson's Choice and must take it.' From that expression the place selected was immediately called Hobson's Choice and has been known by that name ever since." This statement disposes of the story that the name has any connection with the present Cincinnati Gas & Electric Company. General Wayne placed a sentry box on the top of the mound which was near by and from which a view of the entire plain could be had. This was the mound at the northeast corner of Fifth and Mound streets. Here he waited the result of the negotiations already spoken of which were then in progress. As soon as he received information of General Knox that "every offer has been made to obtain peace by milder terms than the sword but the efforts have failed under circumstances that leave us nothing to expect but war," he replied from Camp Hobson's Choice, "I will advance to-morrow with the force I have."

On October 7th he broke camp and by the 13th his army was encamped on a branch of the Miami, eighty miles north of Cincinnati at a spot to which Wayne gave the name Greenville in honor of his commander and friend, General Greene. It is the site of Greenville in Darke County. His march was by an old Indian trail up Mill creek by Ludlow's Station, thence to White's Station at the third crossing of Mill creek and on to Cunningham's and thence to Runyan's, and was known afterwards as the old Wayne trace or Wayne road. Down this trail the Miamis had passed on their way to Kentucky and afterwards a part of General Clark's army took this trail in 1780. In 1790 General Harmar's left wing marched by this route and the following year, in 1791, a portion of General St. Clair's army passed over it. Over this road too was carried the body of Col. Robert Elliott on its way to Fort Washington. Mr. Olden's "Reminiscences" say: "General Wayne left Camp Hobson's Choice at Cincinnati on the 7th day of October, 1793, and followed the general course of the old track running along the Mill creek valley and which had previously been

opened as a great road as far as White's Station. He camped for the night on the grounds lately occupied as a race course and known as the Buckeye Club grounds near the present village of Elmwood. The following day he passed through White's Station and along what is now Wayne avenue through Maplewood and Lockland; thence through Tucker's Station, and where the town of Springdale now is, to Fort Hamilton, where he encamped the second night." It is said that along this trail, just above White's Station about the year 1780, a great battle was fought between two hostile Indian forces and that afterwards when the pioneers came to build a station they found Indian bones thickly scattered over the ground intermingled with battle axes, arrows and other implements of savage warfare. The number engaged in the battle is said to have been almost four thousand. Wayne passed the winter at Fort Greenville, which was about six miles in advance of Fort Jefferson, which had been built by St. Clair in October, 1791.

FORT RECOVERY.

About Christmas Day he sent out a large detachment to St. Clair's battle-ground, where he built a fort called Fort Recovery. His idea was that it was inconsistent with success and with the dignity of the nation to give up an inch of ground. On October 17, 1793, Lieutenant Lowery, with a command of ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, having in charge military stores, was attacked near Fort St. Clair by a much superior force. Lowery and 13 others, who had been abandoned by the greater part of the escort, were killed after an obstinate resistance and the savages carried off seventy pack horses. Lowery was from New Jersey and had served under St. Clair in the previous year, and for good behavior in that campaign had received his commission in the regular army. After the construction of the fort at Greenville, however, no further fears were felt for the safety of the army as the place was so commodious and so strongly fortified as to defy any assault that could be made upon it. Wayne occupied himself in instructing and improving the troops in military tactics. On June 26th, General Scott arrived with sixteen hundred mounted Kentuckians, among whom was William Clark, a brother of George Rogers Clark and later known for his passage of the Rockies. The Indians were constantly lurking about, however, and would attack any party that ventured any distance from a fort. The commander at Fort Jefferson and his orderly were killed and scalped about three hundred yards from his command. A predecessor, while hunting in the same neighborhood, had been attacked, and although he escaped his son and a soldier were killed. Near the same fort a dozen men were surprised while haying, of whom four were killed and eight captured. Four of the captives were afterwards burned at the stake.

At Fort St. Clair not only had Lowery's party been attacked, but in November of the previous year a party from Kentucky, of mounted riflemen under Major Adair, who were convoying a large number of pack horses, were assaulted by the Indians just at dawn. Most of the horses were driven off or killed and the men driven to the fort, but a number of them rallied and drove off the Indians. In this engagement Adair lost six men killed and five wounded. Fort St. Clair was about 26 miles south of Greenville, near where Eaton now stands.

In May, 1794, Capt. William Clark, just mentioned, was sent from Fort Washington with twenty dragoons and sixty infantry to escort pack horses to Greenville. When he had advanced but 18 miles on his way, he was attacked by Indians, but he succeeded in putting them to flight; two of his men were killed, however. On the last day of June a severe and bloody battle was fought under the walls of Fort Recovery between the detachment of American troops consisting of ninety riflemen, fifty dragoons commanded by McMahon and a very numerous body of Indians and British, who rushed on the detachment and assailed the fort on every side. Over two thousand warriors had been gathered by the efforts of the Indian agents at the Miami and their attack upon the fort was intended to be a surprise. With them were a number of French and English rangers painted and dressed like Indians. McMahon's party had escorted pack horses from Greenville the day before and were encamped outside the walls, but could make no resistance to such overwhelming numbers. They rushed for the fort after losing 19 officers and privates and two pack horsemen killed and three captured. An effort to storm the fort was unsuccessful, but the attack was kept up all day and at night they took off their dead. The next day they withdrew, after having suffered heavy loss and much discouraged at the failure of the largest expedition the Indians had undertaken. The exact extent of the loss

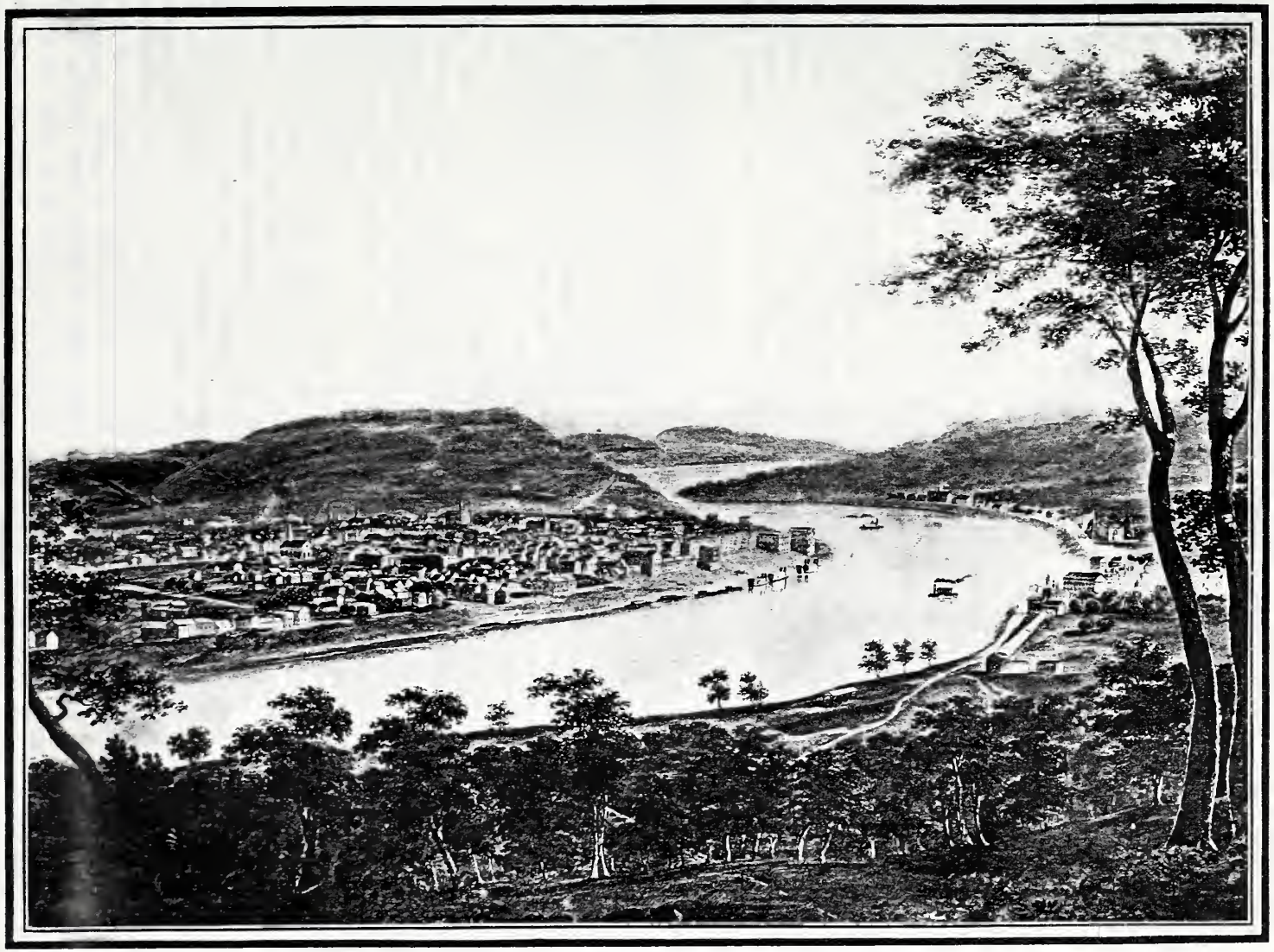
was never known, but it must have been very large, as it became apparent at the treaty at Greenville that the chiefs had never ceased to mourn the distressing loss of that occasion. There seems to be no question that the Indians were accompanied by a number of whites. From statements made afterwards by Americans who had been prisoners among the Indians and had escaped, and by Indians who were captured it was apparent that this effort to crush the fort, which was the farthest advance yet made by the whites into the Indian territory, was regarded by the Indians as a supreme one and for that reason they fought with the greatest desperation and lost twice as many men in the attack as had been lost at St. Clair's defeat. They had been led to believe that the British who were at Detroit were about to join them with field pieces and fifteen hundred troops.

Among the wounded at this battle was Lieutenant Darke of the "Legion," who fought with extraordinary bravery, even to the point of recklessness. He was in charge of the infantry, and although severely wounded insisted upon being the last to enter the fortification. Lieutenant Darke some time previous had been insulted by a brother officer at Fort Washington, but from conscientious scruples against dueling had refused to call him out. This had subjected him to considerable criticism, some even going so far as to imply that it was due to lack of courage that he refused to fight the duel. His conduct on this day vindicated him in this respect.

Wayne continued his daily drills and the exercise of his men with saber and bayonet, until Greenville from morning till night had the appearance of a military school. He certainly did not bear out at this time Washington's written estimate of him that he was "more active and enterprising than judicious and cautious. No economist it is feared. Open to flattery, vain; easily imposed upon and liable to be drawn into scrapes. Too indulgent to his officers and men." If this was ever a just characterization of him, the circumstances were such as to change him completely and justify the hope expressed by Washington to Lee that "time, reflection, good advice and above all a due sense of the importance of the trust will correct his foibles or cast a shade over them." He seemed fully to realize the importance of his trust as well as the dangers that were to be guarded against. His discipline was very severe, but although Wilkinson, the senior officer in command under him, had been spending much of the previous year in cultivating an unfriendly feeling against him among the officers, he succeeded in retaining in the main their friendship and gained the affection of his men. As a result of the constant drills he turned his force, which was originally not of a promising character, into a perfect fighting machine of a compact organization. One of his militiamen from Tennessee wrote home that Wayne's riflemen were as good shots as any of the marksmen he had seen contesting in the matches at home, and spoke in the highest praise of the handling of their horses and swords by the cavalry. Wayne, as is well known, was a great believer in cold steel and gave particular attention to the use of the saber and the bayonet.

WAYNE'S SCOUTS.

Another matter to which he gave great attention was that of spies and scouts. He had a large number of these, almost fifty under his command, some of whom were Chickasaw or Choctaw Indians. The scouts and rangers were under the command of Ephraim Kibby of Columbia. The commander of the spies, of whom there were seven or eight, was the well known William Wells. Wells had been captured by the Miamis when a young boy and had grown up amongst them. He married a sister of Little Turtle, and was known among the Indians as Black Snake. This name, by the way, was a name given at first by the Indians to Wayne because of the tortuous course of his advance, but afterwards when his methods developed the qualities and resembled that of a tornado he was called Big Wind. Wells had fought against Harmar and St. Clair by the side of Little Turtle and at the defeat of the latter had killed several soldiers with his own hand. Strangely enough this fact preyed upon his mind and, moved by the fear that he might have slain some of his own kins-people, he resolved to return to his own race. He left his Indian wife and half-breed children at the time, after giving notice of his purpose to Little Turtle, and joined Wayne. He was placed at the head of the scouts and gave very loyal and valuable service. After the peace he was joined by his wife and children, but was finally slain by the Indians at Chicago in 1812. His children became respected citizens in the community.



VIEW FROM WEST COVINGTON IN THE "THIRTIES."

Another one of the spies was the celebrated Robert McClellan, immortalized by Irving by reason of his adventures in later years as a Rocky Mountain explorer. Two others were the Miller brothers, William and Christopher. They had been captured by the Indians when young and had grown to manhood among them. The elder, William, rejoined his own people. During the Wayne campaign, Wells, McClellan and Miller were on a scout searching for an Indian whom they could bring in captive to Wayne, who desired information. They came upon three Indians crouching about a fire. The agreement was made that Wells and Miller should fire at two of the Indians, while McClellan as they fired should dash in and endeavor to overthrow the third. The scheme succeeded. To the surprise of the party, after McClellan and the Indian whom he had assaulted ceased struggling, the prisoner turned out to be Miller's brother Christopher. After a show of reluctance he joined Wayne's scouts and also acted as interpreter.

Another one of the scouts was a man named May, who lost his life, however, as a result of a foolhardy expedition in which he was accompanied by Wells, McClellan and another scout. From pure deviltry, dressed and painted as Indians and speaking the Indian tongue, they rode into an Indian camp and began firing. When they had discharged their weapons they turned and ran, but May was captured because of an accident to his horse. He was recognized as having been a former adopted brother of their tribe and was shot to death the next day. The adventures of these spies seem numberless and Mr. King well says that "by their feats and hairbreadth escapes they became the very paladins of early Ohio romance."

Another expedient adopted by Wayne to mislead the Indians as to his plans was the cutting of roads in various directions which left the savages in complete uncertainty as to which road he was liable to take with his army. By such devices as these and the assistance of scouts and pioneers, he was able not only to learn with considerable accuracy the proceedings of his enemies, but to keep them uninformed as to his own intentions. When he did move he moved with great celerity with troops in open order and ready for battle at all times and the scouts well out so as to avoid an ambush or surprise. He surrounded his camps at night by breastworks of fallen trees. The Indians who watched his march reported that he went twice as far in a day as St. Clair, and that he never slept. In order to deceive the Indians shortly after the affair of Fort Recovery, he turned his march to the westward as far as Girty's town at the crossing of St. Mary's River, 24 miles from Greenville. Here he halted long enough to build a fort, which he called Fort Adams.

FORT DEFIANCE.

In July he turned to the eastward and marched seventy miles to the junction of the Auglaize and the Maumee. Here began the hostile Indian villages and here were their immense fields of corn stretching for miles. The savages had been taken by surprise and fled without offering fight. On August 8th, Wayne halted here and spent a week building a strong long stockade with four large blockhouses, which he called Fort Defiance. This point was within sixty miles of the British fort at the rapids of the Maumee, which Simcoe had erected in American territory as an outpost of Detroit. The erection of this fort had aroused Washington's indignation and he called it the most open and daring act that the British had attempted, and Wayne's instructions were modified to the extent that if it became necessary to dislodge this garrison he should do so. The soldiers delighted in the immense quantities of fresh vegetables and roasting ears which they found in the Indian fields and for the time that they remained there they enjoyed a continuous feast. From Fort Defiance, Wayne sent a letter to the Indians offering to treat with them. This letter was carried by Christopher Miller and conveyed the warning that if Miller was injured Wayne would put to death seven Indian prisoners that he had with him. Wayne appealed to the Indians that "they should be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises of bad men, nor shut their ears to this last overture for peace." He did not wait for an answer, but proceeded on his advance towards the British fort, and on his way met his ambassadors returning with a request for delay. It seems Little Turtle was inclined to have the Indians accept the offer of peace. He had been alarmed at the sleepless vigilance of Wayne and the inability of his own spies to break the line of American scouts.

THE BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS.

On August 15th, the "Legion" moved forward towards the foot of the rapids and in the direction of the British fort, which was constructed

on the most approved principles of modern military architecture and was supplied with artillery and strongly garrisoned. Wayne himself was suffering from gout and sat his horse swathed in flannel. On his staff as aide was William Henry Harrison, who so feared the impetuosity of his chief when in action that he asked for orders in advance for fear they would not be given after the fight had been begun. The army itself was full of confidence, both in its own prowess and training and in its commander. It numbered about three thousand men, of whom two thousand were regulars. Opposed to them were the Indians, including the Miamis, Shawanees, Delawares, Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies and the Iroquois, between fifteen hundred and two thousand in number, and some seventy rangers from Detroit under Captain Caldwell. The scene of the battle was at a place called Fallen Timbers, because it was covered with a large number of dead forest trees which had been overturned by a whirlwind. It was in sight of the British fort. The Kentucky militia of mounted volunteers marched in front down the left bank of the Maumee. Next to the river on the right was the regular cavalry. The infantry were stretched in two long lines; at the left of the first line were the regular riflemen and light troops. The Indians were stretched in a long line for almost two miles, lying behind the logs and concealed by the woods and high grass.

As Wayne's force advanced they were received by a heavy fire which disconcerted for a moment the horsemen struggling over the trees. The first line of infantry with the other cavalry immediately came to their support. Their orders were to fire, charge and continue firing as they ran. They were to advance with trailed arms so as to arouse the savages from their cover before firing for the first time. At the first assault two captains in command of the squadron were shot down, but after the first charge of the militia the battle was over. The Indians delivered a volley and they were then poked out of their hiding places by the bayonets and as they fled they were shot down and driven so hard that they were unable to halt or reload. Only the first line of regulars was able to take part in the fighting, "there not being a sufficiency of the enemy for the Legion to play on." The entire action was less than forty minutes in length and more than one thousand Americans were engaged in it. The cavalry and infantry scrambled over the trees in full pursuit of the enemy and drove them two miles to the very walls of the fort. As they approached the fort, there were no signs of any relief being offered to the Indians by the English, who realized at last that their game was up. As in the past the English who goaded the Indians to desperation and prevented them from making peace deserted them when their aid was needed.

Wayne's loss in killed and wounded was a little over one hundred. It is supposed that the enemy's loss was more than twice as many. Many dead bodies were found on the field and the woods were strewn for some distance with them. It was denied that there were any white men assisting them. A number were found among the dead and one white ranger was captured. Eight Wyandot chiefs were killed, and the defeat was the most severe ever inflicted upon the Northwestern Indians during the forty years fighting, of which it was the end.

Wayne took occasion after the battle, in company with General Wilkinson and Lieutenant Harrison and several others of his officers, to approach the British fort closely and examine it critically. This led to a very ridiculous correspondence between him and Major Campbell, commanding the fort. Major Campbell wrote General Wayne on the next day "that an army of the United States of America said to be under your command have taken post on the banks of the Miami for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within reach of the guns of this fort. Being a post belonging to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by his Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself as speedily as possible in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison."

To this polite missive General Wayne responded on the same day calling attention to the fact that his army was in the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States but that he thought he might without breach of decorum observe "that were you entitled to an answer the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms yesterday morning in the action against the hoards of savages in the vicinity of your post which terminated gloriously to the American arms." He further intimated that had the Indians been driven under the English guns, the progress of his victorious army would not have been much impeded.

Major Campbell on the following day replied that Wayne's letter fully authorized any act of hostility on his part but that he had forborne for two days to resent the insults to his flag by approaching within pistol shot with arms and that he did not desire to wage war with individuals but that if Wayne's threatening manner continued he should be obliged to have recourse to measures which would be regretted by thousands of both nations. Wayne's response was a demand that he should withdraw his troops, artillery and stores from the territory of the United States. Campbell referred Wayne to the ambassadors of the two nations and refused to withdraw until he had received orders from his superiors. Wayne paid no further attention to Campbell but contented himself with destroying the traders' huts and all the Indian supplies and everything of value within view of the fort up to the muzzles of his guns. After spending three days in this work, he marched slowly up the river destroying corn fields for fifty miles on each side of the stream. Upon arriving at Fort Defiance he strengthened that post and then marched up the Maumee and to the confluence of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, which he reached on September 17th, where by the 22nd he had completed Fort Wayne which he left in charge of Major Hamtramck. Wayne reached Greenville on November 2nd, and went into winter quarters. He had completed an arduous tour of 97 days during which they had marched upwards of three hundred miles through the heart of the enemy's country and had cut a wagon road the whole way and erected three forts. This campaign may well be credited as being the final and completing act in the winning of the West.

THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE.

The Indians began sending in messengers indicating their desire to make terms of peace. The English emissaries tried for a time to stir up a new confederacy but they were unsuccessful. The terrible shifts to which they were driven by the destruction of all their crops and stores made the hard winter very difficult for the Indians to bear. As a result arrangements were made for the gathering at Greenville in the summer of 1795.

On Wednesday, July 15th, the council met at that fort for the purpose of concluding a treaty. There were present chiefs of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Miamis, Wabash and Pottawattamies. Wayne opened the proceedings by readjng his commission and stating generally the preliminary requirements. On Saturday, July 18th, the council met again and Little Turtle responded. He expressed entire ignorance of the provisions of the treaty of Fort Harmar which the Indians had always maintained had not been made with proper representatives of their race. Other chiefs stated that they had never heard of it. Finally on the 20th of July, Wayne read to them the treaty of Fort Harmar and explained its provisions and called attention to a number of chiefs present who had been present at the signing of the treaty. The speeches continued for a number of days, Little Turtle taking the leading part. Throughout the conference, the reluctance of the Indians to surrender their lands was no more marked than the interference of the English. For example, the Crane spoke as follows: "I view you lying in a gore of blood. It is me an Indian who has caused it. Our tomahawk yet remains in your head—the English gave it to me to place there." On the 27th, Wayne read to them his proposed treaty and on the 30th he received the approval of all the nations present calling upon each in turn. The tribes again assembled on August 3rd, to receive the necessary copies of the treaty. A parchment copy was given to the Wyandots and a paper copy to each tribe. The speeches throughout the whole conference were remarkably eloquent and characteristic of the manner of the Indians in such gatherings. A very large number of tribes were represented, there being not less than eleven hundred and thirty Indians present at the treaty grounds. Innumerable strings, belts and road belts, some white and some blue and some blue and white and some mixed and one with a man and a house upon it, another with nine white squares and in fact every possible variety of wampum strings were exchanged. The relationships of the various tribes to each other were commented on at length and the chiefs took great pains to explain their relative position in their communities. The United States on its part distributed a large number of silver commemorative medals. The line agreed upon, which was afterwards marked by Ludlow, gave to the whites some twenty-five thousand square miles south of it between it and the Ohio. It began at a point on the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky, running northerly to Fort Recovery and thence eastwardly to the upper Muskingum from which point it extended along the portage of the "Cayuhoga" to Lake Erie. West of the line there were 16

reservations each a few miles square including the one at Fort Wayne and that of the portage of the Maumee and Wabash near by, the one at the mouth of the Chicago River and the grant which Virginia had made to George Rogers Clark at Louisville. Mr. King in his history says: "To the bold spirit of Pitt, Earl of Chatham, it is due presumably that the people on the Mississippi Valley are not to-day Canadian French. Next in honor with the people of the Northwest as among their founders might well be placed the lion hearted Anthony Wayne, who opened the glorious gates of the Ohio to the tide of civilization so long shut off from its hills and valleys." Again he says: "As a settler's guide to the Northwest the Ordinance of 1787 has been compared to the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night. It might be added that it was by General Wayne and the treaty of Greenville that they were brought into a promised land. Till then the Indians never for a moment relaxed their hold upon the Ohio so solemnly pledged to them at Fort Stanwix by the King with the acquiescence of the commissioners of Virginia and Pennsylvania. And never after that treaty to their honor be it remembered, did the Indian nation violate the limits which it established. It was a grand tribute to General Wayne that no chief or warrior who gave him the hand at Greenville ever again lifted the hatchet against the United States. There were malcontents on the Wabash and Lake Michigan who took sides with Tecumseh and the Prophet in the War of 1812 perhaps for good cause, but the tribes and their chiefs sat still. It was a year or more before the Western people could believe there was peace. The Indians coming and crossing the line to hunt and trade, as the treaty allowed, assured them of it. 'The siren song of peace and agriculture' in the figure of a Kentucky historian was heard through the land. Plowmen and churchgoers no longer carried their rifles. Surveyors might now camp by the fire and sleep without hiding away from it, a luxury unknown to hunters and trappers aforetime. The vocation of the ranger and scout was gone. After twenty years of this daring life of border warfare these men generally poor and little used to farming or traffic beyond the mere bartering of their peltries were now to drop into insignificance or disappear among the new comers, with their dexterous arts of land speculating and money getting." (Ohio, pp. 261-263.)

Several things occurred during the negotiations to mar the tranquillity of affairs. Massie was contemplating the erection of a town on the Scioto which afterwards became Chillicothe. A number of people who were from Kentucky, who were removing because of the dislike of slavery, including Rev. Robert W. Findlay and others, being a party of sixty, while crossing the country from Limestone to the Scioto in June, 1795, came upon the Indian encampment on Paint creek. The Indians were attacked but the next morning they fell upon the whites who were able to beat them off and escape to Kentucky. As a result the Indians, sixty or seventy Shawanees under Pucksekaw one of the chiefs, started on a raid towards the river. Wayne's complaint to Governor St. Clair that "if the real object of Parson Findlay and Mr. Massey and their party was to form a settlement on the Scioto they took a very improper mode to effect it by attacking and plundering the Indians who were in a peaceable hunting camp in place of gaining their friendship and confidence by acts of kindness and hospitality. This Mr. Findlay cannot be a disciple of the meek Jesus, otherwise he would not thus wantonly bring war and desolation upon the innocent by the sinful aggressions of his guilty hordes of plunderers." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 375.)

St. Clair replied that the savages would not answer to Wayne's description and that "a part of them were at that time in Kentucky for the express purpose of stealing horses and killing one man, as a prisoner (whom they had taken not long before) who has escaped from them has given information." In his letter he complains, too, of the fact that Wayne has not given him any information on the subject of the armistice which had taken place between Wayne and the savages. Wayne in the meantime had sent Blue Jacket in pursuit of the wandering band. St. Clair wrote to Governor Shelby complaining of the attack and calling his attention to the serious consequences of disturbances at that time.

St. Clair also wrote to Wayne telling of his complaint to the Governor of Kentucky and of his intention to prosecute Massie in case he was able to collect sufficient evidence. The termination of the affair is indicated in a letter from Wayne to St. Clair of August 19, 1795, in which after stating that all the mischief done up the Ohio for some time past was done by this party of Shawanees in retaliation for Massie's aggres-

sion, he announced that the Shawanee chiefs at Greenville had solemnly promised to call the party to a severe account and that the other nations had determined to assist in their total extermination should they continue hostile. He also announced that Blue Jacket had left Greenville in pursuit of the party for the purpose of directing them to cease hostilities. On September 9th, the hostile band of Shawanees headed by their chief Pucksekaw or Jumper arrived at Greenville with four prisoners whom they delivered up. They pleaded ignorance of the good work which had been going on and alleged that during the preceding spring while hunting peaceably their camp on the Scioto was robbed. "We are very poor and the mischief which has since been done was in retaliation for the injuries which were then received. * * * I hope that for the future we shall be permitted to live and hunt in peace and quietness. We were poor ignorant children astray in the woods, who knew not that our nation and all the other tribes of Indians had come in and made peace with you."

Another episode that at the time caused a little friction was the fact that Wayne in his negotiations with the Indians acted independently of St. Clair, the Governor of the Territory. This was resented by St. Clair who was very sensitive in such matters but finally proper information was given to the Governor and on August 25, 1795, he issued at Cincinnati a proclamation to the effect that the Indian war was over.

Wayne on February 22, 1795, without any notice to the Governor of the Territory had issued a proclamation, as "Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Legion, and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States of America for establishing a permanent peace with all the Indian tribes and nations northwest of the Ohio." In this, after reciting his preliminary articles with the various tribes of Indians and the arrangement for the holding of a general treaty in June, he proceeded: "Wherefore I do hereby in the name of the President of the United States, prohibit and forbid all and every person and persons from killing, insulting or injuring any Indian or Indians belonging to the aforesaid tribes or nations, or either of them (unless in their own defense). And I do hereby, also forbid any party or parties, citizens of the United States or either of them, from entering the Indian country northwest of the Ohio with hostile intentions (without permission from the proper authorities first obtained) between this period and the end of the pending treaty, as they will answer a contrary conduct at their peril."

The Secretary of War wrote of this to St. Clair on March 25th, assuming knowledge of it on St. Clair's part. This letter St. Clair said was his first information concerning the matter and as a result of it he immediately gave orders relative to the dismissal of the militia with the exception of the scouts.

The ratification of the Jay Treaty was followed by the abandonment by the British of the various posts which had been held by them since the peace of 1783. Wayne visited Philadelphia where he received the honor and triumphs of a conqueror and was mentioned in the speech of the President in eulogistic terms. He returned to the frontier with the combined powers of a civil commissioner and a military commander and on August 13, 1796, he reached Detroit. Just prior to his arrival, Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary of the Northwest Territory and acting Governor in the absence of St. Clair, had erected the county of Wayne extending from the present site of Cleveland south of Fort Laurens thence westward through the sources of the streams flowing westward into Lake Michigan and the national boundary line of Lake Superior.

St. Clair was obviously vexed at this exercise of authority in so important a matter but he considered it wise to give his approval to the act, although disapproving of the proceedings generally which led to rather a sharp correspondence between St. Clair and Sargent.

Wayne was received with great enthusiasm at Detroit both by the garrison and the inhabitants and by the numerous tribes of Indians through whose lands he passed. The Indians welcomed him as their father "by repeated volleys of musketry and yells and friendly shakes of the hand and other demonstrations of joy agreeable to the customs and shouts of those hardy sons of this wilderness." Some twelve hundred Indians were in the place at the time.

THE DEATH OF WAYNE.

Wayne remained at Detroit until November 17th, when he set sail on the lake, intending to go to Presqu' Isle. His purpose in hastening eastward was to meet the criticisms which had been aroused by Wilkinson's machinations. The roughness of the voyage brought on a re-

currence of his gout in a violent form and he was removed from the vessel to the blockhouse. In spite of the most devoted attention he died December 15, 1796. His body was buried at this point and over it was erected a log blockhouse a copy of the one erected at the same spot by him in 1790. In 1809 his remains were removed to the churchyard at Radnor, Pennsylvania, in his native county.

He was succeeded sadly enough as commander-in-chief by his traducer General Wilkinson of whom Mr. Roosevelt says that "in character he can only be compared to Benedict Arnold, though he entirely lacked Arnold's ability and brilliant courage. He had no conscience and no scruples; he had not the slightest idea of the meaning of the word honor. He betrayed his trust from the basest of motives and he was too inefficient to make his betrayal effective. He was treacherous to the Union while it was being formed and after it had been formed; and his crime was aggravated by the sordid meanness of his motives, for he eagerly sought opportunities to barter his own infamy for money. In all our history there is no more despicable character." (The Winning of the West, Vol, III, p. 124.)

It is not necessary to make any allowance for Mr. Roosevelt's striking manner of saying things in approving this characterization of the United States commander at Fort Washington.

The matter of the difficulties between Wilkinson and Wayne is discussed at length by Judge Burnet in the 13th chapter of his "Notes."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PIONEERS AND THE INDIANS.

Captain Fig and Captain Blackbird—The Capture of Flynn—The Wounding of Mills—The Mission of Freeman—The Speech of the Miamis—The Sewards—Hilliers—Vaneman and Lafferty—Wetzel—Wallace—Cutter—Van Cleve—Fuller—Spencer—Spencer's Captivity—Demoss—Rifles in Church—Elliott—Donalson—The Ludlow Children—Massie.

In the preceding chapters has been told in a general way the history of the Indian tribes who inhabited the region about the present site of Cincinnati before and at the time the settlers came, as well as the many campaigns conducted by the whites against them and the treaties which resulted from these campaigns. An account has been given as well of the efforts made to protect the settlers by the building of a fort which was the most considerable fortification of the United States located at that time in the West. The many incidents of pioneer life in which the settlers of Hamilton County came into immediate contact with the red men in the neighborhood of their own homes and the efforts made by the settlers to protect themselves in a small way by the establishment of stations at a little distance from the great fort properly form chapters separate from those describing the larger expeditions.

As has been stated heretofore, the settlement between the Miamis was delayed in the hope that the treaty of Fort Harmar would result in giving complete immunity to this region and for a time this fortunate result seemed likely. Stites had not waited for the conclusion of the treaty but that he had been received in a spirit of entire friendliness by the Indians has been shown by the letter to Dayton, written from North Bend by Symmes, already quoted. Symmes' own proclamation to the Indians calling their attention to his forbearance when in the Miami region in September has also been given. Shortly after he arrived at Miami, he had an opportunity of cementing the friendly feeling existing toward him which he describes in the letter to Dayton so often referred to:

CAPTAIN FIG AND CAPTAIN BLACKBIRD.

"I will now, sir, resume the subject of the Indians, who had been so long impatient to see me at Miami. On my arrival at Miami I found no Indians at that place; they were all out at their camp, about six miles off, and I could not then tarry for an interview. A few days after my arrival at Northbend, I had occasion to send my nephew to Columbia in a keel boat; with him, George, the interpreter, and an old Shawanese called captain Fig, came down to me. Two days after, several more Shawanese Indians and some squaws came down by land; and in a few days following, arrived a Shawanese chief with another man of that nation. The chief communicated to me their wishes to be on friendly terms, signifying that it would be very much to their advantage to have free intercourse with us, and exchange their peltries for the articles which they much wanted. To this you will suppose I readily agreed. The chief (the others sitting around him) wished to be informed how far I was supported by the United States, and whether the thirteen fires had sent me hither. I answered them in the affirmative, and spread before them the thirteen fires, which I had in a flag then in my camp. I pointed to the troops in uniform—then on

parade—and informed the chief, that these were the warriors which the thirteen fires kept in constant pay to avenge their quarrels, and that though the United States were desirous of peace with them, yet they were able to chastise any aggressor who should dare to offend them; and to demonstrate this, I showed them the seal of my commission, on which the American arms were impressed, observing, that while the eagle held a branch of the tree, as an emblem of peace, in one claw, she had strong and sharp arrows in the other, which denoted her power to punish her enemies. The chief, who observed the device of the seal, with great attention, replied by the interpreter, that, 'he could not see any intimation of peace from the attitude the eagle was in, having her wings spread as in flight, when folding her wings denoted rest and peace. That he could not understand how the branch of a tree could be considered as a pacific emblem, for rods designed for correction were always taken from the boughs of trees. That to him the eagle appeared, from her bearing a large whip in one claw, and such a number of arrows in the other, and in full career of flight, to be wholly bent on war and mischief.' I need not repeat to you my arguments to convince him of his mistake; but I at length succeeded, and he appeared entirely satisfied of the friendship of Congelis (for so they pronounced Congress) to the red people. Captain Blackbird—for so the chief was called—assured me, that I need be under no apprehensions of mischief from the Shawanese nation. He even asked me permission, to come down with his tribe and settle on a prairie or plain in the purchase, about thirty miles from this place up the Great Miami, which I assented to. After they had sold to me all their furs and skins, which were several hundred, and almost stripped me of all the linen and cloth that I had brought out for the use of the surveyors and my workmen, which almost ruined me as to those articles, so much were wanted, and having lived chiefly at my expense (nor was it a very small one, as they had whiskey at their pleasure gratis) for about four weeks, they took leave in a most friendly manner, promising to return to Northbend again by the third new moon, which is already some days past."

Although Symmes used every effort within his power to conciliate the Indians into whose country he had moved and showed in every means his peaceful intentions he was hampered by the conduct of other settlers and the tradesmen who used no restraint in dealing with the savages. A number of incidents are given which show the injustice with which the white man treated his red neighbor which naturally resulted in reprisals. A trader on the way down the river stopped at Columbia in his boat. Here he met a party of Indians who purchased a barrel of whiskey from him. The whiskey froze in the barrel before they reached their camp. The same trader sold the Indians a rifle for thirty buckskins, or as the Indians told the story forty buckskins (which were worth one dollar apiece), and a horse worth £15. A worthless gunsmith "who undertook to put a new chop—worth one and six pence—for the flint, to the cock of an Indian's rifle made the Indian leave two bucks for the work, before he would undertake it; another Indian calling for the gun, was forced to pay two bucks more before the smith would give up the gun." (Symmes to Dayton.)

THE CAPTURE OF FLINN.

The Indians naturally were very bitter about this treatment and as they considered the whites one people, each member of which was responsible for the misdoings of all other members, they began a series of reprisals. The Indians who had met Stites at the time of his landing at Columbia finally moved back into the country and shortly after their departure several of the horses were stolen. This was repeated and finally for a third time the horses were stolen from Columbia. A party under the command of Lieutenant Bailey was sent in pursuit of the thieves; they followed the trail of the horses about eighty miles and came upon signs that showed that the Indians were very near. A man named Flinn went forward to reconnoiter. He soon came in sight of what he thought was an Indian camp and was creeping along very softly in order to get nearer. He did not perceive however that three Indians were creeping along behind him with equal stealth until one of them clapped him on the shoulder crying out "Yo ho! Yo ho!" Flinn much dismayed and perfectly helpless yielded himself without any resistance and was taken to their camp where they tried to converse together but as there was no interpreter there this was found to be impossible. They placed their guns, together with Flinn's, against a tree and presently one of them started to get some tugs or straps of rawhide. Flinn supposing of course that they intended to bind him and being a man of great agility,

sprang from them and flew for his life; the Indians did not fire at him. He reached his party and the whole number taking five horses belonging to the Indians made as quickly as possible for Columbia; their only loss was Flinn's gun. Shortly after their return to Columbia the same party of Indians, who were Wyandots, came there with their squaws bringing back Flinn's gun. They assured Mr. Stites that they were innocent of the robbery of the horses in Columbia and demanded the horses which were taken by Bailey's party. Some of the Indians were of the number who had been at Columbia before and the matter was soon settled by a compromise and the horses restored. One of these same Indians, a chief of the Wyandots, although protesting against the responsibility for the horses stolen by other Indians, demanded that Stites should pay him twenty dollars which Colonel Morgan on his way to Mississippi had promised to pay him for carrying letters from the Miamis to Muskingum and Sandusky. Morgan had promised the Indian forty dollars but a Mr. Magee at Sandusky had paid him twenty and he demanded the other twenty of Stites. Stites took the chief over to see Symmes on the 30th of April. The Judge endeavored to convince him that he was not responsible for the promise of Colonel Morgan. He gave him however a new calico shirt with a statement by the interpreter that as he had worn out his shirt in the service of Colonel Morgan, Symmes would replace it with a new one.

"He seemed dissatisfied that he was not likely to get his twenty dollars, and could not be made otherwise sensible, but that what one white owed an Indian, every white was bound to pay until that debt was discharged. I informed him that I could not part with money; he replied that he would take the value thereof in whiskey, which I agreed to give him whenever he might call for the same. He had left his horses at Columbia, and came down by water with Mr. Stites. On his return to that place, they freighted their horses with whiskey, and set out for their towns, leaving behind the whiskey I told him I would pay for Colonel Morgan; since which I have not heard one syllable from them."

The episode of the attack on a surveying party in the neighborhood of Mad River was one that excited much apprehension, being the first in the purchase, according to Judge Symmes, after the death of Filson in the preceding September. The party included John Mills and five others. As they were rising from their camp early one morning they were fired upon by a number of Indians, of what tribe was never learned, and a man named Holman of Kentucky and one named Wells of Delaware were killed. Mills and the other three escaped unhurt. Of course the Indians who came in after the tragedy were entirely innocent of the matter and ignorant concerning the circumstance.

THE WOUNDING OF MILLS.

Mr. Mills seems to have been unfortunate, for on May 21st, he was in Mr. Luce's party at the time it was fired on while escorting several citizens up the Ohio about seven miles from North Bend. This party was on its way to the new town of South Bend. This time the soldier by the name of Runyan, it will be remembered, was killed and six others of whom two were citizens were wounded. The citizens who were wounded were John Mills and William Montgomery. Mills received the first shot which entered his back under the right shoulder blade and came out near his right breast. It was thought at first that his wound was mortal but by the management and care of some squaws he recovered. The wounded soldiers were taken to the garrison at the falls where there was a surgeon. Grey, one of the soldiers, died from the effect of the wounds. (Field Notes of John Dunlap.)

The disastrous effects of these attacks upon the settlement are elsewhere referred to. The settlement at South Bend was entirely abandoned for the time and fifty people left North Bend within the next few days. About this time Symmes relates the arrival of Colonel Shrieves from Mississippi with complaints of Colonel Morgan's conduct in that country. Shortly before the attack on Mr. Luce's party, Colonel Patterson with a party of Lexington light horse had brought to North Bend a number of Indian prisoners, squaws and boys. These had been sent by the authority of Kentucky to the commanding officer of the garrison at North Bend, "with the request that they might be, by some means or other, forwarded to the Indian towns, or turned at liberty into the woods to find their way home or starve, which ever might happen."

THE MISSION OF FREEMAN.

One of the Indians that had gone down with Colonel Morgan happened to be in the party of Colonel Shrieves. He was prevailed upon to stay at the Bend until such time as a message could be prepared to inform the Shawanees that ten of their women and children were there ready for exchange and to direct them to bring in their white prisoners for that purpose. Symmes wrote a letter concerning the matter to the Shawanee chiefs, one of whom he knew as the Indian had spent some time at the Bend during the past winter. As an evidence of good faith and for the purpose of convincing the Indians of his peaceable intentions, he concluded to send a young white man with the Indians to the Shawanee town. From a number of volunteers he selected Isaac Freeman, "a young man whose father lives near Quibble Town, as proper a person as any I had; both from his approved courage and activity, and a certain manner of address which is pleasing to the Indians. But as Mr. Freeman could speak no Indian, and the Indian could speak no English, a third person became necessary to serve as an interpreter; to supply which I sent along with them the oldest Indian boy, about fifteen years of age, who retained well his mother tongue, yet spoke very good English, which he had acquired while a prisoner in Kentucky." The party took with them from the Bend twenty days' provisions on a pack horse with one rifle and plenty of ammunition, though the Indian informed Symmes by one of the squaws, who was in fact a white woman who had lived among the Shawanees, that the trip should not take over eight days in good weather. Symmes was not entirely disinterested in sending out this embassy and he gives as his reason for sending a white man to the Indian towns that in this way he would gain some information on his return if he lived to come back, "with regard to the quality of the country between the Miamis, and above the place where any have already explored; for this purpose I directed him to go out and come in between the two Miami rivers. And should we hereafter find it necessary to invade their country, the United States will, in this case, have a good guide to their army, who will be able to point out the most eligible way that leads to the Indian towns, and what Indians are the hostile ones. Freeman's going to the Shawanese will reduce to certainty whether they mean to be our friends or enemies; and I think that putting the worst, they will only sell him to the English traders as they do other prisoners, for it is not probable that they will put him to death, as they had none killed in captivating of him, and especially, as we have so many of their women and children now in our power." (Symmes to Dayton, May, 1789.)

The uneasiness of Judge Symmes about the Indians is shown in almost every letter. He soon records the building of a stockade against the event of a failure of Freeman's expedition. "Should the Indians prove hostile, or should the Indians come in with Mr. Freeman, for their friends with us, if we remain then as defenceless as now, I fear our weakness may tempt them to make war upon us. But there is another benefit I promise myself from a good large stockade: this is, that it will embolden many a citizen to settle in this town, whose nerves would not bear the thoughts of sleeping out of a fort. Had we had a good stockade on the 21st ultimo, I do not believe that half so many, if any, indeed, would have fled the place. This work Captain Kearsey, with his forty-five men, should have done; but he did nothing. Mr. Luce has a small blockhouse, yet large enough for the few troops with him, but this is all, not a citizen can be admitted in case of an attack. The citizens must provide for their own defense, which is peculiarly hard on them, to be obliged to leave their corn-planting and clearing,—late in the season as it is,—in order to make some place where they may deposit their wives and children in safety, while themselves rest from the hard labor of the day." (Symmes to Dayton.)

On June 15th, he notes the receipt by General Harmar of an express from Major Hamtramck at Post Vincennes, speaking of the hostilities of the Indians on the Wabash where many boats had been taken and a number of Indians killed. The Major also in a letter to Luce gives the opinion that the Miami and Wabash Indians have determined to attack the settlements in the purchase during the summer. As to this Symmes says: "We are very defenceless and know not of any troops coming to our assistance. Captain Henry sets out in the morning, and with him go to Louisville sixteen or eighteen men, who do not expect to be here again till fall."

THE SPEECH OF THE MIAMIS.

On July 17th, Freeman's return from his expedition is noted by Symmes. With him he brought a speech from the chiefs and warriors of the Maumee towns:

"MAWME, July 7, 1789.

"Brothers! Americans!—At the Miami—Warriors!—listen to us warriors, what we have to say.

"Now Americans! Brothers,—We have heard from you, and are glad to hear the good speech you sent us. You have got our flesh and blood among you, and we have got yours among us, and we are glad to hear that you wish to exchange; we really think you want to exchange, and that is the reason we listen to you.

"As the Great Spirit has put your flesh and blood into our hands, we now deliver them up.

"We Warriors, if we can, wish to make peace, and our chiefs and yours will then listen to one another. As we warriors speak from our hearts, we hope you do so too, and wish you may be of one mind as we are.

"Brothers, Warriors,—When we heard from you that you wished to exchange prisoners, we listened attentively, and now we send some, as all are not here, nor can be procured at present, and therefore, we hope you will send all ours home, and when we see them, it will make us strong to send all yours which cannot now all be got together.

"Brothers, Warriors,—When we say this, it is from our hearts, and we hope you do the same, but if our young men should do any thing wrong before we all meet together, we beg you will overlook it; this is the mind of us warriors, and our chiefs are glad there is hopes of peace. We hope, therefore, that you are of the same mind.

"Brothers, Warriors,—It is the warriors who have shut the path which your chiefs and ours formerly laid open, but there is hopes that path will soon be cleared; that our women and children may go where they wish in peace, and that yours may do the same.

"Now Brothers, Warriors,—You have heard from us; we hope you will be strong like us, and we hope there will be nothing but peace and friendship between you and us."

The following prisoners came in with Isaac Freeman, viz.: John White, taken from Nelson County, Kentucky; Elizabeth Bryant and her child, and a child named Ashby, who were taken from a boat at the mouth of the Kentucky River—all its friends said to have been killed at the time. Two others who were intended to be sent in ran off the night before Freeman left their towns, to avoid returning to the whites. Of those who would be sent in thereafter, was a Mrs. Bilderback, whose husband was killed at Mingo Bottom, at the time she was made prisoner; also, a soldier in Captain McCurdy's company, named Brady,—he was with a party guarding a surveyor, when made captive. Seven soldiers and several of the inhabitants were killed in the attack.

Freeman lost his life on a later mission to the Indians, being fired on while bearing a flag of truce. He brought back at this time terrifying accounts of the warlike preparations making at the Indian towns which raised fresh commotion in the village and induced many of the families to leave for the falls. Symmes writes that he is not terrified by the report of Freeman:

"I am by no means terrified by the report of Mr. Freeman but I am indeed mortified to see people running away from these settlements, merely because no care is taken by their superiors to save them and their families from the rage of the savages. They feel themselves abandoned to destruction, and whether the danger they apprehend is real or imaginary, 'tis the same thing to them. One family flying from the purchase causes more detriment to the settlement than fifty staying away, when they are away."

A number of the things observed by Freeman while at the Indian towns reflect upon the condition of affairs among the savages generally. He lodged at the house of a chief, Blue Jacket. While there he saw pack horses bringing to the house five hundred weight of powder and an equivalent amount of lead with one hundred muskets. The same amount of ammunition he saw deposited at the house of another chief in the same town and a like quantity was sent to every chief through all their towns. Upon the arrival of these stores which came from Detroit, British colors were displayed upon the housetop of every chief. A prisoner among the Indians, who had gained their confidence and had attended their council house by means of an artifice, succeeded in conversing with Freeman. He assured him that the Indians were determined to destroy the Miami settlements and would have attempted it before this time had it not been for the lack of military stores. These had now arrived and they only awaited

the return of a Mr. Magee (?) with two pieces of artillery from Sandusky or Detroit to proceed without delay on their expedition to the Ohio.

Freeman's report was also corroborated by the letter which Luce had received from Hamtramck and also by way of Pittsburg. On the evening of Freeman's return a Shawanee Indian came on the hill back of the town and hallooed to the Indian who had come back with Mr. Freeman. This naturally caused considerable alarm. The women and children rushed to Symmes' house and the men paraded with their arms. The friendly Indian however went up to the hill to the stranger and brought him in. He stated that he was alone and was from the Indian towns having spent but five days on the road. In view of these rumors it is not surprising that Judge Symmes should write:

"What will be the issue, God only knows. I shall however maintain the ground as long as is possible, ill-prepared as we are. I can but perish as many a better man has done before me. It will be but just, however, if we are to have no assistance, to advertise me thereof immediately, that we may all resort to one station, which will be put in the best posture of defense that we are able to fortify." (Symmes to Dayton, July 17, 1789.)

THE SEWARDS.

On September 20, 1789, there came the attack on the Seward boys, the sons of a pioneer from New Jersey, named James Seward. Seward owned a lot in Turkey Bottom, which, as has been stated, had been originally an Indian clearing, planted in corn for many years by the aboriginees, and had been leased by Stites to the various settlers. Seward's house was on the side of the hill near Columbia and his farm lot was reached by a path about two miles in length.

Abel Cook, one of the party that first landed at Columbia in a search for nuts had cut down a large hickory tree which lay across the path and near the outside of the fence. Seward's two sons, Obadiah and John, aged 21 and 15 respectively, had in charge the cultivation of this field. On the afternoon referred to, the boys on their way to the clearing had just leaped over the hickory tree when two Indians sprang upon them. They had been concealed in a treetop and one slid down each side of the tree so that an Indian was in front and another behind the boys, who were unarmed as at that time no danger was feared from the Indians. Obadiah, the elder, surrendered at once and was fastened with twigs by the Indians. John the younger, made a dash for home. The Indian on his side of the tree followed him and soon came within striking distance when he hurled his tomahawk after him. This brought the boy to the ground as it clove his skull just behind the right ear. The Indian then overtook him, struck him again on his head and scalped him and left him for dead with his brains oozing from his head. He was found the next day by some of his neighbors and his own family, and was carried home on the back of John Classon. When he was found it was discovered that although so terribly injured he had retained sufficient strength to endeavor to crawl away; being unable to lift his head and probably unconscious of what he was doing, he crawled round and round in a regular circle until he had made a deep track with his hands and knees and feet. He lingered 39 days during which time he became conscious and was able to give an account of the attack. In spite of every thing that could be done for him he finally died.

Obadiah's fate was unknown for some time but it was finally learned from another man, Ned Larkins, a hired man in the service of John Phillips. On the day of the attack upon the Seward boys as is stated in one account and ten days later as is stated in another, he had been at work engaged in topping corn for fodder when he was suddenly assailed by two Indians. One grasped him by the arm and the other treatened him with his tomahawk. His screams for assistance were stopped by the threats of his captors, made partly by signs and partly in broken English, that they would kill him at once if he did not keep quiet. After being tied he was taken away along an Indian trail until they came to the trail leading from Pittsburg to Detroit. Larkins was taken to Detroit and there sold to a Frenchman for a small trifle. The Frenchman tiring of him set him at liberty and he made his way with a number of other whites who had been redeemed from captivity to Pittsburg, from which point he returned to Columbia without difficulty. He brought the first news of the fate of the elder Seward boy.

The boy had been ordered to drive the pack horses carrying the plunder of his captors. When they reached the road from Pittsburg just mentioned, they met another party of Indians and all indulged in a general carouse. After this they started on their way with young Seward

driving the horses ahead. At a fork of the road Seward made a mistake and took the wrong fork and one of the drunken Indians sent a ball after him which killed him. The Indian afterwards claimed that he did not know the gun was loaded and fired merely for the purpose of frightening him, but his head was cut off with part of the skin of the breast adhering to it and was placed on a stake alongside the road. Here Larkins, who had been quite intimate with Seward, saw it and recognized it.

Young Seward is said to have felt a presentiment that he would be killed by Indians and to have had the intention of returning to New Jersey as soon as he should become of age, which would have been in a few months. The father moved to the neighborhood of Springdale, where he lost another son by a fall of a tree. He lived in that neighborhood well into the next century.

HILLIERS.

On December 12, 1789, a son of John Hilliers of North Bend while going out in the morning to bring home the cows about a half mile from the garrison was attacked by Indians who tomahawked and scalped him in the most surprising manner and took away his gun and hat and left him lying on his back.

VANEMAN AND LAFFERTY.

On December 17, 1789, two young men, Andrew Vaneman and James Lafferty, crossed the river from North Bend for the purpose of hunting. They encamped at night and made a fire when they were surprised by the Indians who shot at them from the woods as they sat by the fire. The first fire killed them. They were shot through the back between the shoulders; the bullet in each case came out under their right arms. They were afterwards tomahawked and scalped in a most barbarous manner. Their clothes were stripped from them and they were left lying on their backs quite naked without as much as one thread on them. The next day a party including John Dunlap, the surveyor, and six others went over and buried them in one grave. (Field Notes of John Dunlap.)

It is not surprising that after such episodes as this, Symmes should write: "Things were prosperous, considering the mischief done there this spring by the Indians. They plant considerable corn, though much more would have been planted if no mischief had been done. Many fled on those occasions—two men have been killed. The Indians are universally hostile and the contrary opinion is illfounded."

Symmes' confidence is shown as usual in the same letter: "And while settlers are hovering along the Ohio's banks, fearful to go farther back into the country, we should embrace the opportunity to settle our township well. For when it is once safe for settlers to go so far back as the level country, which is much more inviting, we shall find it difficult to persuade them to stop with us. Now, is therefore the time to prevail with them to accept the fee of a small spot—they will afterwards hardly leave it." (Symmes to Dayton, May 28, 1790.)

WETZEL.

On October 27, 1790, a hunter Jacob Wetzel was returning from a successful day in the chase. Near the crossing at the mouth of Deer creek he sat down on a decayed tree trunk in the midst of a forest of beech and maple surrounded by a heavy undergrowth of grape vines and shrubs. Hearing a noise in the woods near him and alarmed by the growl of his dog, he glanced up just in time to see an Indian pointing his rifle at him from behind a large oak tree. Wetzel sprang behind another tree and he and the Indian discharged their guns simultaneously. The Indian's shot missed but Wetzel hit his enemy in the left elbow. Before either could reload, Wetzel dashed upon him with his hunting knife and the Indian drew his own. Wetzel's first blow was parried and his knife knocked from his hand to a distance of some thirty feet from him. He immediately seized the Indian about the body and threw him to the ground, holding the arm with the knife under him. The two men rolled about locked in deadly struggle until the Indian succeeded in getting the uppermost and was about to finish Wetzel with his knife. At this moment the dog suddenly sprang at the Indian's throat with such fury as to cause him to drop his knife. Wetzel seized it at once and stabbed his opponent to the heart. After he had taken his enemy's spoils and started to his home, he heard the war whoop of a number of other savages. He ran hastily to the river and escaped to the cove known as Yeatman's Cove at the foot of Sycamore street. The Indian who was killed was regarded as one of the bravest of his tribe,

Another account places this episode at the road along the Ohio River leading to Storrs and Delphi, some four hundred feet below the junction of Front and Fifth streets.

WALLACE.

In May, 1791, John S. Wallace, a celebrated pioneer, in company with his father and another boy were hoeing corn in a lot which was immediately north of where the Cincinnati Hospital now stands. In the neighborhood near the corner of what is now Central avenue and Clinton street two men named Scott and Shephard were plowing. They had drawn but a few furrows across the lot when five or six Indians suddenly jumped the fence with a terrific yell and started after the plowmen. These took to their heels and were able to escape their pursuers who followed them as far as the corner of Fifth and Race streets. Wallace, who it will be remembered was fined for not carrying his rifle to church, had it with him on this occasion. He snatched it up and started into the neighboring lot where he discovered an Indian about eighty yards away about to enter the bushes. He fired at him but did not seem to hit him as the Indian escaped. Two other Indians had mounted the plow horse and were making away at the top of their speed. They left behind them eight blankets and blanket capots together with a leg of bear meat, a horn of powder and some other trifles. The alarm was given and 11 of the best woodsmen and hunters started on foot in pursuit, followed by 11 others on horses, which took all the horses in the place. The horsemen carried some corn pone and venison wrapped in their blankets for the horsemen and footmen. At sunset they were overtaken by a heavy thunder storm and rain and the party encamped for the night, fastening their horses to the trees. In the morning they took up the trail and found that the Indians had spent the night in a prickly ash thicket and that they had eaten part of a fawn raw, leaving the rest. The chase was continued as far as a point on the Great Miami just above where Hamilton now stands. Here the river was bank full, owing to the tremendous rain, and the pursuers gave up the chase and returned home.

CUTTER.

The same spring (May 21, 1791), Col. John Riddle and his father-in-law, William Harris, were clearing ground for a corn field at a spot where Byington's Rolling Mill was afterwards located on Plum street south of the corporation line (Liberty street); this was in the neighborhood of the site of the present Cincinnati Hospital. While they were resting from their work they heard a slight rustling in the spicewood bushes and started the dog who was with them into the bushes to see if there were Indians there. He soon returned with his tail and ears down and showing every evidence of fear. The men immediately made a circuit through the bushes to get around the Indians if any should be there.

When they struck the path just below where they had been, they heard the Indians crossing at the spot where they had been sitting. They hurried into Cincinnati and found that Benjamin Van Cleve had been shot at and Joseph Cutter, who was clearing one of the out-lots, captured and carried off by the Indians. A rescue party was made up at once and accompanied by a dog it started in pursuit. The trail was easy to follow as Cutter had lost one of his shoes so that the marks of his feet were very plain in the marshy bottoms and along the water course. The pursuit was kept up until dark when it was abandoned for the night and resumed on the next day. It was afterwards ascertained that the savages had halted two miles beyond the point where the pursuit had been given up for the night and had encamped there. Cutter was never afterwards heard from.

VAN CLEVE.

Shortly afterwards, June 1, 1791, Van Cleve was working with two other men on the same out-lot in the neighborhood of the present 14th street and the canal when the Indians again assailed them. The party started to run for the settlement and two escaped, but Van Cleve, who had passed the others and was some three hundred yards or more in advance, was intercepted by an Indian who sprang at him from an ambuscade in the top of a fallen tree. Van Cleve grappled with his antagonist and threw him but the Indian arose quickly and plunged his knife two or three times into Van Cleve's side. He then quickly stripped off his victim's scalp and made his escape before the other two men caught up with Van Cleve who was entirely lifeless.

Benjamin Van Cleve, a son, gives the following account of these events:

"The Indians had now become so daring as to skulk through the streets at night and through the gardens around Fort Washington. Besides many hairbreadth escapes, we had news daily of

persons killed on the Little Miami or on the Great Miami, or between the settlements. One morning a few persons started in a pirogue to go to Columbia, and the Indians killed most of them a little above the mouth of Deer creek, within hearing of the town. David Clayton, one of the killed, was one of our family.

"On the 21st of May, 1791, the Indians fired on my father, when he was at work on his out-lot in Cincinnati, and took prisoner Joseph Cutter, within a few yards of him. The alarm was given by hallooing from lot to lot until it reached town. I had just arrived from Leach's Station. The men in town were running to the public ground, and I there met with one who saw the Indians firing on my father. I asked if any would proceed with me, and pushed on with a few young men without halting. We, however, met my father after running a short distance, and got to the ground soon after the Indians had secured Cutter. While we were finding the trail of the Indians on their retreat, perhaps fifty persons had arrived, most of whom joined in the pursuit. But by the time we had gained the top of the river hills we had only eight. Cutter had lost one of his shoes, so that we could frequently distinguish his track in crossing water-courses, and we found there was an equal number of Indians. We were stripped, and a young dog belonging to me led us on the trace, and generally kept about a hundred yards ahead. We kept them on the full run until dark, thinking we sometimes discovered the shaking of the bushes. We came back to Cincinnati that night, and they only went two miles farther from where our pursuit ceased. The next day they were pursued again, but not overtaken.

"On the first day of June my father was killed by them. He was stabbed in five places, and scalped. Two men that were at the out-lot with him, when the Indians showed themselves, ran before him towards the town. He passed them at about three hundred yards, the Indians being in pursuit behind; but another, as it was supposed, had concealed himself in the brush of a fallen tree-top between them and the town. As my father was passing it, a naked Indian sprang upon him. My father was seen to throw him; but at this time the Indian was plunging his knife into his heart. He took a small scalp off and ran. The men behind came up immediately; but my father was already dead."

These attacks are said to have been the last instances in which a rifle was fired by savages within the limits of the original city. Many depredations were committed after that time and the Indians often came down so far as to the fields surrounding Fort Washington where they frequently killed the cattle or drove them away. In these attacks the bow and arrow were used which enabled them to prowl through the streets at night without making any noise which would alarm the garrison or inhabitants. On one occasion an Indian is said to have shot an arrow with a stone head into an ox with such force as to cause it to pierce the entire body of the animal.

The defeat of Harmar had given great assurance to the savages and they seemed for a long time to have no hesitation in attacking any straggling parties near the settlements. As St. Clair's army began to gather they became more cautious and from that time the immediate neighborhood of the fort was not in such great danger. The attacks upon the outskirts and at a little distance from the principal settlements continued.

FULLER.

In August, 1791, a man by the name of Fuller and his son William, who was a boy about 16 years of age, together with John Matson and George Cullum went to the Big Miami about two miles from North Bend and built a fish stand. At night Fuller sent his son to take the cows home and nothing more was heard of the boy for some time. The neighborhood turned out to hunt him up, naturally attributing his disappearance to the Indians. No trace of him was however obtained or any information about him received until the time of Wayne's treaty four years later. The father in the hope of learning something about his son went with a party to Fort Greenville where he spent a week making inquiries among the Indians. Here he learned by a conversation with one of Wayne's spies, Christopher Miller, who had been taken captive himself when young and who had been raised among the Indians, that his son was still alive and among the savages. He was finally restored to his father and taken home.

Miller's story was that two Indians were scouting on the Miami when a boy who was looking for the cows came quite near to them before he observed them. He started to run and Miller called out "Don't run." In response to the boy's question as to who he was he said his name was Miller. Young Fuller supposed him

to be a neighbor and allowed him to approach near, being quite lame and unable to make any resistance to his capture. He was taken across the Miami and finally to an Indian town. Fuller was lame and cross-eyed and as a result the Indians were in favor of tomahawking him but Miller saved him on the ground that he was his own personal captive. After his return he fell into bad company and became one of a gang of horse thieves.

SPENCER.

One of the most interesting incidents connected with the relations of the Indians to the settlers was the capture of Oliver M. Spencer, a son of Colonel Spencer, one of the most prominent of the early settlers. This occurred July 7, 1792, on the river between Cincinnati and Columbia about four miles above Broadway.

Mr. Cist gives the following account of this episode:

"The scenery of the Ohio between Columbia and Cincinnati was in those days truly romantic; scarcely a tree had been cut on either side, between the mouth of Crawfish and that of Deer creek, a distance of more than four miles. The sand-bar now extending from its left bank, opposite to Sportsman's Hall, was then a small island, between which and the Kentucky shore was a narrow channel, with sufficient depth of water for the passage of boats. The upper and lower points of this island were bare, but its centre, embracing about four acres, was covered with small cottonwood, and surrounded by willows extending along its sides almost down to the water's edge. The right bank of the river crowned with its lofty hills, now gradually ascending, and now rising abruptly to their summits, and forming a vast amphitheatre, was from Columbia, extending down about two miles, very steep, and covered with trees quite down to the beach. From thence, nearly opposite the foot of the island, its ascent became more gradual, and for two miles farther down, bordering the tall trees with which it was covered was a thick growth of willows, through which in many places it was difficult to penetrate. Below this, the beach was wide and stony, with only here and there a small tuft of willows, while the wood on the side and on the top of the bank was more open. Not far from this bank and near the line of the present turnpike, was a narrow road leading from Columbia to Cincinnati, just wide enough for the passage of a wagon, which, winding round the point of the hill above Deer creek, descended northwardly about four hundred feet, and crossing that creek and in a southerly direction ascending gradually its western bank, led along the ground, now Symmes street, directly toward Fort Washington, and diverging at the intersection of Lawrence street to the right and left of the Fort, entered the town.

"The river between Columbia and Cincinnati is thus minutely described, not only to give an idea of the former appearances to those who have come to reside here since, but also to explain the statement which Mr. C. gave me. [The statement to Cist is by Mr. Coleman.]

"Spencer, as he tells us in his own narrative, had got on board a canoe at the bank in front of Fort Washington, which was just ready to put off from the shore on the afternoon of the 7th of July. It was a small craft, and hardly fit to accommodate the party, which thus consisted of a Mr. Jacob Light, a Mr. Clayton, Mrs. Coleman, young Spencer, a boy of 13, and one of the garrison soldiers, which last individual, being much intoxicated, lurched from one side of the canoe to the other, and finally by the time they had got a short distance above Deer creek, tumbled out, nearly oversetting the whole party. He then reached the shore, the water not being very deep at the spot. Spencer did not know how to swim, and had become afraid to continue in the canoe, and was therefore at his own request put on shore, where they left the soldier, and the party in the boat and Spencer on shore proceeded side by side. Light propelled the boat forward with a pole, while Clayton sat at the stern with a paddle which he sometimes used as an oar, and sometimes as a rudder, and Mrs. Coleman a woman of fifty years, sat in the middle of the boat. One mile above Deer creek, a party of market people with a woman and child, on board a canoe, passed them on their way to Cincinnati. Light and the others had rounded the point of a small cove less than a mile below the foot of the island, and proceeded a few hundred yards along the close willows here bordering the beach, at about two rods distance from the water, when Clayton looking back, discovered the drunken man staggering along the shore, and remarked that he would be 'bait for Indians.' Hardly had he passed the remark when two rifle shots from the rear of the willows struck Light and his comrade, causing the latter to fall towards the shore, and wounding the other by a ball glancing from the oar.—The

two Indians who had fired instantly rushed from their concealment, to scalp the dead, and impede the escape of the living. Clayton was scalped, and Spencer, in spite of all his efforts to get off, was made prisoner, but Light soon swam out of reach of his pursuers; and Mrs. Coleman who had also jumped out, preferring to be drowned to falling into the hands of Indians, floated some distance off. The Indians would probably have reloaded and fired, but the report of their rifles brought persons to the opposite shore, and fearing to create further alarm, they decamped with their young prisoner in haste, saying 'squaw must drown.' Light had first made for the Kentucky shore, but finding himself drifting under all the exertions he could make in his crippled state, directed his way out on the Ohio side. Mrs. Coleman followed as well as she could by the use of her hands as paddles, and they both got to shore some distance below the scene of these events. Light had barely got out when he fell, so much exhausted that he could not speak, but after vomiting blood at length came to. Mrs. Coleman floated nearly a mile, and when she reached the shore, walked down the path to Cincinnati, crossed Deer creek at its mouth, holding on to the willows which overhung its banks—the water there in those days flowing in a narrow current that might almost be cleared by a spring from one bank to the other. She went direct to Captain Thorp at the artificers' yard, with whose lady she was acquainted, and from whom she obtained a change of clothes, and rested a day or two to overcome her fatigue." (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 261.)

Mrs. Coleman lived for almost fifty years after this episode.

SPENCER'S CAPTIVITY.

Spencer was captured by a Shawanee Indian and he was soon turned over to one White Loon, the son of a Mohawk chief and was taken to the confluence of the Auglaize and the Maumee, where the Indians sold their furs to a British Indian trader. They crossed over the Maumee to a small bark cabin where Spencer was left in charge of an old squaw, the mother-in-law of his master. The Indians then departed for their homes at a Shawanee village on the river about a mile below. The squaw whose name was Cooh-Coo-Cha, was the priestess of the Iroquois tribe. She was esteemed a great medicine woman and was consulted by the Indians on all occasions before going upon any expeditions.

The prominence of his father, Colonel Spencer, who was an intimate friend of the President, caused every effort to be made to recapture him. The very day of the capture, General Wilkinson wrote to Captain Armstrong at Fort Hamilton as follows:

"I send out to apprise you that, this day about noon, a party of savages fired on a party consisting of two men, a woman and Col. Spencer's son—about one and a half miles above this, and on this side of the river—one man killed, the other wounded but not mortally, and poor little Spencer carried off a prisoner. I sent out a party who fell in with their trail in Gen. Harmar's trace about six miles from this, and followed it on the path about two miles farther, when the men failing with fatigue, the Sergeant was obliged to return—master Spencer's trail was upon the path—this is a farther answer to the pacific overtures, and makes me tremble for your hay. I pray you if possible to redouble your vigilance, and on Monday morning early Captain Peters will march with his company and six wagons to your assistance—send me twenty horses the moment Peters reaches you, and I will be with you next day—in the meantime, your cavalry should scout on both sides of the river, and your rifle men be kept constantly in motion —adieu."

Spencer was subsequently redeemed from captivity on the last day of February, 1793, through the solicitation of the President to the Governor of Canada. The latter instructed Colonel Elliott, the Indian agent, to interpose for his release. He was taken down the Maumee in a pirogue and paddled by two squaws in a canoe along the shore of Lake Erie to Detroit. Here he was taken in a vessel to Erie, Pennsylvania, thence to Forts Chippewa and Niagara, across the wilderness of New York State to Albany, down the Hudson to New York, and from there by way of Pennsylvania to Cincinnati. The distance traveled by him was over two thousand miles, and the journey occupied two years. Nothing but the prominence of Spencer's family made such a trip possible.

Spencer in his narrative, subsequently published, described the settlement, afterwards the site of Fort Defiance. He became a clergyman and minister of the Methodist Church and president of the Miami Exporting Company. His son, Henry E. Spencer, was afterwards mayor of the city.

DEMOSS.

John Scott Harrison, a son of President Harrison and father of another President Harrison, in his address at Cleves on September 8, 1866, in speaking of the pioneer life at North Bend gives the following anecdote:

"A party of men residing at the 'Point' (mouth of Big Miami) were returning from a small mill near North Bend, and, with one exception, stopped at the old-log-house, lately occupied by Andrew McDonald, where a tavern was then kept; and as this was before the days of temperance societies, it is a very fair inference that they stopped to 'take a drink.' One man (Demoss) more temperate, perhaps, than his fellows, continued on his way up the hill—the trace to the Point then running over the hill, near the old graveyard, and on the bluff of the ridge. The revelers had hardly time to accomplish the object of their stop before the report of a rifle was heard on the hill. The party at the tavern, supposing it was only an intimation from their more sober companion to cease their revels and continue their way home, rushed out of the house, and, with a wild whoop, mounted their horses, and rode up the hill. But what must have been the horror of the party, on arriving at the crown of the hill, to find their companion dead, and weltering in his blood. The undischarged rifle of Demoss, and the missing meal-bag, too plainly explained the manner and cause of his death. Pursuit was immediately given, in a northwesterly direction, and the meal, but not the Indian found. The Indian, in order to save his own life, had dropped that which had evidently incited him to commit the murder.

"This tale of Indian murder has always had a peculiar personal interest to me. My mother, then unmarried, and living with her father, Judge Symmes, at North Bend, had been on a riding excursion (horseback, of course) to the Point, the very afternoon of this murder, and has often told me that the horses of her party were still at the door, after their return, when the fatal shot, that killed Demoss, was plainly heard. My mother was always under the impression that the Indian saw her party pass, but that bread, rather than blood, was the object of the murderer."

RIFLES IN CHURCH.

At Columbia the feeling with regard to the Indians was so strong as to induce the settlers to pay for Indian scalps. The sum fixed was $30 a head. The pioneers were in the habit of organizing for hunting Indians just as they would hunt bears, deer or any other wild animal. There is a tradition that one of the Sabbath meetings at Columbia was broken up and the inhabitants sent home to prepare against an attack from the savages by the hurling of a reeking scalp torn from the head of an Indian into their midst. At Cincinnati sentinels were posted in the out-lots or at any place where improvements were being made. A rifle was carried to service by the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church, then located near the corner of Fourth and Main. Any man who failed to bring his rifle was subject to a fine of one hundred cents and Col. John S. Wallace, a well known pioneer, is said to have been obliged to pay this fine for his neglect.

A proclamation of the Secretary of the Territory on this subject was issued September 18, 1792:

"The practice of assembling for public worship without arms, may be attended with most serious and melancholy consequences. It presents the opportunity to an enemy of the smallest degree of enterprise to effect such fatal impression upon our infant settlement as posterity might long in vain lament.

"The laws of the Territory have wisely provided that every man enrolled in the militia shall, upon those occasions, arm and equip himself as though he were marching to engage the enemy, or in default that he shall be fined in the sum of one hundred cents, to be levied upon complaint made to any justice of the peace.

"Although it is incumbent upon every good citizen to represent all violations of this law which shall come to his knowledge, yet it is more immediately the province of the militia officers. They will, therefore, each and every one of them, from and after the publication of this order, consider it their indispensable duty to take cognizance of all persons enrolled in the militia who shall assemble for public worship (within their observation or knowledge), deficient in the arms or accouterments required by law, and make report thereof upon oath to a justice of the peace, as soon as may be after such default shall happen."

ELLIOTT.

In 1794, Col. Robert Elliott lost his life at the hands of the Indians. Elliott was a Pennsylvanian by birth but at that time lived at Hagerstown, Maryland. In connection with Col. Eli

Williams of that place he had a contract for the supply of General Wayne's army then preparing for a march to the Indian country. He superintended the delivery of supplies in person. Accompanied by a servant he was on his way from Fort Hamilton to Cincinnati on the present Winton road. When about four miles out at about the point where the line runs between Hamilton and Butler counties he was fired upon by savages who were lying in ambush along the side of the road. He fell dead from his horse which started on the run back to Hamilton followed by the servant on the other horse. Elliott who was a very large man weighing nearly three hundred pounds wore a wig. One of the Indians who shot him rushed up, drew his knife, took him by the scalp-lock and proceeded to scalp him. To his great surprise the scalp came off at the first touch without any indications of injury caused by its removal. The Indian much disgusted at the imposition exclaimed, "dam lie!" In a few minutes however the Indian party recovered from their astonishment and made great sport of the wig.

The next morning the Colonel's body was boxed up and placed in his own wagon and started back to Cincinnati for burial. The servant accompanied the body riding the Colonel's horse. At almost the exact spot where Elliott had been killed the day before, the ambushed Indians again fired upon the party and the servant was killed at the first shot. The horse escaped to Hamilton for the second time followed by the wagoner. The Indians broke open the box evidently expecting to find within it something of value but upon its contents being discovered it was left and nothing but the wagon horse carried off. Another party from the fort recovered the body and carried it to Fort Washington and it was then buried in the usual burying ground at the corner of Fourth and Main streets. Many years later, in 1835, Colonel Elliott's son, Commodore Jesse D. Elliott, while upon a visit to the city had his father's body removed to the new burying ground of the First Presbyterian Church on 12th street and erected over the grave a tablet to the memory of his father.

Among the stories collected by Mr. Cist of the early settlers and their contact with the Indians there are some rather amusing ones:

"It was with difficulty horses could be preserved from being stolen, by all the means of protection to which the settlers could resort. In the family to which this lady belonged, the halter-chains of the horses were passed through between the logs and fastened to stout hooks on the inside. But neither this precaution nor securing them with hobbles, would always serve to protect horses from the savages. On one occasion, a fine mare, with her colt, had been left in the rear of the house, in a small inclosure. The mare was taken off by Indians, they having secured her by a stout buffalo tug. It appears they had not noticed the colt in the darkness of the night. As they rode her off, the colt sprang the fence after the mare, and made such a noise galloping after, that, supposing themselves pursued, they let the mare go, lest she should impede their escape, and the family inside of the house knew nothing of the danger to which they had been exposed, until the buffalo tug told the night's adventure.

"On another occasion, several families, who had settled on the face of the hill, near where Colonel Spencer afterward resided, at a spot called Morristown, from one Morris, the principal individual in the settlement, had hung out clothes to dry. Early in the evening, a party of Indians, prowling around, made a descent and carried off every piece of clothing left out, nor was the loss discovered until the families were about to retire for the night. Pursuit was made, and the trail followed for several miles, when, arriving at the place where the savages had encamped, it was found deserted, the enemy being panic-struck, and having abandoned all to effect their escape. The plunder was recovered, but not until the Indians had raveled out the coverlets to make belts for themselves." (Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, pp. 123 and 124.)

DONALSON.

An anecdote told by Israel Donalson in the *American Pioneer* for December, 1842, is characteristic of the life at that time. Donalson had been out surveying with Massie and Lytle four miles above Manchester and was captured by the Indians April 22, 1791. He escaped a few days afterward and reached the Great Miami from which he followed Harmar's trace until he reached Fort Washington. He was almost exhausted with his exertions before he reached the river and had almost abandoned hope when he heard the sound of a bell. This stimulated him to greater exertions and finally as he came

near the river he heard the sound of an ax which was the sweetest music he had heard for many a day; it was in the extreme out-lot. He crawled over the fence and approached very cautiously the man who was working, who finally heard him and seeing he had no weapon demanded his name. This man was William Woodward, the founder of Woodward High School. Woodward put Donalson on his horse and took him into the town. As they passed people on the road many thought that he was an Indian for he was in Indian uniform bareheaded with hair cut off close except the scalp and foreloek which they had put up in a piece of tin with a bunch of turkey feathers. This he could not undo. They had also stripped off the feathers of the two turkeys and hung them to the hair of his scalp but these he took off the day before he reached the fort. Woodward took him to his home and provided him with clothing although he could not find a pair of shoes large enough on account of the swollen condition of his feet. What surprised him most was that Woodward slept with him on a palette before the fire. On the next day he was sent for several times by General Harmar to go to the fort and finally was compelled to go. The exact reason of his hesitation does not appear; possibly his condition and appearance and the apparent suspicion with which he was regarded were the causes. He states himself that the General deliberated about keeping him in custody as a spy. This fact shows the precarious times in which men were then living. Not only the red man alone was an enemy but large numbers of white renegades many of whom had gone to live among the Indians because of crimes committed or from a fondness for the mere laziness of Indian life; others were supposed to have been in the pay of the English.

THE LUDLOW CHILDREN.

The case of John Ludlow, the brother of Israel, illustrates the difficulties of transportation endured by the pioneers. On his way from New Jersey he left Red Stone in the year 1792 at the time of the flood which was one of unusual magnitude. He was accompanied by a trader named McGowan and they traveled on a flat-boat which was loaded with castings, bar irons and grind stones. Two wagons belonging to Ludlow were swung on one side of the boat to balance the weight of the horses, oxen and cows on the other side. When the boat reached the lower island of the Three Sisters, it hit a sunken log and sprang a leak and commenced to fill rapidly. The party attempted to pull the boat around to make the island and the bow struck a heap of drift. Thereupon most of the party sprang onto the drift heap leaving the two children of Ludlow, William D. and Elizabeth, aged five and three years respectively, on the roof of the boat where they had climbed to escape the rising water. One of the men immediately cabled the boat to a tree but the strong current struck her with so much force that while she was swinging around the weight was thrown to one side. The roof of the boat came off and floated away with the children on top of it. The boat itself sank and the live stock with the exception of one horse were drowned. Strangely enough the party had neither skiff nor canoe and were unable to go to the rescue of the children. McGowan ran up the hill to look for help and he saw a flat-boat three miles off and hoisted the signal of distress. On the flat-boat were Jesse Hunt and Joseph Prince. Prince recognized the signal and wanted to land the boat but Hunt fearing that it was an Indian decoy objected. Prince then took the skiff and with two of the men who were heavily armed rowed near enough to hear McGowan's explanation of the trouble. The party immediately pushed on after the children but were obliged to row 12 miles before overtaking them. Immediately after the children were taken from the roof, it struck a drift heap and was carried under by the current.

MASSIE.

Another episode of Indian life is related by Governor Allen in his speech to the Cincinnati Pioneer Association, delivered at Pike's Opera House on July 4, 1874:

"Massie was here at your own Fort Washington. In 1792, being a man of some moneyed means, of fine education, a leader of men by nature, with great enterprise and great courage, he concluded that there was some country along the shores of the Little Miami that was worth looking after, and he made up a company at Fort Washington and went up as far as the present city of Xenia. I passed along there the other day, and it would have delighted me to

have picked out the very spot where the incident happened that I am going to narrate. All was wilderness and all was Indian. But these men wanted to see about that land on the Little Miami, and they went up there, every man with a rifle on his shoulder, of course; and every man that was hired to tomahawk the trees to show where the surveys had been made, every one of them, carried a rifle on his shoulder, and every one of them was not only ready and willing, but rather anxious to get a shot at an Indian. There were no roads in those days, and hardly anything that could be called a path, except now and then a little straight line. Massie started out one morning, but got ahead of his company, with the exception of one man, who followed close behind him. The name of that man is still very dear to the people of Cincinnati, and I am induced to tell the anecdote in order to bring home to the people of Cincinnati, and especially to the part of it assembled here, an honorable and gallant incident in the history of the life of one of their men. There went Massie along the path, and there followed this other man, and this other man was none other than Gen. William Lytle. Lytle discovered that an Indian from the side bushes was drawing a bead on Massie with his rifle, and, jerking up his own rifle, he drew a bead upon the Indian and shot him down and left Massie. There could not have been a more unfortunate death for the interests of the Western country in the Western country than the death of Massie at that time."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE STATIONS.

Ludlow's Station—The Mansfields—Cumminsville—Colerain or Dunlap's Station—The Attack on Dunlap's Station—The Death of Hunt—Wiseman's Adventures—The Hahns—Covalt's Station—The Attack on White's Station—Bloody Run—Griffin's Station—Campbell's Station—Nelson's Station—Tucker's and Pleasant Valley Stations—Gerard's Station—Voorhees' Station—Runyan's Station—McFarland's Station—Mercersburgh.

Symmes in his letter to Dayton of May 18, 1789, in a paragraph already quoted, refers to a peculiarity of the settlement of the Miami country which distinguished it from that of Marietta. At Marietta there was one compact settlement in the neighborhood of the fort, Fort Harmar. In the Miami country the settlers more venturesome in their methods formed stations or little villages throughout the neighboring territory some of which were a number of miles from Fort Washington. These stations consisted frequently of but a small number of men living with their families in a single blockhouse or in cabins about a central blockhouse. It is impossible to state which stations were organized first or just how many there were. From the reference just cited, some must already have been established or at least in contemplation at that time. On April 30th of the next year Symmes writes:

"We have established three new stations some distance up in the country. One is twelve miles up the Big Miami (Dunlap's), the second is five miles up Mill Creek (Ludlow's), and the third is nine miles back in the country from Columbia (Covalt's). These all flourish well. A lad looking for cows, was captivated by the Indians a few weeks ago at the Mill Creek station; otherwise not the smallest mischief has been done to any, except we count the firing by the Indians on our people, mischief, for there have been some instances of that, but they did no hurt. We have parted with all the fifty donation lots around the city, and I think it highly incumbent on the proprietors to add one fifty more thereto, as people being refused out-lots when they apply, go directly up to the back stations, where they are sure to have them."

The establishment of stations was of course much affected by the success or defeat of the army. In the letter of November 4, 1790, after Harmar's defeat, Symmes speaks of attempting to go from the Bend to Captain Ludlow's Station and getting lost in the woods for two days. He finally found himself near Dunlap's Station on the Big Miami, having escaped the Indians but having been nearly captured by wolves. It is apparent from this that the presence of the Indians was a matter to be counted upon. "But for the repulse of our army, I should have had several new stations advanced farther into the purchase by next spring, but I shall now be happy if we are able to maintain the three advanced stations."

It was at Ludlow's Station that St. Clair's army encamped for some time on account of better food for the cattle. After St. Clair's defeat the settlements were all much alarmed and many of the stations were abandoned. Dunlap, however, the founder of the station at Colerain prevailed on the settlers to return to that point,

as this had been considered the best barrier to all the settlements, which reoccupation gave confidence to the other stations. A guard of six soldiers which returned with the settlers to Colerain was ordered back by St. Clair to Fort Washington and upon St. Clair's departure for Philadelphia, Ziegler, who succeeded him, replaced the men having great confidence in the value of these stations. The stations were guarded from time to time by soldiers but for some unexplained reason the officers of the regular army seemed to begrudge any troops for the protection of these pioneer outposts. Dr. Goforth in his letter of September 3, 1791, refers to two of the stations in giving the number of militia at the various points. "The number of militia at these stations, from the best accounts I have received, are at Columbia, 200; Cincinnati, 150; South Bend, 20; City of Miami, 80; Dunlap's, 15; and Covalt's, 20." The activity of the Indians was directed very largely against these stations and it was here that settlers braved the greatest dangers. The principal station by reason of the prominence of the settler and of its subsequent residents and also because of the fact that it is a part of the present city of Cincinnati was Ludlow's Station.

This station did not suffer as much from the attacks as some of the others however. Other important stations were Dunlap's Station at Colerain on the east side of the Great Miami River in the great bend about a half mile south of the county line; Covalt's Station on the Little Miami just below the present site of Milford and White's Station northeast of the present site of Carthage on the bank of Mill creek.

LUDLOW'S STATION,

Which was established in the spring of 1790, was in many respects the most famous of all the stations. Its site was what is now the north part of Cumminsville and is within the limits of Cincinnati, about five miles from Fountain square. It was at this point that St. Clair's army rendezvoused preparatory to the expedition of 1791, staying there from August 7 to September 17, 1791.

On March 9, 1790, Israel Ludlow entered land warrants 83 and 84, locating the west half of section 23 in the third township of the second fractional range. Here with James Miller, Joseph and Enoch McHendry, Daniel Bates, Elijah Hardesty, Frederick Patchel, John Nobel Cummins, Jonathan Pierson, Enos Terrace and Thomas Goudy he formed a settlement. Goudy, a native of Pennsylvania, was a lawyer and having reached the city as early as 1789 has been called the first lawyer in the town. Four years after his arrival he married the sister of John S. Wallace. His descendants are still living north of Reading.

The settlers erected a blockhouse at the point known as Knowlton's Corner where Knowlton street intersects the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway. After St. Clair's defeat, the settlement was entirely deserted and the soldiers when they encamped here at the time of their retreat took possession of the cabins and blockhouses which were entirely unoccupied. After a time the settlers drifted back, among whom was Abner Boston who had a cabin near the station. Ludlow himself did not reside at the station until after the treaty of Greenville, as his business interests kept him in Cincinnati where he lived at the northwest corner of Front and Main streets in the first frame house built in Cincinnati in 1791. The blockhouse stood upon the ground now occupied by the Cumminsville Christian Church, which was built from the liberality of Colonel Ludlow's daughter, Mrs. McLean. When Ludlow moved to the station in 1796, he erected his dwelling house some distance above the site of the blockhouse, where as the Ludlow mansion it has become familiar to many generations of Cincinnatians. It was at first a log structure but subsequently covered with weather boarding and at the time of its erection was regarded as the best looking and largest house in the neighborhood of Cincinnati.

E. D. Mansfield, the son of Jared Mansfield, the surveyor-general, describes the house in his reminiscences: "It was then a large two-story dwelling with wings—the best looking and I think the largest house then in Cincinnati. My father being surveyor-general took one of the wings as his office, and the other was used as the kitchen; the lawn sloped down toward Mill creek and there was a large garden. This house is still standing in the midst of Cumminsville. * * * It had a large apple orchard and two gardens, a kitchen and a flower garden." Mr. Mansfield's accounts of the life at this house give a charming view of many of the people who constituted what was the best of the early society of Cincinnati.

Mrs. Ludlow, who survived her husband after his premature death in 1804, had come from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and was a member of the Chambers family. Her letters are among

the best descriptions we have of the life of that time. She was a woman of fine education and many accomplishments and so popular among the Indians as to receive from them the name of Athapasca,—the good woman. After the death of her husband in 1804, she moved to Cincinnati but upon her remarriage in 1810 to Rev. David Risk, she returned to live at the station. Her second husband died in 1818 after which she lived in Cincinnati for a time and afterwards among relatives in Franklin where she died in 1821.

Her granddaughter, the daughter of James C. Ludlow, Sara Bella Dunlop Ludlow, became the third wife of Salmon P. Chase. Another granddaughter married Randall Hunt of New Orleans. A daughter, Sara Bella Ludlow became the wife of John McLean, afterwards justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. She had first married a young lawyer from Kentucky named Garrard. Two of her sons became prominent soldiers during the War of the Rebellion, both of them attaining the rank of general. Mr. Mansfield gives us a lively picture of Sarah Bella, "who was quite near his own age, and a fair haired bright eyed girl, a perfect blonde. She grew up to be a handsome woman and was as brilliant as handsome. She was as long as I saw much of her one of the most attractive persons in society.

"When they left the 'station' for us the little Sara gave me in a keg a large number of duck eggs which subsequently proved a great amusement. I hatched my eggs under hens and found myself having a flock of seventeen ducks all of which were white without a dark feather. That flock of ducks was my pride and delight. One day I was thrown in a great fright by a very natural though to me a strange incident. Wild ducks were very numerous in the creek, and my white ducks got to associating with them; so one morning the wild ducks took flight into the skies and my ducks with them. I thought they were gone but after a while to my delight they returned."

Other visitors mentioned by Mr. Mansfield, in addition to Little Turtle whose visit has been noted, were "John Mansfield a young man of extraordinary worth and genius; Joseph Totten, who afterwards became General of Engineers; Dr. Daniel Drake, the most distinguished physician of the Ohio Valley; Judge afterwards Governor Brown, and others of less note and equally agreeable members of the social circle."

THE MANSFIELDS.

The Mansfield family itself was no less noteworthy in the early days of this community. In addition to the surveyor-general and his son, the editor, biographer and historian, was Miss Harriet Sisson, "my father's niece and adopted daughter. While at Ludlow Station she married Dr. Daniel Drake a man of genius and science." Dr. Drake as is apparent to any student of the early history of Cincinnati was in many respects the most considerable figure of his time. '"My father had in his office two nephews both of whom were pleasant and even brilliant men. One of these, Captain John Fenno Mansfield, was an older brother of General Mansfield and was killed at Antietam. Captain John F. Mansfield was thought by my parents, who were good judges, to be the most promising man they knew. He was a man of genius, a student of science, and an elegant writer. Some of his writings appear in the 'Portfolio,' edited by Major Denny."

Captain Mansfield was captain of one of the two volunteer companies in Cincinnati in the spring of 1812 and became a part of the army of Hull, and with that army was surrendered at Detroit. He was seized with a fever while crossing Lake Erie and died just after his return to Cincinnati "not of fever alone but of a broken heart." The other nephew referred to was Joseph Gilbert Totten, then about 18 years of age "a genial, pleasing and popular person." His subsequent career is well known. He graduated at West Point, served through the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the War of the Rebellion, during which he had become chief of the Engineer Corps." Mansfield left Ludlow's Station in June, 1809, having lived there almost four years. (Mansfield's Personal Memories, Chapters II and III.)

Other visitors to the Ludlow mansion at various times were John Cleves Symmes, Arthur St. Clair, Anthony Wayne, William H. Harrison, Governor Worthington, Salmon P. Chase, Jacob Burnet, Nicholas Longworth, Oliver M. Spencer, Judge Goforth, Governor Meigs, Governor Brown, Lewis Cass, Gen. John S. Gano, Judge D. K. Este, Gen. William Lytle, Gen. J. H. Piatt, Little Turtle, and Bok-on-ja-ha-lus, (our old friend Bohengeehalus). (Teetor, Millcreek Valley, p. 127.)

Mrs. Ludlow in a letter written to Dr. Boudinot from this station describes the visit she received from the celebrated Indian chief just

mentioned: "About the year 1800, in the month of June, near the middle of the day, as I sat in my parlor at Ludlow's Station, commanding a view of the smooth green yard, slightly shaded from the fervor of the sun by the depending boughs of three luxuriant willows, which a few years had brought to sentimental perfection—with feelings in perfect accordance with the harmony of the scene, I experienced a tranquility of mind to which I had been for some time a stranger, and forgot for the moment that there was in all the world a human being less happy than myself.

"I was interrupted by the entrance of two strangers of uncommon interest. The first was my old friend, the Delaware chief, Bok-on-ja-ha-lus. I rose to meet him with a cordial welcome. After taking my hand, he said, 'La-na-pak-wa (a name given me by the Delaware Indians) this is my friend Kin-ka-box-kie.' They took their seats, and informed me that they had called for the purpose of taking dinner, having made the engagement with my husband in town. They were on their return from seeing the Great Father, as they called the President.

"At dinner they received my attentions as persons of good breeding in those circles where good breeding excludes every useless ceremony.

"Kin-ka-box-kie was taciturn. When he spoke, it was in the Delaware tongue. He desired his friend to tell me that he could not speak English. Bok-on-ja-ha-lus informed me that the President had said 'they must improve their lands; their young men must learn to plough; their young women must learn to spin.' He seemed dejected, but he was noble in his deportment. While we sat conversing at the table after the cloth was removed, he said, 'Lah-na-pak-wa, we now go.' 'And when shall I see you again, Bok-on-ja-ha-lus?' said I. 'Me old; me soon lay down,' said he, with a horizontal motion of his hand. Then raising his eyes to Heaven, with an ardent emotion, he added with an effusion of feeling I have never seen more expressive, 'But we shall meet with Jesus.' I took his hand, inquiring with rapture, 'Bok-on-ja-ha-lus do you know Jesus?' He answered with firmness, 'Me know Jesus; me love Jesus.' Then rising from the table, they shook hands with me, solemnly saying farewell. My eyes followed their venerable figures until the door closed from my view for the last time in this world Bok-on-ja-ha-lus and his friend."

Ludlow's original tract of land embraced what is now Spring Grove Cemetery, a part of Clifton and the town of Cumminsville. At his death in 1804 the part where the blockhouse was erected came into the possession of his son, James C. Ludlow. At the time of the building of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway, it became necessary to destroy this fortification which was in the line of the road. The place continued to be known as Ludlow's Station for many years although little was done towards building a town there. In 1832 a log school house in the neighborhood was used by preachers who came to the neighborhood, among them Rev. David Fergus and Rev. David Root, Presbyterians, and Rev. Walter Scott of the Christian Church. The Hall of Free Discussion was built by James C. Ludlow in 1832 in the interest of education, literature, and religion and Mrs. McLean finally donated the site of the old blockhouse for the Christian Church which dated back as far as 1832. The neighborhood was sometimes called the "Tan-yard" from the tannery of David Cummins which was in the triangle formed by Spring Grove avenue, Hamilton pike and Blue Rock street in the early "forties."

CUMMINSVILLE.

David Cummins, a son of one of the early pioneers, was born in a house on Third street opposite the Burnet House. He is said by Dr. Drake to have been the first child born in Cincinnati. "The eldest born of a broad and brilliant succession was David Cummins, whose name has been appropriately perpetuated in our little neighbor—Cumminsville, the site of which was then a sugar tree wood with groves of paw-paw and spicewood bushes." The place of his birth was a "humble log cabin in front of where the Burnet House now stands." Other candidates for this important honor mentioned elsewhere are William Moody, born at the southwest corner of Fourth and Main streets, a daughter of Samuel Kitchel and Maj. Daniel Gano. There is a John Cummins mentioned in Timothy Flint's "Wars of the West," who was probably the same person. (Drake's Discourses, p. 20.)

Just above this on a knoll was the tavern of Mr. Hutchinson where afterwards was located the celebrated Hoffner residence. Between Mr. Cummins and the Hutchinson family there arose a contest of historic interest. A stream of water flowed from the Hutchinson place from which Mr. Cummins by his deed was entitled to use as much as would flow through "five three-quarter inch auger holes." Hutchinson had connected with his tavern a farm of two hundred acres

on which was a dairy and on a dry summer's day his wife frightened by the scarcity of water plugged up the pipe to the tannery. It was opened naturally enough by the Cummins faction and again closed. The controversy involved all the members of both families and all those connected with them and all the neighbors. A Corsican vendetta, to the extent of reprisals in the way of destroying the property of the contestants. ensued. Naturally lawsuits followed and court costs and attendant expenses finally impoverished the litigants. Mr. Hutchinson's farm was mortgaged to the United States Bank and finally on the foreclosure of the mortgage the property was taken by the bank and sold. Mr. Hoffner bought the tavern with 47 acres of land for $5,000. Mr. Cummins on his part lost his tan-yard which fell into the hands of Ephraim Knowlton from whom runs the name of Knowlton's corner. This is the first instance recorded in the annals of Hamilton County of the serious result which follows from watering stock.

Knowlton had built his dwelling and his store at the junction of the old Wayne and St. Clair roads, now Spring Grove avenue and Hamilton pike, along in the early "twenties." On the burning of this house he erected the stone structure known as Knowlton's Corner. In 1845 he laid out part of his farm in lots extending from Mill creek to the west of Colerain pike. When the post office was established, he its first postmaster gave to it the name of Cumminsville in memory of the old tanner whose property he had bought.

The village was incorporated November 29, 1865, and was annexed to the city of Cincinnati as the 25th Ward, September 6, 1872. Strangely enough the name Ludlow is in no way at present identified with the village which owed its origin to the pioneer. For a few years the post office was called Ludlow but the name was soon abandoned. It is now, under the new subdivision of the city, the 23rd Ward.

COLERAIN OR DUNLAP'S STATION.

In the early spring of 1790, John Dunlap and associates laid out the station of Colerain on the Great Miami, 17 miles northwest of Fort Washington. Dunlap was an Irishman from Coleraine, Ireland, and was one of the surveyors of the Miami. A few settlers joined him and built a fort or station at this spot. It consisted of a cluster of cabins facing each other occupying a space of about an acre and connected together with pickets, eight feet high composed of small timber split in half and sharpened at the ends and set a sufficient depth in the ground. At the corners were small blockhouses. The roofs of the cabins were built so as to slope outward with eves so low that it is said the dogs were accustomed to jump from the stumps on the outside to the roof and so get into the enclosure. Within this fortification dwelt about thirty people, men, women and children of whom not more than ten were able to bear arms. The fear of the Indians whose marauding parties frequently came down as far as the Ohio caused application to be made at Fort Washington for a garrison. Lieutenant Kingsbury was sent with 18 soldiers to assist the station. This little station was the scene on January 10, 1791, of the fiercest and longest sustained Indian attack made upon any of the settlements within the limits of Hamilton County and its story has been told by several of the survivors.

THE ATTACK ON DUNLAP'S STATION.

On January 8th, Col. John S. Wallace, a native of Pennsylvania and one of the earliest settlers of Cincinnati, was surveying on the west bank of the Great Miami. He was accompanied by Abner Hunt, who was also a surveyor and John Sloan and Mr. Cunningham. They had encamped during the night and after breakfasting on venison which they roasted at their camp fire they set out to explore the Miami bottoms above the spot where Dunlap's Station was located. They had proceeded not more than seventy yards when they were attacked in the rear by savages who had undoubtedly prepared an ambuscade for them. At the first volley of eight or ten guns, Cunningham fell to the ground. Hunt was thrown from his horse and made a prisoner before he could recover. Sloan was shot through the body but managed to keep his feet and started off on the run with Wallace who was unhurt. About all the Indians pursued Wallace for over a mile and a half, but by reason of his uncommon activity he was able to escape them. He was accompanied by Hunt's loose horse. Wallace was shot at twice before he caught up with Sloan but fortunately was not hit. His leggings became loosened and at the moment of the first shot he tripped and fell. Supposing him struck by the bullet the Indians raised a shout, "Wah! Hoo!" calculating on the certainty of his scalp. He hastily tied his leggings and resumed his flight and effected his escape. They succeeded in crossing the Miami River and headed for Fort Washington. On the way

Sloan faint from his wound stopped but Wallace advised him to thrust part of his shirt in the bullet-hole to stop the flow of blood. After traveling about six miles they fell into the trace from Colerain and concluded to visit that post and put the settlers there on their guard, especially as Sloan was so weak and faint from the loss of blood and the opening of his wound, that they concluded that it would be impossible to reach the farther point. That night it rained, froze and finally snowed six or seven inches in depth.

The garrison had no special reason to expect an attack, and on the next morning, Sunday, Lieutenant Kingsbury sent out four or five men, who were guided by Wallace, to the scene of the disaster, where they found the body of the unfortunate Cunningham, tomahawked and scalped. They buried it on the spot, and returned without molestation. So assured was Kingsbury that there was no danger that he surrendered his own quarters to Sloan and spent the night in the soldiers' quarters in lively and jocose conversation. The next morning at sunrise just as the women were milking the cows, the fort was invested by a party of five hundred Indians, commanded by Simon Girty. His brother was also in the attacking force, as well as Blue Jacket and other well known chiefs. The first notice of the Indians' presence was given by a large black dog, which sprang from a stump on the outside upon one of the cabins and began barking furiously; but for this alarm the Indians would have been at the gates and every soul in the garrison would have been massacred, so secret and quiet had been their approach. Lieutenant Kingsbury immediately clapped his hands and called: "The Indians!"

So unsuspicious was the garrison that they thought this alarm by Kingsbury to be merely a ruse to put them to the proof, as of course the alarm should have been given by the sentry. A volley, however, fired by the Indians soon brought the occupants of the station to a realization of the actual condition of affairs. This shot wounded a soldier named McVickar. The soldiers within were at once posted in their positions, without waiting for them to dress themselves. One of them, William Wiseman, tells us that he had on no clothing except a shirt, and this probably was the condition of many others. Wiseman, who was Kingsbury's orderly-sergeant, tells us that he ran into the mill-house, a small building not far from the blockhouse, which had no chinking or daubing. His action was from curiosity, as he had never seen an Indian. "To his unaccustomed vision, the whole face of the earth appeared at first to be covered with them, and their peculiar headgearing of feathers and pigment, and the horrid jingling of the deerhoofs and horns, tied around their knees, presented a spectacle of great interest, so much so as to make him forget, for the moment, that they were enemies, and had invested the station with a hostile intent."

The Indians had surrounded the fortress entirely on the land side, and were resting their flanks on the bank of the stream on either side of the station. Wiseman says that the thought of firing did not occur to him, but he stood leaning on his musket, looking at the Indians until another man, McVickar, came into the mill-house. The Indians, who seem to have overlooked Wiseman, saw McVickar, and fired at him, and wounded him in the arm. Some of the balls from the volley coming in close proximity to Wiseman convinced him of the expediency of retiring to a place of shelter. He went to the blockhouse and put on his clothes, and then was located at a port-hole, where he staid all that day and ensuing night without being relieved.

The Indians in the meantime had sheltered themselves behind the logs which were lying about, and finding that the garrison was prepared, they demanded a parley. Abner Hunt, who had been captured with Wallace's party, was placed upon a log three or four rods from the pickets. He was securely bound, his arms were pinioned behind him, and Simon Girty, lying behind the log, held the cord by which he was bound. He was compelled to demand the surrender of the place upon the promise that life and property would be respected. The consciousness of his own danger induced him to urge the acceptance of these terms. No one in the fort, however, was willing to trust to the good faith of Girty, and Kingsbury refused to consider the proposition. It became apparent in the course of the parley that Simon Girty was in command, and his brother George was with them, as well as Blue Jacket. The Indians claimed to have present five hundred of their number, with three hundred in the neighborhood, and to have scouts guarding the way between the station and Fort Washington.

THE DEATH OF HUNT.

Kingsbury told them that he had sent a messenger to Judge Symmes, at North Bend, who would soon be up to their relief with his entire

settlement. They promptly informed him that they knew he was lying, and that Judge Symmes was then in New Jersey, and in case an immediate surrender was not made they would all be massacred and the station burned. The parley lasted for about two hours, during which time the members of the garrison had been ordered to have their weapons aimed for the purpose of picking off any Indian who left his shelter. As a result of this many Indians were struck, and Girty complained of this method of holding a treaty. Kingsbury is said to have replied with a big oath, and in a loud voice swore that he would punish the first man that fired a gun, but immediately added in a tall whisper, "Kill the rascals if you can!" At the conclusion he told Girty that if they were five hundred devils, he would never surrender to them, and jumped down from his position. As he leaped down a tremendous volley of musketry from the Indians was fired, and one of the balls cut off the white plume in Kingsbury's hat. The station was then completely invested, and the attacking was most violent and continuous. The Indians seemed certain of victory, and fired from behind stumps and trees and logs. A quantity of brushwood lay in front of the station, as a result of the interrupted efforts of the Indians to prepare for the assault. This was fired by the besiegers, who had rushed in with burning brands, in an attempt to set fire to the pickets and cabins. The excellent marksmanship of the besieged prevented this, however. One Indian was killed just as he reached the building. Late in the afternoon Hunt was sent forward again to inform them that they were about to draw off for refreshments, but at the time the moon went down they would return and put the entire garrison to death by the tomahawk. The soldiers, who were but 18 in number, and the settlers, of whom eight or ten were able to bear arms, as well as the women and children, remained at their posts, watchful and anxious. The only food that was served out during the whole siege was some parched corn, which the young girls carried around from time to time. There was not a drop of water in the fort, and access to the river was too hazardous an undertaking. The moon went down shortly after sunset, and thereupon the Indians returned to make their word good. The rain which had fallen during the day had frozen into sleet, which to some extent protected the buildings from the firebrands. Hundreds of blazing arrows were shot into the stockades and upon the roofs of the buildings, but the desperation of the garrison, conscious that their lives would pay the penalty of any oversight, prevented a conflagration. The Indians continued this attacking until about midnight, when they drew off to carry out their threats with regard to the prisoner, Hunt, in revenge for his failure to persuade his associates to surrender. He was brought to a place in full view of the station, where he was stripped entirely naked, and fastened to a log with his hands and feet outstretched, and pinioned to the ground. A pile of dead limbs was placed upon his body and set on fire, while a horrid dance, accompanied with whooping and yelling, was kept up for hours. The screams of Hunt were plainly heard by the garrison in the midst of the yelling of the Indians, and continued for a long time, growing fainter and fainter toward daylight, when they ceased, as life had probably expired. At daybreak the attacking was renewed. The garrison was given a little relief at this time by a change of stations. Those who had been in the open air were placed within the blockhouse at the port-holes, and those that were within were placed outside. In the blockhouse were gathered the women and children to the number of twenty-five or thirty. As Wiseman tells the story, Kingsbury, upon entering the blockhouse, was assailed by the women and children with questions regarding their chances of safety. His response was: "Ladies, we must all suffer and die together. I know of no means of relief!" He explained that he had endeavored to procure a volunteer from among the soldiers who should go to Fort Washington and give the alarm and bring relief, but all in vain. Wiseman immediately offered to take the adventure upon condition that the garrison should be paraded in front of the blockhouse to see him cross the river in safety, or be killed or wounded in attempting it. This was agreed to, and the men were drawn up for Wiseman's departure.

WISEMAN'S ADVENTURES.

Wiseman's account continues: "This was probably between seven and ten o'clock in the morning. The canoe was drawn up on the beach, so as to require some little assistance readily to get it off. I do not recollect who rendered me this assistance, which was to be done by being somewhat exposed to the fire of the besiegers, but Mr. Hahn assures me now that it was himself, then a boy of 14 years, and

his father, who gave me their aid for this purpose. But at length I was in the boat, alone, using my utmost exertions in setting myself, by means of a pole, across the stream. I had need to be in a hurry, for I was in the presence of five hundred hostile Indians, who were honoring me with their attention in the shape of a leaden shower of bullets, some of which whistled by me and spent their force in the water, and some struck and shattered, in a small measure, my frail 'dug out,' though, happily, none touched or injured my person. I reached the opposite shore, where I waited long enough to draw the canoe partly on the beach, when I seized my musket and put myself, as soon as possible, under the shelter of the underwood, and took my course down stream. I had been told that about two miles below the station there was a ripple, where I could easily recross, but if I missed that—since I could not swim—I should be obliged to make my way to Symmes' Station, at the mouth of the river, where I would be as far away from Fort Washington as at Colerain.

"When I had gone, as I supposed, about two miles, I sat down and took a wary and cautious reconnoissance, in every direction, to see, if I might, some of the scouts that Girty told us were occupying the country between us and Fort Washington. After satisfying myself that there were none near me, I stripped myself and attempted to wade the river. I found the water at neck deep, and growing deeper still, when I was obliged to desist. I made a like attempt at two other places, but with similar success, in the cold water, filled as the river was with mush-ice, when I concluded that I had no alternative but to go to Symmes's. But, luckily, about two hundred yards from the place where I made my last abortive attempt to wade, I discovered the ripple, and was enabled to cross where the water was not more than knee deep. Without further obstruction, or being intercepted by Indians, I reached Fort Washington about four o'clock in the afternoon, where my Captain, Truman, accompanied me to General Harmar's quarters, and I delivered my letters. Captain Truman responded to the General's questions, who I was, and to what company I belonged, with pride, as his, and that I was the youngest soldier in the army. An exorbitant dram of brandy, which Captain T. forced me to take, and a hearty meal, for which I had an appetite whetted by a long fast, as well as great exertion, having refreshed me, the General again sent for me, and inquired if I would return with the party to be sent to the relief of the station? I assented, on condition of being permitted to go mounted. This appeared reasonable, and was promised me. But since reinforcements were wanted, of a few militia from Columbia, I was permitted to take a night's rest.

"Early in the morning, on a good horse, I accompanied the body, under the command of Colonel Strong, which reached Colerain between one and two o'clock in the afternoon. We found that Girty and the Indians were in full retreat, having raised the siege some hour or two before. Colonel Strong pursued them two or three miles up the river, and came up with them, just as the last raft of the Indians was crossing the stream. As it was impossible to continue the further pursuit, they escaped.

"The remains of the unfortunate Hunt, shockingly mangled and charred, had been, meanwhile, buried by the garrison." (Narrative of William Wiseman; Cist, Cincinnati in 1859, p. 97.)

Wiseman's narrative is corroborated by Samuel Hahn, who at that time was a boy of 13 or 14 years of age. His entire family, consisting of father, mother, four brothers and three sisters, were in the fort. According to another narrative, Wallace accompanied Wiseman on this trip, and the two met Capt. John S. Gano at the head of the company of Columbia militia about six miles from Cincinnati. This party is said to have returned to the station when they found that the Indians had retired. (Address of J. Scott Harrison, Sept. 8, 1866.)

Many stories are told of this siege, which, in some respects, was the most thrilling episode in the early days of the settlements. The garrison behaved with the utmost bravery, coupled, as is usual, with the greatest rashness.

During the fire they exposed their persons above the tops of the pickets, mocking and daring the savages to come on. The women were no less fearless than the men, and used every expedient to provoke and irritate the enemy. They hoisted the caps of the soldiers above the pickets and invited the shots of the assailants. When the ammunition threatened to give out, they molded the bullets from their pewter plates and spoons, in order to keep up the supply. After the Indians had retired, the garrison, fearing an ambuscade, waited for some time before reconnoitering, and finally John Young, one of the settlers, went out and found that their enemies had disappeared.

Shortly before this attack on Dunlap's Station,

two of the settlers, David Gibson and John Crum, had been taken prisoners, and Thomas Lawison and William Crum driven into the stockade. John Crum was a boy of about 13 years of age, and was in the woods with his sister, looking for grapes. He gave some of the grapes to his sister, and she returned home. He was still in the top of a tree picking grapes from a vine which had grown over it when a party of five Indians passing by observed his hat lying at the foot of the tree. Naturally, they looked into the tree, and seeing him, required him to get down.

David Gibson was out hunting in the woods about a mile below the fort at the bend of the river. He shot a deer, which he hung up across a limb of a tree in full view of the station, and returned to get his horse for the purpose of tak- his booty home. He had been observed by some Indians who were concealed behind a large tree at a little distance. When the horse returned he smelled the Indians, and, although tied to a sapling, he broke away and started for home. This was attributed by Gibson to the presence of a deer. While he had gone to capture his horse, the Indians, realizing where he would fasten the animal upon his return, hid themselves in the immediate neighborhood. As Gibson tied his horse to the sapling, the redskins, eight or ten in number, crept up and surrounded him, leaving him no alternative but to surrender. While in captivity, Gibson married a white woman, who was also a prisoner among the Indians. He and his wife, as well as Crum and other captives, were released at the time of the Wayne treaty.

These attacks kept the inhabitants at Colerain in a constant state of alarm, and after the defeat of St. Clair, in the following November, the settlers abandoned the station, and were persuaded with difficulty to return. This station was regarded by Judge Symmes and others as the best barrier to all the settlements, and he states that when that place became repeopled the inhabitants of other stations became more reconciled to stay.

THE HAHNS.

Sergeant Hahn, who rendered such good service at the time of the attack upon Dunlap's Station, lost his life on June 1, 1791. Accompanied by a corporal and a young man who lived in Colerain, he started to drive a cow, to whose neck was attached a bell, from Fort Washington to Dunlap's Station. On the way out they called upon Col. John Riddle, an old pioneer, then a blacksmith, and they paid to him three dollars on account of a bill that Hahn had owed for some time. Riddle laughingly suggested that Hahn had better pay more to him, as the Indians would get the rest. Hahn carelessly told him not to fear, but in the course of two hours afterward a bullet was put through his head, and his scalp and head taken by the Indians, who were attracted by the sound of the bell.

Michael Hahn, the father of the two Hahns already referred to, was out with Martin Burkhardt and Michael Lutz, on April 25, 1792, viewing some lots at what was known as the "Blue Bank," not far from the station. They were all heavy Pennsylvania Dutchmen, and afforded easy marks to the savages, by whom they were soon fired upon. Lutz was killed and scalped on the spot, and his body was mutilated. Hahn was shot through the body, but attempted to escape to the garrison. He was followed until he came in sight of the garrison, when, the Indians finding they could not get his scalp, fired at him a second time, and killed him. Burkhardt was shot through the right shoulder, but sprang into the river, hoping to save himself by swimming. Rendered helpless by his wound, however, he was drowned, and was found at North Bend six weeks afterward.

COVALT'S STATION.

Shortly after the settlement of Columbia, a strong settlement was established in the valley of the Little Miami, about ten miles above Columbia, by Capt. Abraham Covalt, who was a native of New Jersey and a Revolutionary veteran. Captain Covalt left Pennsylvania, at that time his place of residence, on January 1, 1789, with an outfit of two flat-boats filled with agricultural implements and some of the finest cattle that had yet been brought to the Miamis. The party, numbering forty-five, landed at Columbia on January 19th. A tent was raised on the bank of the Miami to shelter the women and children against the weather, and the men went up the valley to make a clearing and construct a fort. They selected a spot, at that time one of the loneliest in the county, but of many natural advantages, in the neighborhood of the present village of Terrace Park. Here they erected a strong stockade fort with blockhouses at the corners, between which ranged the cabins of the residents with roofs sloping inwardly. There were seventeen cabins within the walls of Covalt's Station. A mill, the first in the neigh-

borhood, was built near the station. The Indians made no attack upon them during the first days of the settlement, but stole a number of their horses and some of their hogs. At the time of the attack on Dunlap's Station an attack was also made at Covalt's, but was unsuccessful.

In the summer after St. Clair's defeat, three prisoners were taken by the Indians in the neighborhood of Covalt's Station. Their names were Beagle, Murphy and Coleman. In company with a soldier, they were about a quarter of a mile from the fort when they heard the Indians, and ran for the station. Beagle was ahead, but tripped on a grape-vine and was caught and bound. The soldier was killed. The three prisoners were taken to Detroit, where Beagle and Murphy were sold to the British. The Indians would not part with Coleman, but took him away with them. At the parting he is said to have wept like a child, for he realized the fate in store for him—burning at the stake. He was never heard of again.

In March of the next year Captain Covalt, himself, fell a victim to the savages. "Captain Covalt, wishing to live a more retired life, had got the timber ready for his house, but the framing was not completed. He, with two of his sons, and Joseph Hinkle, was making shingles, when they were attacked by the Indians. Hinkle was not shot, but his head was half cut off with the tomahawk, and then scalped. Captain Covalt was wounded in two places; one ball passed through his breast, the other through his arm. He told his sons to make their way to the fort, that he was wounded. He ran, with axe in hand, about a hundred yards and fell across a log with his arm under his head; the scalping knife soon robbed it of the auburn locks that clustered around his noble brow, but his spirit had ascended to the God who gave it." (Narrative of his daughter in Dr. Jones' Early Days of Cincinnati.)

Captain Covalt's wife survived him until the year 1838, when she died at the advanced age of 100 years.

In June, 1789, a hunting expedition set out from Covalt's Station, consisting of Abraham Covalt, Jr., R. Fletcher, Levi Buckingham, Jacob Beagle and Mr. Clemens. When a short distance from the station, Covalt discovered signs of Indians, and so notified his companions. They concluded to return to the fort to warn the inmates of their danger, and started back before actually seeing any savages. Beagle and Clemens became a little separated from the others, and when they came to Shawnee Run they saw two Indians sitting on the bank taking off their moccasins to walk across. Beagle wanted to shoot at them, but Clemens objected that he was old and clumsy, and felt that he should surely fall a prey to them. The Indians had proceeded up the river but a short distance when they met the other three and fired upon them before the whites saw them. Covalt was hit, but ran along with Fletcher for about 100 yards, when he told Fletcher to make his escape, as he was shot through the breast, and must fall. He fought the Indians until his strength gave out, but soon a blow from a tomahawk finished him. He was scalped and his rifle and powder-horn taken. His tomahawk was thrown away, and was found twenty years afterwards by Levi Buckingham, who had been of the party. The other four reached the fort in safety, and returned with increased numbers too late to do anything other than recover Covalt's body. Thus ended, says his sister, who at that time but 15 years of age was in the fort, "the life of one of as brave sons of Pennsylvania as ever inhaled the morning air."

A month later a friend of young Covalt, a young hunter named Abel Cook, one in the first landing party, and the man who cut the hickory tree behind which the Indians hid in the attack on the Seward boys, while he was returning home from a visit at Columbia to Covalt's Station, was assassinated in the woods at a place called Round Bottom. Some of his friends found his body and carried it up to the station, where it was buried in the grave next to the grave of young Covalt, by the side of his hunting companion, with whom in life he roamed the dreary forest.

In September a resident of Columbia named James Newell started to take some corn to mill at Covalt's Station. When about half way between the settlements he met two of his fellow townsmen, Aaron Mercer and Ignatius Ross, returning from the mill homeward. They had seen Indian signs up the river, and advised Newell to put off his trip and go back with them to Columbia. He refused to take their advice, however, and continued on his way. Almost immediately after he had left them, they heard a rifle-shot in the direction he had gone. Waiting for a bit to see if any other noise should give them any information as to what had occurred, they finally ran after Newell. He was found at the point of death at the side of the

path, having been shot by an Indian who had been concealed in a tree near the trail, and who had escaped. Newell's body was carried back to Columbia. The point where he was found is still known as Newell's Hollow, and is in a little ravine crossing the Wooster pike, half way between Plainville and Red Bank.

On August 14, 1792, John Dunlap records that John McNamara, Isaac Gibson, Samuel Carswell and James Barrack were bringing up a hand millstone in a canoe, and at the ripple below the station they were fired at by the Indians. McNamara was killed, Gibson wounded in the knee and Carswell in the shoulder; Barrack being the only one escaping without injury.

THE ATTACK ON WHITE'S STATION

Occurred in the fall of 1793. This little station was about a half mile southeast of the present village of Carthage, and was named after Capt. Jacob White, the most active member of the settlement. The station contained about a half dozen cabins, three of which were on each side of Mill creek and near the banks of the creek. The cabin occupied by Captain White himself was on the southeast side of the creek, and was built blockhouse fashion, and surrounded by a log fence, more for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants against the cattle and hogs than Indians. The other two cabins on that side of the creek belonged, one to Andrew Goebel, or Goble, and the other to an old man, David Flinn; this family included two grown sons, Stephen and Benjamin. On the other side of the creek lived Andrew Pryor, John S. Wallace and a man named Lewis Winans.

Wallace and his family were absent in Cincinnati on the day of the attack. Mrs. Moses Pryor and her three children, the family of the man who had been killed by the Indians a year before, lived with Andrew Pryor at this time. Therefore, the whole male force of the station consisted of six men and a boy of 12, a son of Captain White.

On the morning of October 19, 1793, a messenger from General Wayne passed by the station on his way to Cincinnati with the news that Lieutenant Lowery and his command had been defeated near Fort St. Clair, the government post, about thirty miles beyond Hamilton. The settlers were naturally much alarmed at this news, and prepared for a surprise. Late in the afternoon a number of dogs belonging to the station were noticed barking incessantly on a hill some three or four hundred yards out in the woods. Andrew Goebel suggested that the dogs had treed a raccoon, and insisted on some of the men joining him to go out and see if such was the fact. Captain White, suspecting that it might be Indians instead of a raccoon, forbade any one leaving the station. Goebel, more foolhardy than prudent, said he would have the coon, Indians or no Indians, and started out about sundown. He had gone but a short distnace from the station when a heavy discharge of firearms was heard, accompanied by a war whoop. Goebel was cut down by a dozen balls, and probably died instantly. The Indians, who had been lying in concealment, now burst forth from under the banks of the creek, and fired at two of Mrs. Pryor's children, who were playing on the north side of the creek. One was shot dead, and the other ran as fast as possible to its home. The mother, who had seen the awful tragedy, ran out at the first alarm, seized the dead body of her child, and ran back as quickly as possible. Just as she caught up with the other child it was struck by a rifle ball and fell wounded to death. She escaped into her cabin, carrying the dead bodies of both her children. The Indians at this time were receiving the fire from the cabins all about them, and for that reason withdrew to the hillside for a conference. They finally returned and made a desperate assault on the blockhouse. At their head was a very large Indian, who ran far in advance of his comrades, leaping through the air with wild yells. He got inside the log fence, when he was shot dead by Captain White. This frightened his followers, who retreated, although they kept up a fire upon the station for several hours. The settlers saw a number of the Indians fall at the first volley, but the only body that was found afterwards was that of the leader, which had fallen within the enclosure; the others had been carried off after dark by the Indians as soon as all was quiet.

Andrew Pryor and Winans took their families over the creek to the blockhouse, and Pryor went off on horseback to ask for assistance at Fort Washington. He soon returned with ten dragoons, each carrying an infantryman behind him. John S. Wallace came back with him, much disgusted at his absence from the scene of conflict. Nothing more was heard of the Indians at that time, however. The tracks made by them indicated a number of about forty, a sufficiently large number to overwhelm the station.

According to another version, Mrs. Pryor and her three children were the only ones on her

side of the creek at the time of the attack. In the cabin was a little boy of two or three years old, who was ill, while a very young babe was lying in the cradle. After recovering the body of her little girl, who was playing alone in front of the cabin at the time she was shot, Mrs. Pryor, hoping that the Indians might spare a baby, caught up the boy and ran to the station, pursued by an Indian. She sprang into the creek up to her waist, and crossed the stream to the station. When the relief party was able to go to Mrs. Pryor's cabin, it was found that the Indians had taken the baby from the cradle and dashed its brains out against a stump near the cabin door. They opened the feather beds, threw out the feathers, and filled the ticks with clothing, blankets and household goods of all sorts, which they carried away. Mrs. Pryor was subsequently married to Samuel Dunn and returned to the farm of her former husband, where she raised a family of six children, living until 1843.

In 1792, Moses Pryor and John Reily (Riley) had settled upon a tract of land to the south of White's Station. Pryor's tract included what was afterwards the County Infirmary farm, and Reily's land lay to the west, upon the site of the present village of Carthage. They cleared up the land, built a cabin and dug a well. In the fall Pryor made a contract to carry government stores and provisions from Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton, associating with him two others, one of whom was David Flinn of White's Station. One morning when they reached Little stream, four miles south of Fort Hamilton, since known as Pleasant Run, they were fired upon by a body of Indians who were concealed in the woods. Pryor was killed and the two other men made their escape. That night Mrs. Pryor, while awaiting her husband's return to supper, was informed of his death. Being unable to continue the work on her husband's farm, she and her two children went to reside with the family of her brother-in-law at White's Station.

BLOODY RUN.

The defeat of Lieutenant Lowery, followed by the attack on White's Station, had alarmed the citizens of Cincinnati and the neighborhood, and for a time no party went out any distance without escorts of soldiers. In the spring of 1794, John Ludlow, a brother of Israel Ludlow, moved his family out in the country to what was known afterwards as Ludlow's Grove. John Ludlow and his family had come from Buffalo to Cincinnati in November, 1789, and lived at first in a double-roomed log cabin at the northwest corner of Front and Main streets. He was elected sheriff of the county in the following year.

At Ludlow's place was what was called the second crossing of Mill creek, as Wayne's army crossed here on its way to the third crossing, which was at White's Station, above Carthage. In Ludlow's party was not only his own family, but his brother, Israel, with a company of militia. Others in the party were Capt. Jacob White, a lawyer; Thomas Goudy (Gowdy or Gauty), Sarah Freeman and Abby Cochran, all riding on horseback, and accompanied by several wagons; this party was returning to White's Station, two miles above Ludlow's place. The party reached Ludlow's farm in safety, and began unloading the wagons.

Captain White and his party, including Goudy and the two young women, who were really out for the pleasure of the ride, pushed on ahead, taking the great highway running from Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton. When they proceeded a little more than a half mile, to the point now known as Bloody Run, they heard a volley of musketry a short distance up the road. The character of the firing showed that it was not from hunters, but probably from Indians. The whole party became alarmed, and despite the efforts of Captain White, who was anxious to push forward to the assistance of any person that might be attacked, they turned the road at full speed for Ludlow's cabin, where a halt was made by all excepting Goudy and the two young women, who kept up their flight to Cincinnati. Immediately behind them came two men on horseback; they were pack horsemen in the government service. They stated that while their party, which included four, were stopping at a stream beyond to water their horses they were suddenly fired upon by a small band of Indians concealed by the roadside. One of the number was killed instantly, another was severely wounded, and the third struck, but without any serious result. Captain White immediately organized a pursuing party which followed the Indians, but was not able to overtake them. They found, however, lying in the run, the body of the man who was killed. He had been tomahawked and scalped. This body was buried near the spot. The soldier who had been so severely wounded had been able to escape further injury from the Indians. He was found

and sent to Ludlow's Station, where he died after a few days, at the house of Abner Boston.

As late as 1857, while building a bridge over Bloody Run, Solomon Burkhalter came upon the remains of the man buried there 63 years before. The body was reinterred deeper in the earth beneath the abutment of the bridge.

GRIFFIN'S STATION.

This station was about a half mile west of White's Station, where the Carthage and Springfield pike crosses Mill creek, and within the village of Hartwell. Lieut. Daniel Griffin entered a warrant for this location in the register's office on July 23, 1792. No settlement, however, was made here, in all probability, until the fall of 1793. No one is supposed to have been residing here as early as the attack on White's Station (October 19, 1793). The stations were less than a half mile apart, and it is not unnatural to suppose that had there been a party at Griffin's, it would have gone to the assistance of their neighbors. Among the early settlers were Robert Griffin, Daniel and Jacob Vorhees, Daniel Seward, James McCashen and Robert Caldwell and two sons, Samuel and James.

CAMPBELL'S STATION

Was founded during the summer and fall of 1793 by John Campbell, seven or eight miles southeast of Dunlap's, on the east bank of the Great Miami, opposite the present village of Miamitown, in what is now Colerain township. Mr. Olden, in his interesting book of "Early Reminiscences," now unfortunately so rare, says:

"The settlers around the station were few in number; no preparations for defense were made; and, having been established late in the period of Indian hostilities, no depredations were committed in the neighborhood, consequently no important historical events are attached to it."

NELSON'S STATION.

Another station of which mention is made is Nelson's Station, a little west of Madisonville. A party of Indian horse thieves were pursued from this station, and one was shot and left by his companions. The body was buried on the spot, from which fact the place has been called Indian Hill.

TUCKER'S AND PLEASANT VALLEY STATIONS.

This station was organized in 1792 by a party from Columbia. They selected section four of the third township and the first entire range now in Springfield township, and began the erection of a blockhouse on the east side of the Hamilton road, known in early days as Wayne's trace. A quarrel divided the party, and subsequently the fear of the Indians led to the abandonment of the settlement. The controversy was settled during the following winter, and as a result two settlements were made about the central point on the line between sections four and ten on the west bank of Mill creek, near what is known as Station Spring. This was known as Pleasant Valley Station.

The Indians never molested either Tucker's or Pleasant Valley Station. One morning, however, during the winter one of the residents named Mahan, hearing what he thought was the call of turkeys, started out to hunt them. He ran into an Indian ambush, but turned and ran for his life. The Indians did not fire, for fear of alarming the station. They were unable to overtake him, however. Mahan's exertions were so great that upon arriving at the station he swooned from exhaustion, and laid for hours in a complete stupor. This was followed by a fever, during which for several days his life was despaired of.

GERARD'S STATION.

In 1790 some of the settlers of Columbia, including some new comers, allowed their eyes to rest longingly upon the land to the east of the Little Miami without the limits of the Miami purchase. They finally effected a settlement opposite Turkey Bottom at the foot of the hills on survey No. 536, about a mile below what was afterwards Union Ridge, on the land subsequently owned by Col. James Taylor. They built a small blockhouse, or stockade, which they called, after their leader, John H. Gerard, by the name of Gerard's Station.

Colonel Taylor describes the blockhouse as standing on the side of a hill near what is now Big Spring, and not far from Flinn's fort, across the Miami. This was on the principal road from Cincinnati and Columbia to the East. Among the settlers who were at the point were Joseph Williamson, Steven Betts, Stephen Davis, Major Stites and Captain Flinn. The survey of 666 2-3 acres on which this station was located seems to have been originally owned by John Steel. For many years a hewed-log house, built in 1805 by Josiah and Samuel Holley near the site of this station, claimed the honor of being the oldest house in the township.

It was to Gerard's Station that the people of Covalt's Station withdrew after their guard of regulars and their fighting men had gone north with St. Clair. The summer of 1792, which was an unusually early one, however, attracted many of the settlers back to their clearings.

VOORHEES' STATION.

This station was situated near the present towns of Lockland and Reading. It was simply a large, strong log cabin, used for both residence purposes and as a place of defense. It is constantly referred to, however, under the name of Voorhees' Station. Mr. Olden says that this cabin was on the west side of the east fork of Mill creek. This station was not established until the spring of 1794, and in the fall of that year Abraham Voorhees, with his two sons-in-law and their families, and his five sons, moved into it. It was upon the land of Abraham Voorhees that the village of Reading was laid out in 1798. It was first called Voorhees Town, but subsequently its name was changed. The story is told by Mr. Olden of an incident which occurred a little south of this point in the autumn of 1794. William Moore, who lived at Covalt's Station, on the Little Miami, was hunting in the neighborhood of the Great Lick, as it was called, about one and one-half miles east of White's Station. He had killed a deer and had skinned it and prepared it for packing. While in the act of washing his hands in the stream near by, he indulged in singing a little Indian song, which he had learned while a captive among the Shawanees. To his great alarm he was suddenly joined in the song by some one else singing in the Indian tongue. He sprang to his feet and ran to the woods to the west, followed closely by the Indians. They did not fire at him, as it was apparent they desired to capture him alive. In advance of the others was a small Indian who was very swift of foot. The Indian seemed to be gaining on Moore, when they came to a large fallen tree, which was about four feet in diameter. Moore vaulted the tree, but the Indian had to go around, which gave Moore sufficient advantage to enable him to reach White's Station in safety.

RUNYAN'S STATION

Was in Sycamore township, about one and one-half miles north of Reading. Here Henry Runyan, "near the spring east of the Dayton turn pike," built his station house on the west half of section 19, 14 miles from the Ohio, and was so thoroughly hid in the wilderness that the Indians who prowled frequently within a few hundred yards of the place never seemed to discover it. This location was made in 1790. In 1792 Runyan removed to the place, and remained there permanently.

M'FARLAND'S STATION.

This station was settled in Columbia township, near the site of the present village of Pleasant Ridge, in the spring of 1795. This has been called the last fortified station erected in Hamilton County. The peace of Greenville, which occurred about this time, made it unnecessary for any further fortifications to be built. This station was without any experiences with the Indians.

MERCERSBURGH.

Another settlement to the east of the Miami occupied the site of what is now Newtown. Capt. Aaron Mercer, an Irishman by birth, but a Virginian by adoption, left Winchester, Virginia, in 1790, seeking a home in the West. He reached Columbia just as the troops belonging to that station were returning from the Harmar expedition. He stayed there for two years, but in 1792 he purchased a tract on the east side of the Little Miami, three miles above Gerard's Station on the first elevated land of the valley. Here, on General Massie's survey, was built a little town with a clearing and a log fortress, which was called Mercersburgh, in honor of the leader of the party and of his brother, the celebrated Hugh Mercer. This point was one of the important relief stations and harbors of refuge during the continuance of the Indian wars.

CHAPTER XX.

LOSANTIVILLE—THE NAME AND THE TOWN.

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE NAME—THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SETTLEMENT—INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF THE SETTLERS.

THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE NAME.

One of the favorite subjects of controversy in the early days of the history of our city was the question of its name during the first year of the settlement, that is from the date of the landing, December 28, 1788, until the early days of January, 1790.

On January 2, 1790, according to the "Journal" of the Secretary of the Northwest Territory, Winthrop Sargent, Governor St. Clair arrived at Losantiville. On that day he prepared a proclamation organizing the county of Hamilton, which proclamation was not issued until the 4th. There is no reference in this proclamation to the village at all. On the following day, January 5, 1790, having made appointments of justices of the peace and other officers, he issued his proclamation, directing the holding of the courts of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace "at the town of Cincinnati." This is the first official record in which the name Cincinnati appears, and it is therefore, in all probability, the first day in the history of the settlement when the name which it now bears was properly applied to it. The history of Cincinnati under its present name began without question as early as January 5, 1790, and certainly at no earlier date than the 3rd or 4th.

The name which the settlement bore prior to this time was a hybrid, invented, we are told, by the Kentucky pedagogue, John Filson. It is made up of the Latin word *os,* meaning mouth, the Latin *anti,* for opposite, and the French form *ville* of the Latin *villa,* for town, to which is prefixed the letter "L," which could serve as the French particle, or as the initial letter of the word Licking. In other words, it was the city opposite the mouth, and if "L" is understood to stand for Licking, the name is still more descriptive, the city opposite the mouth of the Licking. This name has given exercise to the wit of many so-called humorists, and has been much ridiculed. One suggestion is that the words should be read in the order in which its various parts appear; in other words, the Licking mouth opposite the town, or using "L" as the particle, the mouth opposite the town. No one who is familiar with the formation or arrangement of words, in either Latin or French, would be guilty of such a criticism as this. The word is certainly descriptive, and apart from the objection that it is made up of words of different languages, not combined according to the regular rules of word-building, seems unobjectionable. Professor Venable suggests that it is no more absurd than the name which succeeded it, which is either a gentive singular or a nominative plural; this latter worried Symmes. Writing to Dayton, June 19, 1791, he says:

"Having mentioned Cincinnata, I beg, sir, you will inquire of the literati in Jersey whether Cincinnata or Cincinnati be most proper. The design I had in giving that name to the place was in honor of the order of the Cincinnati, and to denote the chief place of their residence; and, so far as my little acquaintance with cases and genders extends, I think the name of a town should terminate in the feminine gender where it is not perfectly neuter. Cincinnati is the title of the order of knighthood, and can not, I think, be the place where the knights of the order dwell. I have frequent combats in this country

on the subject, because most men spell the place with ti, when I always do with ta. Please to set me right if I am wrong. You have your Witherspoons and Smiths, and indeed abound in characters in whose decision I shall fully acquiesce."

Apparently the Witherspoons and Smiths did not agree with the Judge for he subsequently writes the name "ti." This letter is of interest however by reason of the statement that Symmes and not St. Clair or Ludlow had the honor of selecting the name.

His reasoning certainly seems correct. There is no known explanation which really explains the name finally adopted. Of course its origin is a many times told tale. The letter just quoted states explicitly that Symmes gave the name to the place. As soon as St. Clair had been received at Fort Washington, he sent a messenger for the Judge at North Bend and their meeting took place on January 3rd, at which time the names are supposed to have been agreed upon. Harmar had named the fort Fort Washington; on January 4th Hamilton County was named after the Secretary of the Treasury and companion in arms of all the party. The coupling of two names so prominent among the soldiers naturally suggested the organization which had been recently formed by the officers. It is not unreasonable that St. Clair would permit Symmes, the one most interested, to select the name of both the county and the city nor is it unnatural that Symmes, whose greatest desire at that time was to secure the protection and cooperation of both the military and civil governments, should be politic enough to suggest the name of the society of which St. Clair had just been appointed president for the State of Pennsylvania. Human nature was very much the same in those days as it is now. It is easy to see that the change of the name was not so much due to any dissatisfaction with Losantiville, the pedantic name of the dead and gone school teacher which though descriptive and not in any sense cacophonous would add nothing to the general interest in the settlement, as to the desire to pay a compliment to a prominent and most influential official and through him to a body of men of the very highest standing in the land, from whose ranks it was hoped many emigrants could be drawn.

At the conclusion of active hostilities while negotiations for peace were pending, the officers of the American Army freed from the duties of the field of battle decided upon a society which should perpetuate the memory of their long struggle. On May 10, 1783, the Society of the Cincinnati was founded and the constitution of the order drawn up by a committee of which General Knox was chairman. On May 13th the representatives of the army met at the quarters of Baron de Steuben who presided on the occasion and the constitution was accepted and approved. The fundamental purposes of the society were "to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they had fought and bled and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of blessing, * * * promote and cherish between the respective States that union and National honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American Empire, and to render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers."

Washington was chosen the first president-general of the order and held the position until his death. General Knox was the first secretary-general. State societies were formed and Maj.-Gen. Arthur St. Clair was elected president of the society for the State of Pennsylvania. The constitution of the society provided that the eldest masculine descendant of an original member should be entitled to wear the insignia of the order and enjoy the privileges of the society. Some opposition to the order was manifested at first because of the belief that it would tend to establish a hereditary order of nobility, but events proved that this fear was without justification. The name of course is taken, as is shown on the badge of the society, from Cincinnatus who left his plow to take up the chief magistracy of his country in a time of need and who after he succeeded in saving his country returned to the quiet pursuits of agriculture. The motto of the society is *Omnia relinquit servare rem publicam.* (He gave up all to serve his country.)

As to the matter of sound, each person can take his choice between Losantiville and Cincinnati; neither had any special application to the location to which it was applied. The first was a mere geographic description, the second a cheap compliment which it was hoped would be productive of great results but the hope was vain. All the settlements in the West drew from the ranks of the Revolutionary soldiers who had sacrificed so much during the war but Cincinnati did not get any larger proportion than other settlements in the Territory. The name Miami, as has been suggested, would have been peculiarly appropriate to the city located in this locality and no less pleasant in sound.

In the early part of the last century it so happened that two men who had given more attention to the history of this settlement than almost any others then living saw fit to adopt the view that the name Losantiville had never been applied to the settlement opposite the mouth of the Licking. Their view in brief was that this name, selected by Filson, died with him and that when the town was finally laid out by Ludlow it was immediately given the name Cincinnati. H. B. Teetor in his little sketch of the life of Colonel Ludlow accredits the suggestion of the name Cincinnati to him. He fails to cite a single item of evidence however in support of this statement and there is no ground for the claim in Ludlow's behalf, regardless of the fact whether the name Cincinnati was given in 1789 or 1790.

The four citations made by Mr. Teetor do it is true use the word Cincinnati; they are from the chancery case of the city against Williams, so many times referred to. Ludlow testified as to his landing in the month of January, 1789, to lay out the town of Cincinnati and form a settlement here. Patterson testified that he landed in January, 1789, for the purpose of laying off the town of Cincinnati. McMillan was one of the number who formed the settlement of Cincinnati, December 28, 1788, and a few days after a plan of the town of Cincinnati was drafted by Ludlow. Denman testified that Ludlow was appointed as his agent to lay out the town of Cincinnati and that the town was laid out in the year 1789. It was upon this evidence too that Judge Burnet relies in the long letter which will be quoted hereafter. It is apparent from an examination of the depositions that the question of the name of the town was not raised. The important point was the correctness of the plat offered by Ludlow. Judge Burnet was himself the counsel for the city and for Ludlow's heirs, and the only significance, if any, that he attached to the matter of name arose from the fact that Williams' claim involved the lack of authority on the part of Ludlow to represent the proprietors. Burnet, in his anxiety to dispose of Filson's interest and to establish that of Ludlow, was willing enough incidentally to let the hair go with the hide and the name and plat disappear with the title. As will be apparent hereafter, the Judge was nothing if not a partisan. He was most decided in his opinions and judgments and did not believe in anything half way, to quote the language of Judge Wright. He was therefore perfectly sincere in his belief as stated in his "Notes" and in the letter hereafter quoted that the general belief that the original name of the town was Losantiville was incorrect. Trained lawyer as he was, had he had before him the evidences that are now accessible to us he would never have made such a statement. The weight of the name of Charles Cist has been added, as well, to that of Burnet. Cist with all his indefatigability and fairness suffered from the lack of materials and was really persuaded by the great weight of Burnet's name and authority and a few stories received from very old pioneers at the time of their lives when their recollections of so remote a period and of such trifling details must have been obscured.

As the subject is one of great interest, the whole statement of the controversy as presented by Mr. Cist in his "Cincinnati in 1859" can be reprinted here. It is introduced by a letter to Dr. Daniel Drake. It seems unfortunate that Cist did not pursue the matter with Drake and examine the twenty documentary evidences referred to; still we have almost as many which may have been the same that were in the possession of Dr. Drake.

"CINCINNATI, January 2, 1841.

"Dear Sir—My brother informs me that you called last evening to inquire of me whether I have seen any authentic evidence that Cincinnati was originally named Losantiville. As I shall embark in the mail-packet this morning, at ten o'clock, for Louisville, you cannot have an opportunity of seeing me, and I, therefore, drop you a line, to say that I have in my possession more than twenty documentary evidences that such was the fact.

"The name was invented by John Filson, one of the original proprietors, who intended to express by it, the town opposite the mouth of Licking River. He resided in Lexington, Ky., where the plan of the projected village was formed, and the name imposed in the month of August, 1788.

"The settlement did not, however, commence till the 26th of the following December. From that time till the 2d of January 1790—this day fifty-one years—the place bore the name of Losantiville and no other. It was then changed to Cincinnati by Governor St. Clair.

"Your friend and servant,

"DAN DRAKE."

"CHARLES CIST."

Upon this Cist comments as follows:

"I must be permitted to remark that, while I consider Dr. Drake's statement of the 'more than

twenty documentary evidences' explicit and reliable, I do not regard it as conclusive, because the writer evidently had not time or motive to examine it in the light of the difficulty I had presented to him, and which he had perhaps never heard of before. He probably had letters, for I have seen such of the early dates of Cincinnati addressed to Losantiville, but it is obvious that such proof would not determine the fact. The name first designed having originated at Lexington would be widely known there, and letters thence would naturally bear the intended name of the place; and, indeed, where a name is once given, officially or by custom, it is apt to adhere, long after it has become changed by law or otherwise. Thus Maysville and Brownsville were known as Limestone and Redstone, and called nothing else, long after they had borne their present names in print. Washington, Pennsylvania, was called Catfishtown for many years, although only a sobriquet or nickname, and it will be many years before our northwestern section of Cincinnati ceases to be known by any other title than Texas, although a mere flash name.

"To these testimonies and to the popular notion that the place was given its present name by General St. Clair, on the 2d January, 1790, I have to oppose the testimony, among others, of Jacob Fowler and Samuel Newell, highly intelligent men and old settlers—Fowler having supplied the garrison at Fort Washington with buffalo meat, from its establishment up to St. Clair's arrival and afterward. They both aver that from their earliest knowledge of it they never heard it called Losantiville; and Fowler, who was as clearheaded in his recollections of the past as any man I have ever known, stated to me explicitly that he never heard it called by any other name than that of Cincinnati.

"The communication of Judge Burnet, which follows, in my judgment, is testimony which cannot be disputed and argument which must be conclusive."

Mr. Cist prints entire the letter which is so full of information as to entitle it to a place here:

"CINCINNATI, October 5, 1844.

"Dear Sir—At the close of a conversation which passed between us a few weeks since, respecting the original plan and name of the place, which is now familiarly called the Queen City of the West, you requested me to furnish you with such reminiscences in relation to that subject as my early residence in the West might enable me to give.

"You are aware that I was not among the first adventurers to the Miami valley. When the settlement of it began I had not finished my education; but I commenced my journey to join the little band of adventurers as soon as my professional studies were closed, which was in the spring, after the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, had terminated the Indian war; of course the town had been laid out, and the settlement of it commenced, before my arrival. It had, however, made but little progress, either in population or improvement; though it contained a larger number of inhabitants than any other American village in the Territory, excepting Marietta; and if you take into the account the officers and soldiers of the garrison, and others attached to the army, it very much exceeded the population of that place.

"Most of the persons who saw the town laid out, and put up the first cabins erected in it, were here when I came, and were my earliest companions and associates. Without professing an unusual share of curiosity, it is natural to suppose, that I learnt from them, correctly, the few and simple historical facts of the place, which, for good or ill, I had selected for life as my residence. By way of comparison, it may be said, that the facts connected with the recent location of the Cincinnati Observatory—the donation made by our distinguished fellow-citizen, N. Longworth, Esq.,—the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the edifice, by the venerable sage and patriot of Quincy, and the name of Mount Adams then publicly given to it, are not more distinctly known, as matters of history, than were the facts of laying out, establishing and naming of the town of Cincinnati, at the time to which I refer. They were a subject of inquiry by every stranger who came to the place, and every person in the village could recite them. There was but one version to the story, which was this: that Mr. Denman, of New Jersey, entered into a contract with Col. Robert Patterson, of Lexington, and John Filson, a surveyor in the employ of Judge Symmes, to lay out the land opposite the mouth of Licking River, then the exclusive property of Mr. Denman. A plat of the contemplated town was made out, and Losantiville agreed upon as its name; but before any step was taken to carry that contract into effect, and before a chain had been stretched on the ground, Mr. Filson was killed by the Indians, not having done anything to fulfill his part of the contract; in

consequence of which it was forfeited, and the projected town fell through. This is all that was ever done toward the establishment of a town by the name of Losantiville; yet, as was natural, the settlement, then just beginning, was for some time called by the intended name of the projected town.

"Early in the next season, Mr. Denman entered into a new contract with Col. Patterson and Israel Ludlow, to lay out a town on the same ground, but on a different plan from the one formerly agreed upon. To that town they gave the name of Cincinnati, and by that name it was surveyed and known in the fall of 1789.

"I was informed by Judge Turner, one of the earliest adventurers to the West, that he had seen both plats, and that the general outline and plan of division were nearly the same in both, but that the first or Filson plat, to which the name of Losantiville was to have been given, set apart two entire blocks for the use of the town, and that it gave as a public common all the ground between Front street and the river, extending from Eastern row to Western row, then the extreme boundaries of the town plat: and it is impressed upon my mind, though I cannot say what caused that impression, that on the first or Filson plat, Front street was laid down nearer to the river, or made more southing in its course westward, than we find it on the plat of Cincinnati. I was also informed that some of the names, which had been selected for streets of the Losantiville plan, were given to streets on the plan of Cincinnati, and that others were rejected. This circumstance may account for a fact, which is no doubt remembered by many now living in the city, that after Joel Williams had become proprietor, by purchasing the right of Mr. Denman, and had determined to claim the public common, as private property, an unsuccessful effort was made to change the names of some of the streets on the genuine plat of Cincinnati by substituting others, taken from the plat of Filson. That attempt created some temporary difficulty in the minds of persons not correctly informed, as to the true history of the town, and many took the precaution of inserting both the names in their deeds and contracts.

"But independent of these facts, it must be evident that the name of the town could not have been changed after the town had been established, named and surveyed. The territorial statute of December, 1800, which I advocated and voted for in the Legislative Council, made it the duty of the proprietors of every town which had been laid out in the Territory, before that time, to cause a true and correct map, or plat thereof to be recorded in the recorder's office of the county in which it lay, within one year after the passage of the act, under a heavy penalty.

"The name of the town constitutes as important a part of the plat of it as the names of the streets or the numbers of lots, and the title to property acquired in it is affected as much by error, mistake or uncertainty, in the one, as in the other; it was therefore considered important for the security of property holders that a true record should be made of these matters, and of everything else appertaining to the plat, precisely as they were when the town was established, and the sale of the lots commenced. Hence, the law required a true and correct plat—in other words, the original plat, without change or variation, to be recorded.

"When the plan of Cincinnati was recorded by Israel Ludlow in 1801—the original proprietors were all living, he being one of them. It is therefore impossible to suppose, that he did not know what the original plat contained—or that he acted without authority—or that he would falsify the plat by placing on it any name other than the one originally given to it. I was intimately acquainted with Col. Ludlow who recorded the town plat, and was professionally consulted by him as to the requirements of the statute. He was very much annoyed by interference of Joel Williams, a sub-proprietor, who insisted on making innovations, or changes in the original plat, calculated to favor a claim he was setting up to the public common or landing. I gave it as my opinion that Mr. Williams not being an original proprietor, or even a resident of the country when the town plat was formed and established, and having had no agency in the formation of the original plan of the town, could not be presumed to know what it was: and moreover, that the statute did not recognize him as having any other or greater authority to interfere in the matter, than any other individual who had become the purchaser of a single lot.

"The result was, that each of those individuals prepared and lodged in the recorder's office a plat of the town, affirming it to be a true copy from the original. Unfortunately, perhaps—certainly without legal authority,—the recorder placed both plats on the record, but the community soon became satisfied that the plat prepared and certified by Col. Ludlow, was alone to be relied on.

"This, however, has no other bearing on the subject matter of our conversation, than arises from the fact, that each of them affirmed Cincinnati to be the true, original name of the town.

"The controversy between them continued for several months, and was marked with great warmth. On one occasion it terminated in a violent personal conflict, in which the original plat of the town, made and agreed to by the proprietors at Limestone, in the winter of 1788-9, bearing on its face the name of Cincinnati, was torn in pieces, each party retaining a part of it. In this altercation Colonel Ludlow took the ground that Williams was an unauthorized intruder, and that the statute made it his duty, as an original proprietor, to record the plat, correctly and faithfully as it came from the proprietors, neither adding to, subtracting from or altering anything which was on it when it was agreed to and signed by the proprietors.

"To show how firmly he adhered to that principle I will mention one case. The ground bounded by Broadway, Front street, Main street and the river, had been publicly given, and set apart by the proprietors, with his knowledge and concurrence, as a common, for the use of the town forever. This fact he knew and affirmed, but, because the word common had not been written on the map within the lines inclosing that donation, or elsewhere, he refused to insert it on the copy made for the recorder; and yet it is affirmed by implication that he deliberately made out and placed on record a plat of the town, affirming it to be a true copy of the original, knowing that it contained a name altogether different from the one which had been in the first instance adopted and entered on the plat.

"I will state further that, at an early period, professional duty made it necessary for me to investigate the facts connected with the origin and establishment of Cincinnati, which did not extend to any other individual then or now living, and it so happened that the performance of that duty was required at a time when the town was almost in its incipient state, and when all the original proprietors and most of the first adventurers and settlers were living within the village or in places easily accessible.

"Without presuming to claim more of tact or industry than belongs to the profession generally, it may be presumed, considering the sources of correct information then within my reach, that I must, at least, have ascertained the name of the place, the establishment and history of which I was investigating.

"It has been already intimated that Joel Williams, soon after he purchased the proprietary right of Mr. Denman, set up a claim to the common before described, alleging it to be private property, reserved by the proprietors for future disposition. On the strength of that pretence he erected a brick house on the northwest corner of the tract in question. In consequence of this movement a number of the most public-spirited of our citizens—Martin Baum, Jesse Hunt and General Findley taking the lead—raised a fund by subscription, to defend and sustain the right of the town. I was employed to collect and perpetuate the testimony applicable to the case; and you will not hesitate to believe that, in executing that commission, my inquiries were directed to the original proprietors and to such other persons as were likely to have any knowledge of the facts, touching the laying out of the town and the matters contained on the original plat. I mention this to show that there was something more than curiosity prompting me to this investigation of the early history of the town, which ought to entitle it to credence.

"Now, let any person ask himself what description of facts were likely to be disclosed in the course of such an examination, and the answer will be, precisely such as were stated in the preceding part of this letter, if they existed, although they could not have any bearing on the matter, then in controversy. On the supposition that they did not exist, was there a sufficient motive to induce anybody to fabricate them? It would be difficult to assign a reason in favor of any affirmative answer.

"You will perceive that, to sustain the right of the town to the common, it was necessary to prove the correctness of the plat recorded by Ludlow, which affirmed Cincinnati to be the true, original and only name of the town. In pursuing that inquiry the facts came out that there had been a previous project for laying out a town, the name of which was to have been Losantiville, but that that project had fallen through. As that matter had no relation to the subject I was specially investigating, it was not noticed in the depositions, but omitted as irrelevant.

"Having said this much on the subject of our conversation, I will state as information which may be interesting, if not useful, that in November, 1794, Samuel Freeman purchased the unsold interest of Robert Patterson in the town

section and fraction—that in March, 1795, Joel Williams purchased the unsold interest of Mr. Denman, and in November, 1803, he also purchased of Samuel Freeman the proprietary interest acquired by his purchase from Colonel Patterson, by which he owned and represented two shares or equal third parts of the unsold lots and ground in the section and fraction.

"You are, no doubt, acquainted with the fact that, by an arrangement between Judge Symmes and the first proprietors of the town, he was to retain the title in trust for them and to execute deeds to the purchasers of lots, on their producing certificates of the respective purchases, signed by any two of the proprietors. You have also, it is presumed, heard that all those certificates, of which no record has been preserved, were consumed in the conflagration of Judge Symmes' house. These facts, connected with the sale of Freeman's entire proprietary right to Joel Williams, may possibly account for the link which is said to be wanting in the chain of title to part of the ground, lying west of the town plat, now held under Joel Williams. That fatal fire may have consumed the documents required to make out a complete paper title.

"This conjecture is in some measure corroborated by a reference to the peculiarities of Mr. Williams, who had an active mind—was somewhat eccentric—possessed a vein of humor, and could at times be very sarcastic. He was, however, quite illiterate and unusually careless, and, having great confidence in Judge Symmes, he generally relied on him as a friend and adviser, though, on one or two occasions, there was some serious misunderstanding between them. I was frequently engaged for him, in his legal controversies, and it so happened that a paper required in his cause was found in the keeping of Judge Symmes. I have several times, when calling on him for papers, seen him open and examine the contents of his desk, which gave me an opportunity of knowing that even the most valuable of his papers were kept in a very careless and slovenly manner; and I have often thought that it would have been better for him if all his papers had been in the safe keeping of a guardian or friend; and particularly so, as every person who had been a purchaser of a town property was exposed more or less to the consequence of his carelessness, resulting from the peculiar manner in which titles to property, within the town section or fraction, though beyond the limits of the town plat, were to be obtained. To illustrate my meaning: there have been cases in which non-residents have purchased lots, obtained their certificates, and left them in the hands of Judge Symmes, without calling for deeds; after the burning of the Judge's house, and the consequent destruction of their evidence of title, other persons, by a fresh purchase, or otherwise, have become the legal owners of the same lots.

"Very respectfully,

"J. Burnet."

"Charles Cist."

In considering these letters and Mr. Cist's comment, it may be well to preface with the statement that despite Judge Burnet's training as a lawyer he had no advantage in the matter of accuracy of statement or the ability to weigh materials over Dr. Drake. Dr. Drake possessed the true scientific method in a degree certainly above that of many men of his time and probably would have stood among the first men at his profession of the present day. His study was not limited by any particular profession or subject. His information was of the widest and his publications, probably more numerous than those of any of the early writers of this neighborhood, covered almost every field of activity. So far as relates to the early history of Cincinnati, he is the conclusive authority upon any subject that came under his treatment. He arrived here at about the same time that Judge Burnet arrived, and from the earliest time of his residence gave close attention to the history and life of the community. The first work of any consequence published about the city was his little volume published in 1810. His volume "Notices Concerning Cincinnati" published in 1810 and his book published in 1815 called for convenience "The Picture of Cincinnati" are among the most valued possessions of any collector who is fortunate enough to possess them. Dr. Drake in many respects was the most considerable figure in the civic life of the early days of this community, and his personality appeals with great force to any student of that period.

Burnet essentially fair in intention is not as accurate in his method and his statements must be taken more as those of a controversialist. Cist was most indefatigable as a collector of materials and to him is owing a very large part of the information that we have concerning the history of the city. He had, however, absolutely no power of arranging his materials or of weighing evidence. He was accurate in his methods so far as the collection of statistics and their arrangement is concerned. He was most careful

in recording statements and transcribing documents. He was most pleasant in his treatment of the subject but the critical method was absolutely unknown to him. Drake himself would get up at night to indulge in a discussion and was as anxious to prevail as any other man but to his clear vision the facts presented themselves exactly as they were and however much he might wish to use them for his purpose he was not capable of distorting them even unconsciously. He was always, in other words, the searcher for truth. Burnet equally as sincere was always the advocate.

Bearing in mind these peculiarities which must be considered with reference to all the materials furnished by these three writers, and in any history of the early days of Cincinnati they contribute a very large proportion of the material, it is easy to disentangle the facts from the arguments in the statements just quoted. Dr. Drake unfortunately gives nothing but his conclusion although the statement of Cist that Drake had not examined the matter and may not have heard of it is amusing in view of Drake's well known position as the first historian of the city and of the further fact that he resided in the town during the pendency of the suits afterwards referred to by Judge Burnet and that they excited great public interest. Cist infers that Dr. Drake's proofs were letters addressed to Losantiville. It will be apparent that however his argument might apply to such letters it had no application to letters and records written at Losantiville.

Mr. Cist bases his view, it will be seen, partly on the testimony of Jacob Fowler and Samuel Newell. Fowler's statement is given by him as follows: "The place was called Cincinnati when I first saw it, although the giving of that name is said to have been done by St. Clair afterward. I am positive of the fact. At that time, there appeared forty or fifty cabins in the town, and but one or two stone chimneys among them all. The timber on the site of the built parts had been a heavy growth of sugar-tree, beech, and oak, with a few black walnuts, mostly large, and the cabins were surrounded with standing timber, as well as with large butts of logs, considered too difficult and unprofitable to split, and which were therefore left to decay. The corners of the streets, as far as practicable, were blazed on the trees." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 76.)

At the time Major Fowler made this statement he was 84 years old. He was speaking of events that had occurred more than a half century before. His first real experience in the settlement was in connection with the fort for which his brother had supplied meat. They wandered up Mill creek or crossed over into Kentucky at Yeatman's Cove or at the Stone Landing, at Ludlow street, so called because the stone for Fort Washington was landed there. With the town he had at that time little to do. He staid there but a short time and went away and did not return until 1791. It is apparent that the time of which he speaks in his statement to Mr. Cist is the later period. In 1789 there were but eleven families in the town and about twenty small log cabins. After the Harmar expedition in 1790 the population had increased to about forty families and there were about forty cabins. This is the statement of the Directory of 1819, generally accepted as correct.

Judge Burnet lays great stress on the fact that when Israel Ludlow recorded his plat he called it the plat of Cincinnati. This plat it will be remembered was recorded for the purpose of being used in evidence in litigation then in view. With all due respect to the statement that it was recorded because of the statute of the Legislature of December, 1799, the suggestion is ventured that it took Mr. Ludlow and his counsel, Judge Burnet, a long time to record this plat in the interest of the public and to avoid the penalty, for it was not until 17 months afterwards, April 29, 1802, and not in 1801 that the plat was put on record. That particular plat had been in possession of the parties for at least six months for Denman's certificate is dated November 20, 1801. It was very naturally called the plan of the town of Cincinnati as it was that town whose lines were then in question.

Strangely enough, Mr. Williams, moved by a similar desire to benefit the public and obey the law, took steps on the same day and filed his plat as late as six o'clock in the evening. The real explanation is given by Judge Burnet in describing the lawsuit and the annoyance of Colonel Ludlow at the claim of Williams. Mr. Williams was as particular as Mr. Ludlow not to print on the plat the name. His plat, as Judge Burnet says, contained the name Cincinnati but the statement in his letter that it affirmed "Cincinnati to be the true original name of the town" is a remarkable one in view of the fact that it purports on its face to be a plat "of the town of Cincinnati formerly called Losanterville." That statement in fact is not true with regard to the Ludlow plat even, which contains merely a re-

cital of the name Cincinnati and no statement as to whether or not it was the original name.

Judge Burnet's argument that the omission of the name Losantiville in the evidence is significant because there was no motive to leave it out applies with equal strength the other way. It was not mentioned because there was no motive to mention it, as the name of the town was not in controversy. It may be said that his interest then was that of the advocate and that this point did not arise. When the time came for him to be interested in it as a matter of history, years had elapsed. Dr. Drake began his study over a quarter of a century before Burnet gave any attention to the matter as a historian.

Ludlow's plat was finally held to be the true plat but prior to that time there is no question but that the Williams' plat was accepted by many as authoritative. The names of the streets given thereon were commonly used. Dr. Drake refers years afterwards to the name of Walnut street as Cider street as it was designated in Williams' plat and Fifth street was called Byrd for many years afterwards.

So much for the inconclusive character of the statements of Mr. Cist and Judge Burnet. The positive evidences are much stronger.

In the original article of agreement that was entered into by the proprietors at Limestone in December, 1788, after the death of Filson at which time the name Losantiville is claimed to have died, the introduction reads: "The Conditions for settling the town of Losantiburg are as follows." Shortly afterwards, after the survey had been completed on January 7, 1789, Col. Israel Ludlow himself publicly affixed his own signature to the conditions of the donation. The caption of this reads as follows: "Conditions on which the donation lots in the town Losantiville are held and settled." This would seem sufficient to estop Mr. Ludlow or any one for him from disputing the name. The mere variation between Losantiburg and Losantiville is of no consequence. It is clear that at this time the name Cincinnati had never been heard of.

Judge Symmes, the principal person interested in the purchase, himself a lawyer of many years' standing, in his letter to Dayton from North Bend, May 18, 1789, writes as follows:

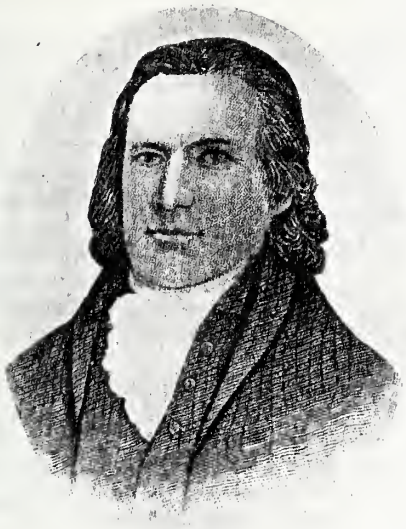
"On the 24th of December last, Colonel Patterson, of Lexington, who is concerned with Mr. Denman in the section at the mouth of the Licking River, sailed from Limestone in company with Mr. Tuttle, Captain Henry, Mr. Ludlow, and about twelve others, in order to form a station and lay out a town opposite Licking. They suffered much from the inclemency of the weather and floating ice, which filled the Ohio from shore to shore. Perseverance, however, triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which populates considerably, but would have been more important by this time if Colonel Patterson or Mr. Denman had resided in the town. Colonel Patterson tarried one month at Losantiville, and returned to Lexington."

It is possible that had Mr. Denman or Colonel Patterson remained in the town any length of time, their recollections as to the name might have been more specific. Denman never saw the town until years later and Patterson as is seen remained but a short time. However Mr. Denman in his deposition given many years afterwards, August 1, 1833, to be used in the case of the city against the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati, refers to his selection of the entire section and the fractional section as "being the same on which the town first called Losantiville and afterwards Cincinnati is laid out and where the city of Cincinnati now stands." His grandson, D. F. Denman of Coshocton, Ohio, in his sketch furnished for this work says particularly that Judge Burnet is mistaken in assuming that the name Losantiville was proposed but was not adopted. His language which is quoted elsewhere is "I think Judge Burnet mistaken as I know positively that Matthias Denman said that the town was so called (that is Losantiville) until the coming of Governor St. Clair in 1790."

So great an authority as Robert Clarke quotes the deposition of Denman in his communication published in the *Commercial* of this city in the year 1873, in which he takes to task the late librarian, John M. Newton, for perpetuating in a paper read by him before the Literary Club of Cincinnati the error that the settlement was never called Losantiville.

Judge Symmes as late as June 14, 1789, in a letter to Dayton, forecasts the future of the settlement as follows:

"One remark I have hitherto omitted, viz: it is expected, that on the arrival of Governor St. Clair, this purchase will be organized into a county; it is therefore of some moment which town shall be made the county town. Losantiville, at present, bids the fairest; it is a most excellent site for a large town, and is at present the most central of any of the inhabited towns; but if Southbend might be finished and occupied,



JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

MATTHIAS DENMAN.

COL. ROBERT PATTERSON.

JOHN FILSON.

that would be exactly in the centre, and probably would take the lead of the present villages until the city can be made somewhat considerable."

The statements with regard to the change of the name are no less significant. Here we have the evidence in writing of Judge Symmes, the proprietor, Major Sargent, the Secretary of the Territory, and General Harmar, commander of the army of the United States then located at Fort Washington.

Judge Symmes speaks first of the change of name in a letter from North Bend, of January 9, 1790:

"Governor St. Clair arrived at Losantiville on the 2d instant. He could be prevailed on to stay with us but three nights. He has organized this purchase into a county. His excellency complimented me with the honor of naming the county. I called it Hamilton County, after the Secretary of the Treasury. General Harmar has named the new garrison Fort Washington. The Governor has made Losantiville the county town by the name of Cincinnata, so that Losantiville will become extinct."

See also the letter to Dayton, describing the death of Badgley, the surveyor, "who had been for some time an industrious citizen of Losantiville." The name Losantiville is used twice in this connection.

In Major Sargent's official journal we find this entry:

"LOSANTIVILLE, January 2, 1790.

"The Governor arrived here this morning and will probably be detained by public business until the 4th, when he expects to take his departure for Kaskaskia."

This entry of Sargent's is a part of the official record of the trip made by the Governor and himself through the Territory.

General Harmar in his letter to the Secretary of War of January 14, 1790, giving official notice of the arrival of the Governor of the Northwest Territory and of his proceedings while at headquarters states first that he has named the fort Fort Washington. Then in describing the locality he uses the following language:

"The distance between the Little Miami and Great Miami is twenty-eight measured miles. Near the Little Miami there is a settlement called Columbia; here (seven miles distant from Columbia), there is another named Losanteville, but lately changed to Cincinnati, and Judge Symmes himself resides at the other, about fifteen miles from hence, called the Miami City, at the north bend of the Ohio River. They are, in general, but small cabins, and the inhabitants of the poorer class of people."

In a paragraph from Symmes' letter of January 9, 1790, already referred to, Symmes reports that "Mr. Denman has paid for two or three sections at most and his section and fraction at Losantiville." Dayton as late as March 20, 1790, still knows the settlement as Losantiville for in a letter of warning already quoted he states that "it seems that Denman had never covered with any warrant the section on which they are building Losantiville" and he suggests that Symmes should "prevent his covering the Losantiville section with any warrant" except such as he should buy from the Judge.

In addition to these officials there is the evidence of a well known citizen, first of Cincinnati, then afterwards of Dayton. Benjamin Van Cleve arrived in Cincinnati in 1790, where he remained until his removal to Dayton in 1796. He speaks of his arrival as follows:

"We landed at Losantiville, opposite the mouth of Licking River, on the third day of January, 1790. Two small, hewed-log houses had been erected, and several cabins. General Harmar was employed in building Fort Washington, and commanded Strong's, Pratt's, Kearsey's, and Kingsbury's companies of infantry, and Ford's artillery. A few days after this Governor St. Clair appointed officers, civil and military, for the Miami country. His proclamtion, erecting the county of Hamilton, bears date January 2, 1790, on the day of his arrival. Mr. Tappan (Tapping), who came down with us, and who remained only a short time, and William McMillan, esq., were appointed justices of the peace for this town, of which the Governor altered the name from Losantiville to Cincinnati."

To the foregoing may be added the definite statement of Symmes, contained in his letter to Dayton already quoted in this chapter, discussing the proper termination of the new town name to the effect that he gave it its name.

It is not unlikely that a more complete search through the early correspondence of this neighborhood would disclose many more instances of the use of the name Losantiville. The general belief of the early residents is indicated by such statements as that in the Directory of 1819 that "the town was first named Losantiville. * * * The name was afterwards altered to Cincinnati by Governor St. Clair."

The Directory of 1829 contains a similar statement and this was certainly the general belief in the early days. It is not necessary however to

cite any further evidence. The distinct statement of the most prominent people in the Territory made at the time of the change can not be disposed of by such negative evidence as that introduced by Judge Burnet or the recollection of a very few old men taken many years after the occurrence. The evidence seems therefore to be conclusive that the year 1789 belongs to the history of Losantiville and that the history of the settlement of Cincinnati under that name does not begin until 1790.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE SETTLEMENT.

The first year of the life of the settlement—the formative period when it was known as Losantiville—was taken up with the ordinary incidents that are so well known in the life of every new settlement. The site with which the settlers had to deal, although at that time a wilderness and to-day a large city covered with the streets and buildings necessary to accommodate a busy population, was in its main topographical features the same as it is at present. Dr. Drake in his first book published in 1810 gives a description of it which has been included in the first chapter of this book. Very much the same description is reprinted in his later book, the "Picture of Cincinnati," published in 1815. It was the eastern part of a tract of alluvial or bottom land bounded by the hills on the north, Mill creek on the west, the river on the south and Deer creek on the east. In this plain were included approximately speaking four miles. It was of unequal elevation and the two plateaus which formed it were known as the Hill and Bottom. The lower plateau of but the average breadth of about eight hundred feet ran from Deer creek to Mill creek; it was rather high at the east, at the west it was subject to frequent overflow. In March, 1793, the whole of this plain was inundated. The Hill arose by a steep ascent about fifty feet above the Bottom and then "continues the distance of nearly a thousand feet when the surface declines gently to the base of the adjoining highlands. The medium breadth of this table is about one mile. Its western portion is uneven and towards Mill creek descends to the level of the Bottom."

At that time said the Doctor "the prospect along the river was limited and uninteresting but from the river itself or from the banks opposite the appearance of the town was beautiful; and in the future period when the streets shall be graduated from the hill to the river shore promises to become magnificent."

The month after the settlement was spent largely in making surveys and marking out the lots allotted to the purchasers. The street lines were marked by blazing the trees. We are told that the first effort was made to lay out the city simply as far west as Main street, but the plan was a definite one and the survey proceeded with rapidity. The plan was modeled after that of the city of Philadelphia. Between Broadway and Western row there were six streets, each 66 feet wide, running from the river north 16 degrees west and lying 396 feet apart. These were intersected at right angles by others of the same width and the same distance apart except Water and Front streets which are nearer and Second and Third streets farther apart on account of the brow of the Hill. Not a single alley, court or diagonal street was laid out. The blocks or squares were each divided into eight blocks, 99 by 108 feet, except those lying between Second and Third streets which made ten lots each; and those between Front and Water streets, which contained four lots each, not quite so deep. The out-lots, 81 in number, contained four acres each and in that part of the city, subsequently laid out by Symmes east of Eastern row, the streets were but 60 feet wide. The donations, as has been stated, in addition to the common or Public Landing, including the square between Fourth, Fifth, Walnut and Main. These lots were paid for by the purchaser at about the same price as other lots were paid for.

Immediately after the assigning of the lots, the settlers proceeded to make their improvements and to get them ready for crops. A large part of the bottom land between Walnut street and Broadway was cleared at once, although the trees in many cases were allowed to remain where they had fallen. Stumps were to be seen throughout the settlement for some years to come. As is stated elsewhere, the principal reliance for food was upon the settlers of Columbia who had the advantage of the fertile valley of Turkey Bottom. The population of the place in May of this year is said to have included 11 families besides 24 unmarried men, together with the officers and soldiers of the garrison. (Directory of 1819, p. 19; Cincinnati in 1859, p. 25.)

There were some twenty cabins built, in the main, in the neighborhood of the present Public Landing. The difficulties with regard to food, which continued in spite of the plenty of fish and game together with the fear of the Indians who up to this time had made no hostile demon-

strations but showed their continued unfriendliness, made the future of the settlement very uncertain. The coming of the soldiers, however, in the early part of June and the subsequent erection of Fort Washington settled the question of the permanency of the settlement. More log houses were built and also a frame house at the corner of Front and Main which was occupied by Colonel Ludlow. Some of the out-lots beyond Seventh street were also cleared.

"About twenty acres in different parts of the town were planted with corn. The corn, when ripe, was ground in hand-mills. Flour, bacon, and other provisions, were chiefly imported. Some of the inhabitants brought with them a few light articles of household furniture, but many were mostly destitute. Tables were made of planks, and the want of chairs was supplied with blocks; the dishes were wooden bowls and trenchers. The men wore hunting-shirts of linen and linsey-woolsey, and round them a belt, in which were inserted a tomahawk and scalping-knife. Their moccasins, leggings, and pantaloons were made of deer skins. The women wore linsey-woolsey, manufactured by themselves. The greatest friendship and cordiality existed among the inhabitants, and a strong zeal for each other's safety and welfare." (Directory of 1819, p. 22.)

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF THE SETTLERS.

During the early days of the settlements, before the crops matured there was great scarcity of vegetables and particularly of corn. The roots of the beargrass are constantly referred to as one of the resources of the settlers. Jesse Coleman stated that repeatedly he had nothing more for three days' subsistence than a pint of parched corn. The first mill was built by Mr. Coleman at Columbia by making fast two flatboats side by side and placing the water-wheel between the two. Grindstones were put in one boat with the grain and the flour and the machinery in the other. Before this time the settlers had relied upon hand-mills or upon sending to the settlements in Kentucky. It was on one of these trips for bread that the Surveyor Badgley lost his life, as described by Judge Symmes in a letter to Dayton:

"The business of surveying has been carried on with great spirit and enterprise, by the young gentlemen who have been employed in that service. They plunged into the woods in mid-winter, when the snow was considerably deep on the ground and the cold very severe; nor were these inconveniences all which they suffered: the stock of flour which I purposely provided for them in the fall of the last year, was appropriated to the use of Captain Kearsey's company, nor was it possible to replace it at any rate. The surveyors, therefore, and their attendants, were put to great shifts for bread. Many had their limbs frost-bitten, but none lost their lives by any hardships, except Noah Badgley, of Westfield, in New Jersey; a very worthy young man, who had been for some time an industrious citizen of Losantiville. This young gentleman was induced to repair to Kentucky for a supply of bread-corn; he, with three other inhabitants of the same town with him, embarked in a canoe with their provisions, near Bourbon, on Licking River, when the water was high and the weather cold. They proceeded down the river for many miles, when coming into a very difficult place, where the stream broke off into several very crooked channels, the canoe was driven against drift logs and trees with such violence as to overset her. The four men saved themselves from the water by climbing on a tree, one of them soon swam out and escaped; Mr. Badgley next attempted to cross the stream by swimming, but was so rapidly hurried down the current that he was not able to gain the shore, and perished. The remaining two men continued on the tree for three days and nights—as one of them informed me—before they were taken off by the people who were following them down the river to Losantiville."

One instance of the ingenuity which was developed by the necessities of the time occurred in the family of Alexander Guard, who settled at North Bend in 1790. Three years later he leased some of the land below the Bend at a point four or five miles below the blockhouse and erected a cabin there. One spring day when the Miami River was quite high, he started to remove his household effects down the river in a pirogue. His wife and children made the trip on foot. Unfortunately the pirogue capsized and all the contents were swept away by the flood and lost. As a result the Guard family were entirely without clothing. Mrs. Guard however, who had been accustomed to the cultivation of cotton and its manufacture into materials for clothing, noticed that the wild nettle which grew in great profusion about the river bottoms seemed to have a good fibre. She had a quantity of this collected and from it made one season more than two hundred yards of cloth.

Mr. Cist's description of the city as it ap-

peared within a few months after this settlement is specific and well worth quotation:

"From the hill which skirts the present line of Third street, to the river bluffs, lay a broad swamp, which occupied, principally, the space from Second to Lower Market streets, although, from its irregular shape, parts of it extended even further south. This was originally a thicket of beech and sugar-trees, and grape-vines, interspersed with a heavy undergrowth of spice-wood and papaws. On the second table, now lying between Third street and the hills in the rear of Cincinnati, the ground was more unbroken in its surface, and heavily timbered with beech, sugar-tree, and poplar, some of them of immense size. The river bank was a high bluff, extending, opposite the present Public Landing, about one hundred and fifty feet south of the upper line of Front street, and falling off north to the swamp rather rapidly. At Sycamore street a large cove put in, reaching within a foot of what is now the northeast corner of Sycamore and Front streets. Here Griffin Yeatman kept one of our earliest public houses. It is difficult now to realize the fact, that the north line of the river at this point nearly reached that of Front street. At the corner of Ludlow was another of these coves, and another still higher up, just below the mouth of Deer creek. The first of these was called the Stone Landing, and the second Dorsey's Cove. The ground fell off all the way from the banks of the Ohio to Second, then called Columbia street. The coves referred to, in early days, were the usual landing places for emigrants, as they probably had been to the various expeditions which the settlers, in Kentucky, from time to time, sent over to retaliate on the Shawanese Indian settlements to our north, their incursions across the Ohio. The old Indian war-path from the British garrison, at Detroit, crossed the river at this point, which was also the regular avenue by which the savages on the northern side of the Ohio approached the Kentucky stations." (Cincinnati in 1859, pp. 139 and 140.)

Maj. Jacob Fowler in his reminiscences given at the age of 84 to Mr. Cist, already quoted, states that at the time he arrived in Cincinnati in 1789, while Major Doughty was building the fort "there appeared forty or fifty cabins in the town, and but one or two stone chimneys among them all. The timber on the site of the built parts had been a heavy growth of sugar-tree, beech, and oak, with a few black walnuts, mostly large, and the cabins were surrounded with standing timber, as well as with large butts of logs, considered too difficult and unprofitable to split, and which were therefore left to decay. The corners of the streets, as far as practicable, were blazed on the trees.

"Our hunting-ground was usually some ten or fifteen miles in the interior of Kentucky. Occasionally we hunted on Mill creek, four or five miles from the town, where there was a good supply of game. Our usual crossing-places from Kentucky, were at Yeatman or Sycamore street cove, or at the Stone Landing, a cove higher up, so called because the stone wanted for Fort Washington was landed there." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 76.) Major Fowler appears to have purchased in-lot 242, which is the southeast corner of Fifth and Race streets, for 30 shillings.

This statement with regard to the number of cabins does not agree with that of the writer of the historical part of the Directory of 1819. Fowler also states that at the time when he first saw it, the place was called Cincinnati and it is upon this statement that Mr. Cist and Mr. Teetor base their conclusion that the town of Losantiville never existed except in the mind of Filson. The two statements taken together probably explain each other and fix the time referred to as the year later, 1790.

During this first year of the settlement, before the formal erection of a civil government, the community had been obliged to shift for itself under a sort of "Lynch Code" as it was called by Judge Burnet. The looseness of the manners and morals that always prevails in a new settlement subjected the well disposed citizens to constant annoyance and they felt that some ways and means must be devised to protect themselves. As a result at Losantiville word was circulated throughout the settlement that the people would meet on the following day to consult and determine what should be done for the common safety. At the proper time the populace met "under one of the majestic trees which shaded the plain. They elected William McMillan chairman, appointed a secretary, whose name I forget, and proceeded to business. They formed a code of by-laws, fixing the punishment to be inflicted for certain offences. They organized a court, established a trial by jury, appointed Mr. McMillan judge, and John Ludlow sheriff. Before the meeting adjourned, every person present agreed to the regulations, and gave a solemn pledge that he would aid in carrying them into effect. It was not long before a

complaint was made against Patrick Grimes, for stealing cucumbers from the truck-patch of one of his neighbors. An order was immediately issued to the sheriff, directing him forthwith, to arrest the offender, and summon a jury for his trial. The order was promptly obeyed, a jury was impanelled, the evidence heard, a verdict of guilty returned, and the accused sentenced to receive twenty-nine lashes on his naked back; which were inflicted the same afternoon." (Burnet's letter, October, 1837.) And so Patrick Grimes' name is handed down for all time. The subsequent history of this the first one of the new settlers to call for the process of the law is not recorded.

The proceedings of this impromptu court soon brought its officers into conflict with the military authorities, always ready to interfere with the civil jurisdiction in a new settlement. Judge Burnet records the matter as follows: "In a few weeks, another complaint was made, and an order issued to arrest the person accused. He immediately fled to the garrison, and claimed the protection of the commandant. The next day, Mr. McMillan received an abusive letter from that officer, requiring him to desist from further proceeding, and threatening him with punishment, if he did not. A spirited reply was returned to the letter, denying the right of the commandant to interfere, and setting him at defiance. The military pride of the subaltern, being wounded by this rebuke, he sent from the garrison, the next day, a sergeant with a file of three men, to arrest McMillan. It is proper here to observe, that at that time Mr. McMillan was young, athletic, in high health, and possessed of unusual strength and activity. The first intimation he had of the movement against him, was from the sergeant, at the door of his cabin, which was taken possession of by the guard. A short parley ensued, in which McMillan declared his determination not to be taken alive, and forbade the guard to enter his cabin. After a short pause, however, they rushed in, when a most furious conflict ensued. The sergeant, who first entered, received a blow, which brought him to the floor. At the same instant the men seized their victim, who, by a prodigious effort of strength, rescued himself from their grasp, giving one of them a blow which effectually disabled him. Mr. McMillan informed me that the conflict lasted fifteen or twenty minutes, when the parties became entirely exhausted, and the guard retired. During the struggle, among the severe blows inflicted on McMillan, was one in the breast; from the effects of which he never recovered. He was confined to his bed for many weeks, and after he had recovered sufficiently to attend to business, he was weak, debilitated, and afflicted with a cough, which continued to the time of his death." Mr. McMillan was one of the most distinguished men that have lived in Cincinnati at any time during its existence.

Immediately after the affair, when the Court of Quarter Sessions was organized in pursuance of the law for that purpose, published at Marietta on August 23, 1788, Mr. McMillan was appointed one of the judges of the court. He was one of the members in the first landing party. He succeeded William H. Harrison as the territorial delegate to Congress in 1800 where he served so well as to be honored with a public dinner upon his return to the city. After his return he was appointed United States attorney for the District of Ohio being the first who held that office. He died at the early age of 44 and Mr. Cist says of him: "There can be no doubt that Mr. McMillan was the master-spirit of the place, at that day, and a man who would have been a distinguished member of society anywhere. It is impossible to contemplate his career and character, without being deeply impressed with his great superiority over every one around him, even of the influential men of the day, and there were men of as high character and abilities in Cincinnati, in those days, as at present. He was lost to the community at the age of forty-four—just in the meridian of his course—and left vacant an orbit of usefulness and influence here in the community, in which no one since has been found worthy to move."

William M. Corry in a public address speaks of McMillan as follows: "During his professional career there was no higher man at the Western bar than William McMillan. Its accomplished ranks would have done honor to older countries, but it did not contain his superior. Some of our distinguished lawyers of that day were admirable public speakers; he was not. Some of them were able in the comprehension of their cases and skillful to a proverb in their management; of these he ranked among the first. His opinions had all the respectability of learning, precision and strength. They commanded acquiescence, they challenged opposition, when to obtain assent was difficult and to provoke hostilities dangerous."

The date of the arrival of the first family cannot be given with any degree of certainty. Mrs.

Rebecca Reeder, in a letter to the Pioneer Association, tells of the arrival of her family in the city as early as February 8, 1789, at which time there were three other women in the city, a Miss Dement, Mrs. Constance Zenes who afterwards married William McMillan, and Mrs. Pesthal, a German woman. The only small children in the place were those of Mrs. Pesthal.

Mrs. Reeder was the daughter of Francis Kennedy who with his wife and seven children floated down on a boat. The first people they saw after landing were Mr. McMillan and Col. Israel Ludlow. At that time they found but three cabins in which lived the surveyors and chain carriers. The cabins were not floored. Mr. Ludlow came down to the boat and invited Kennedy and his family to make their stay in his cabin until one could be built, but Mrs. Kennedy thought it would be more comfortable with the small children in their boat so they lived on the river in the boat until the running ice made it necessary for them to make some other arrangements. The men of the settlement assisted them in breaking up the boats and building a temporary camp in which they lived for six weeks. By the end of that time Kennedy had built a large cabin which was the first one large enough for a family to live in. The boards of the camp which had been taken from the boat were used to floor the house. The house was intended to be placed on the corner of Walnut and Water streets but although the streets were laid out they had not been opened up and the woods were so thick that it was impossible to tell where they would run; as a result the house was built in the middle of Water street. At the time of the landing of this family, the army was still at North Bend where it was suffering from the want of bread. Kennedy had brought with him a considerable quantity of flour and corn-meal and when the soldiers sent up to get a few barrels of flour for the benefit of the so-called army, Kennedy refused to sell them flour which he said he brought there to save his children's lives in the forest and not for the purpose of selling. The soldiers were armed and threatened to take the flour by force but Kennedy took down his gun and informed them that he would fight for his flour. Fortunately no collision occurred and the soldiers returned to North Bend from which Judge Symmes wrote to Kennedy asking him to give the soldiers as many barrels of flour as they required and he would see it replaced. This was done and the matter terminated satisfactorily.

According to Mrs. Reeder, her father established the first ferry and received the first license that was granted. Thomas Kennedy kept a ferry on the opposite side of the river and Kennedy himself on the Ohio side and the two of them ferried cattle over the river during the three campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. Kennedy was finally drowned at the conclusion of the war while ferrying some cattle across for the army. After his death Joel Williams who had been here some years received a license from the court to run a ferry boat, after Mrs. Kennedy had been afforded the opportunity of continuing her husband's business. This she found would be impracticable and she waived her rights in favor of Williams.

Mrs. Reeder mentions the first storekeepers as Smith & Findley, afterwards General Findley (Findlay), and Colonel Gibson whose store was at the corner of Main and Water streets. Another store was kept by Major Ziegler, the well known army officer who afterwards became the first mayor of the city. The first tavern she says was kept by Joel Williams and Isaac Felter; it was on Water street.

Mrs. Reeder with a truly feminine inaccuracy says: "I heard it announced that Mr. Smith—if I do not mistake the name—was the first sheriff; but he was not. John Ludlow was the first sheriff, and hung the first man that was ever hung here. The name of the man that was hung was Mays." By Mr. Smith of course she refers to Mr. Brown, who was in fact the first sheriff. John Ludlow was the sheriff of the "Lynch Court" of which William McMillan was judge, organized during the first year of the settlement before the civil government had been established. He was afterwards elected sheriff for the term of 1793 and 1794, but must have acted in 1792 when Mays was hung.

Mrs. Reeder mentions as the people who were here at an early period the following: "Mr. Blackburn and family; Mr. Garrison and family; Mr. McHenry and family; Dr. Morrell and family; Dr. Hole and family; Stephen Reeder and family; Jacob Reeder and family; Daniel Kitchel and family; Mrs. Phebe Flint, daughter of Daniel Kitchel; Samuel Dick and family; Mrs. McKnight and sons; Isaac Anderson and family. These were all very early settlers." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 150.)

At the May donation, Francis Kennedy drew lot 151 at the northwest corner of Front and Walnut. He also appears as a purchaser of lots 5 and 112, the former being at the northwest

corner of Second and Broadway and the latter on the west side of Main street south of Fourth. He was among the first officers of the militia appointed by Governor St. Clair, being named lieutenant, at the time of the appointments in January, 1790. He subsequently resigned and Scott Traverse who had been appointed ensign was selected to take his place, Robert Benham taking the place of Traverse as ensign. These men were officers in Capt. Israel Ludlow's company.

The McHenrys came on April 10th, with two grandsons and two granddaughters and at the same time came Mrs. Ross with her family. Thomas Kennedy, who was referred to as the ferryman on the other side of the river, was a Scotchman who arrived at Losantiville in the spring of that year but subsequently established himself at the point where Covington now stands which for many years was called from him Kennedy's Ferry. The account of the arrival of Thomas Irwin and James Burns, given by Mr. McBride, in his "Pioneer Biography," is interesting not only for its description of the village at that time but also for the glimpse it gives of the rivalry between different settlements in the purchase. It reads as follows:

"Messrs. Irwin and Burns remained at Columbia during the day, examining the place. Mr. Irwin said there were quite a number of families residing there at the time, scattered over the bottom lands, and, as he thought, very much exposed. They offered great inducements to the young adventurers to locate themselves at Columbia; and, though they informed them of another small settlement eight miles further down the river, opposite the mouth of the Licking River, they gave them no encouragement to go there.

"They remained in their boat during the night, and the next morning left it in the care of the man opposite whose house they had landed, and taking their guns, started down the river-bank in quest of the settlement below. The bank was narrow, and there was no road or traces; the woods were thick, and the way much obstructed by underbrush and vines;—so that the traveling was very tedious. Opposite the mouth of the Licking River, they came to a double shanty occupied by the surveyors in surveying Symmes' Purchase during the preceding winter. Their names were David Logan, Caleb Reeves, Robert McConnell, Francis Hardesty, Mr. Van Eaton, William McMillan and John Vance. Joel Williams was also there, and had been with the surveyors a part of the time, and was with Israel Ludlow when he surveyed and laid out the town in February previous, marking the lines of the streets and corners of lots on the trees. This shanty had been built by these persons for their accommodation, immediately after they laid out the town. It was the first improvement made in the place, and these persons were the first settlers of Cincinnati. Joel Williams assisted them to build the shanty, and remained with them some time, until, with their assistance, he built a cabin on his own lot near the foot of Main street. He had the plat of the town, was an agent for the proprietors, and encouraged Irwin and Burns to settle themselves at that place.

"In the evening of the same day they returned to Columbia, remaining on board their boat all night. The next day they floated down the river, and landed at the shanty opposite to the mouth of Licking River. This was about the tenth day of April. The next day was spent in examining the place, and, being pleased with the situation, they concluded to remain. Mr. Burns located one town-lot and one out-lot. The out-lot contained four acres. Irwin also obtained a town-lot. They cleared one acre of ground, which they planted with corn. * * *

"The double shanty, before mentioned, occupied by Logan, McMillan, and others, was situated about the head of Front street. Irwin and Burns located themselves near to it and put up a temporary shanty, which they occupied during their stay that summer. The other settlers were scattered principally between Sycamore and Main streets."

Irwin states that the first hewed-log house in the place was put up about the first of June between Front street and the river and below Main street. This was erected by Robert Benham and the settlers of the village helped him in the work. Benham was the hero of the episode described elsewhere in which he was shot through the hips so that he could not walk and assisted by another man shot through the arms lived for some weeks on game.

Robert Benham who had become an officer of the militia, as heretofore referred to, appears in the list of lot owners in a number of places. In May he received lots 62 and 63 and according to one list lot 17 as already described. Lots 62 and 63 are at the southwest corner of Fourth and Sycamore. During the following year his name appears as holder of lot 126 on the north side of Front street, 100 feet east of Walnut,

and also lots 17 and 18 which are the northwest and southwest corners of Fifth and Broadway. He also appears as purchaser of lot 3 on the west side of Broadway below Second which had been originally drawn by Joseph Thornton and lot 39 at the northeast corner of Fourth and Sycamore. He is recorded as paying 60 shillings for lot 3 and 25 shillings for lot 39. Benham subsequently became a "ferryman."

On the 18th of February, 1792, the Secretary of the Territory, then at Cincinnati, and in the absence of Governor St. Clair acting as Governor, issued the following proclamation:

"To all persons to whom these presents shall come greeting:—

"*Whereas,* It has been represented to me that it is necessary for the public interests, and the convenience of the inhabitants of the county of Hamilton, that a ferry should be established over the river Ohio, nearly opposite the mouth of Licking, in the Commonwealth of Virginia, and Mr. Robert Benham having requested permission to erect and keep said ferry;

"Now Know Ye, That, having duly considered of the said representation and request, I have thought it proper to grant the same, and by these presents do empower the said Robert Benham, of the county of Hamilton, to erect and keep a ferry over the Ohio River, from the landing place in the vicinity of his house lot, which is nearly opposite the mouth of Licking, to both points of said rivulet upon the Virginia shore; and to ask, demand, recover, and receive as a compensation—

For every single person that he may transport over the said ferry	6 cents
For a man and horse	18 cents
For a wagon and team	100 cents
For horned cattle, per head	18 cents
For hogs, each	6 cents

until those rates shall be altered by law or future instructions from the Governor of this Territory.

"And he is hereby required to provide good and sufficient flats or boats for the purpose, and to give due attention to the same according to right and common usage, and to govern himself in the premises by all such laws as hereafter may be adopted for the regulation of ferries, as soon as such laws shall be published in the Territory.

"Given under my hand and seal, at Cincinnati, in the county of Hamilton, this eighteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and of the independence of the United States the sixteenth, and to continue in force during the pleasure of the Governor of the Territory.

"WINTHROP SARGENT."

John Ludlow referred to above came with his family to Cincinnati from Buffalo. He arrived some time about November, 1789, and occupied a double-roomed log cabin on the northwest corner of Front and Main streets. He was acting sheriff in the first temporary organization and also during 1793 and 1794. He had charge of the first execution under sentence of the court in Hamilton County, that of John May or James Mays in 1792.

William D. Ludlow a son of Sheriff Ludlow, speaks of his early days as follows:

"I came to Cincinnati in 1789, when a boy five years old, and soon became used to the hardships, the frights, the incursions of savages, and the tramp of soldiers, who were either drilling, going to or returning from war. All persons were obliged in those days to be industrious, and I learned to work when quite a little boy. Sometimes I went to school, and the first master I knew was an Irishman by the name of Lloyd. His school-house was on the river bank, now the Public Landing, near Main street. We children were sent to school on the safest side of the village. One day in the spring of 1791 the Indians came over the hill-tops right down in sight of the fort, and fired away, killing Henry Hahn, a Pennsylvanian, who was clearing a lot. My uncle Israel gave chase with his militia company but did not overtake them. Harmar's expedition did not intimidate the Indians, but made them worse; and while I was a boy in Cincinnati I saw armed men and soldiers every day, and heard Indian stories every night.

"When there was service in the village church I went with my parents, and every man was obliged to have his gun by his side. I remember once my father's colored man was sent up over the hills to look for our black mare, which had strayed away. The Indians had taken her from the out-lot, and got away with her as far as where Ludlow Grove now is. The thieving fellows had taken the bell from her neck to decoy those who should be sent after the mare. The darkey was led on and on by the tinkling bell, for he was one whom they would rather capture than kill. Feeling sure of him, they put the bell on the mare's neck, tethered her and secreted themselves. Just as he walked up the Indians jumped out after him, and the race be-

gan. The darkey was a good runner, and kept ahead of them to the top of Vine street hill, where the Indians gave up the pursuit. The darkey, however, improved his chances until he reached our house, where, pale with fright and gasping for breath, he shouted: 'De black mare gone, gone! Massa John, you neber see dat black mare any more, suah! De Injuns got her!'

"I do not remember St. Clair's start on his campaign in 1791, but remember the return, the arrival of the wounded, and the funeral of Captain Darke, who died of his wounds in Isaac Martin's house, next to my father's. The turnout of the soldiers, the black pall, the coffin, the slow pace of those who carried his body, and the dead march sadly and solemnly affected me.

"The Indians were continually hanging around, watching along the Miamis, stealing from cabins and horse-lots, from Columbia to North Bend, and back in the country from the river, wherever anyone had ventured to fix a stopping place. Once our horses were missing from the wood-lot. Pursuit was given at once by four men, John and James Spencer, John Adams and Peter Cox. These were known as the 'Northwestern Spies.' Cox had a new rifle, and as they started Cox called out to my father: 'Squire John, the Indians shall never get this rifle unless they kill me at the first fire.' These men found the horses and Indians just north of Spring Grove Cemetery, near Platt Evens' house, and fired into them, killing two. The Indians returned the fire disabling Cox. Knowing he could not escape from the twenty or more who came after him with a yell, Cox told his companions to go and save themselves. The last seen of Cox was with the muzzle of that new rifle in hand smashing it to flinters against a tree, as the savages closed upon him. In my school-boy days I used to pass that sugar-tree and look upon the mutilated bark, where poor Cox had smashed the stock and lock of his gun the moment before the tomahawk fell upon him. While General Wayne was drilling his troops at 'Hobson's Choice,' preparatory to his campaign against the Indians, I was a frequent witness of camp and field proceedings under the iron-countenanced old general, and on Sundays I used to perch myself in the top of a beech tree and look down upon the sham battles below.

"General Wilkinson usually commanded the riflemen, who, as whooping Indians, filled the woods while Wayne directed our soldiers. These sham battles were often exciting, and I shall never forget old Wayne's appearance, his warlike manner, and his stentorian profanity, which could be heard above the noise whenever anything displeased him. This year, 1794, Wayne's army left the town, going up Main street, over the hill and up the Mill creek valley, the footmen and horsemen crossing the central parts of Mill Creek and Springfield townships, the left wing passing over the present sites of Cumminsville, Spring Grove, Carthage, and Springdale."

Ludlow moved out to what was known as Ludlow's Grove or the second crossing of Mill creek, where Wayne's army crossed on the way to the third crossing; this was at White's Station a mile from Carthage. Mr. Ludlow in his reminiscences says: "Few persons of to-day can form any just conception of our constant apprehension, our constant sense of danger in those days. My father made it a rule for each of his men to have his rifle loaded and in hand on going out in the morning, and the supply of ammunition was to be constantly attended to. The plowman carried his gun on his back; the man with the hoe placed his gun from time to time against the first tree ahead, and when engaged rolling or raising logs, sentinels were placed in the outskirts to prevent surprises."

James Cunningham was another one of the early settlers who arrived in Cincinnati in May of this year. He was originally from Pennsylvania and had emigrated from Kentucky in 1785 where he had been building cabins for settlers about four miles back of the present site of Covington. The Indians became too aggressive and after one of the party had been killed they all removed to Beargrass creek or Louisville. Cunningham married there and two years later with his three brothers-in-law, Arthur, Andrew and Culbertson Park, he came to Cincinnati where he remained but a short time, moving out to Sycamore township, being the first settler in that township. He remained there during the following year but the increase in the danger from Indians induced him to go back into the city after Harmar's defeat. He bought a lot and built a cabin near the corner of Second and Walnut streets. Three years later he moved again to his farm where he remained for the rest of his life. He built the first saw and grist mill in his township and for some years ran a distillery.

Another prominent citizen who arrived during this year was Col. John Bartle who was the principal storekeeper in the town for a time. He became one of the best known citizens, sur-

viving to the age of 95. He died December 9, 1839.

The houses in which these settlers lived have already been described in connection with other settlements. They were the usual log cabins that furnished the habitation of people in a new country. They were constructed of course of logs notched to fit together with poles pinned on top for rafters on which were sometimes laid clapboards with weight poles extending from one end to the other and sometimes bark. Such floors as they had were made of puncheon boards split from logs and hewn with the broadax. The doors were sometimes made of puncheons too. Nails were not used except in the more expensive buildings. The windows were usually small and little more than port holes and frequently covered with paper greased with bear's grease. The furniture was equally simple. Tables and chairs were made of puncheons with split sticks of wood at the corners for legs. Once in a while an old-fashioned splint-bottomed chair would appear but the stool and benches and blocks of wood were more frequently used. The kitchen utensils were usually a Dutch oven with a skillet and tea kettle and a few old pots to hang over the fire on an old-fashioned crane. Gourds served for cups and pitchers and when cut off at the neck served as bottles.

Bedsteads were made of poles held by two outer posts. The ends were made firm by inserting the poles in auger holes bored in a log in the wall of the cabin. Across this were stretched skins which served as the chief covering. In the loft or half-story above, which was usually appropriated to the children, the bed would be a heap of dry leaves or possibly a pile of skins. The sleeping place was reached by pegs driven in the wall by which the younger members climbed to their place of rest. It was usually without a window and frequently the floor extended but partly over the story below.

The clothing as seen in the quotation above from the Directory of 1819 was frequently homespun linsey-woolsey or tow-linen made by the settlers themselves. More frequently raccoon and bear skins furnished the caps and moccasins took the place of shoes. This was the costume more than a quarter of a century afterwards of young Abraham Lincoln in his early days in Kentucky.

Such clothes as were spun were colored with the bark of the butternut. Sun bonnets were the most elaborate articles of toilet for such of the women as felt they needed protection for the head. The money that was used was at first raccoon skins and other skins. Rabbit skin was work a five penny bit or six and one-fourth cents; the coon skin twice as much and a fox skin four times as much; the deer skin was worth as much as fifty cents. The soldiers brought Spanish silver dollars. The change was made by cutting these into quarters and eighths. The eighths were called "sharp shins" from their wedge shape. This was not a free and unlimited coinage either, for the smith that did the cutting got in the habit of making five quarters, one of which he kept for himself and the others of which passed for full value. These were used quite generally.

One transaction in 1806 is reported in Mr. Cist's book where a Kentucky merchant brought in one hundred pounds of cut silver to a business house in Philadelphia which was sent up on a dray to the mint for recoinage, much to the disgust of the merchant. Change for smaller sums were made by pins and needles and writing paper. John Bartle, the storekeeper at Front and Broadway, had a barrel of copper coins made in 1794. This so exasperated his fellow storekeepers that he was almost mobbed. The feeling against the small copper money continued for many years. The time is within the memory of many now living when anything smaller than a nickel would not be taken for change and when three-cent postage stamps or a penny stick of candy cost five cents. The same is true to-day in many parts of the West. Afterwards "oblongs" as they were called succeeded "sharp shins;" these were three dollar United States notes made in that denomination to pay the soldiers whose pay was three dollars a month. The coin used for large transactions was the "joe" which was an abbreviation for "johannes." This was a Portuguese gold coin of the value of eight dollars, named from the figure of King John which it bore.

Wiseman in his narrative concerning the attack on Colerain Station speaks of being offered by the lieutenant two half joes for going to Fort Washington for assistance. He indignantly refused any pay however.

The food of the settlers, as has been spoken of frequently, consisted of course of game and of such corn and vegetables as they could raise. Fried venison, buffalo or bear meat or roast wild turkey washed down by Monongahela whiskey were common at all the households. Cornmeal was the staple cereal. Johnny cakes baked on a board three feet long and one foot

wide and corn dodgers and hoe cakes and even ash cakes were all very popular. Whenever wheat could be obtained it is certain that pies in large quantities were added to the cuisine. Despite the disclaimer of Dr. Jones, there can be no question that the early pioneers had taken their cue from the soldiers and were much addicted to the use of stimulants. Monongahela whiskey was found in every house and offered to all guests. In the summer it cooled the harvesters and in the winter it warmed the traveler. It formed a basis of much of the physic and, in combination with tansy, rue, or most any kind of old weed so long as it was bitter in taste, was regarded as a specific against almost every kind of ill. Dr. Jones cannot forbear reporting the following story:

"Old Jonas D. was a dear lover of 'Old Monongahela,' and generally kept a good supply on hand, buying it by the barrel. On one occasion Jonas went into a store, where he usually dealt, and told the merchant that he wanted a barrel of whiskey; it was at that time selling at sixteen dollars a barrel. 'What?' said the merchant. 'Jonas, you certainly do not want another barrel of whiskey for your own use; it is not three months since you bought the last one.'

"'That's all right, Robert, it ain't three months, but *what in the deuce is a barrel of whiskey in a family where there is no cow?*' But he was an exception. The whiskey was rye and pure, and must be seven years old at least before it was considered fit to use."

The Doctor tells us that burnt dried peaches were used to give flavoring and color to the whiskey and that they also charred the inside of the barrel. At the auction the auctioneer would offer a dram to the next bidder. At corn huskings, captains were chosen who took sides alternately from the persons present and thereupon they were all set to husking the corn. The one that finished first got the bottle and he that husked the first red ear kissed the prettiest girl in the party. These merry makings concluded with a dance and supper. After a wedding, a reception or infair was held at the groom's house and as the company including the married couple would approach on horseback the home of the groom the younger men would "run for the bottle, riding over hills, hollows and fences at breakneck speed, and the first to arrive at the home of the groom was handed the bottle and rode back in triumph, holding aloft his prize to treat the bride and groom." ("Early Days of Cincinnati" by Dr. A. E. Jones.)

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM NATIONAL TO SELF GOVERNMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY—THE FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—HARRISON, DELEGATE TO CONGRESS—BYRD, SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY—THE DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY—ST. CLAIR REAPPOINTED—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT CHILLICOTHE—THE CHILLICOTHE MOB—THE INCORPORATION OF CINCINNATI—THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—THE REMOVAL OF ST. CLAIR—ST. CLAIR'S SUBSEQUENT ILL TREATMENT—THE CONSTITUTION OF 1802—THE ERECTION OF HAMILTON COUNTY—THE ERECTION OF OTHER COUNTIES—THE FIRST OFFICIALS—THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—THE MILITIA—CINCINNATI TOWNSHIP—SOME TOWNSHIP OFFICERS.

The time from the landing of Governor St. Clair in January, 1790, at which time he erected the county of Hamilton and made the settlement at Cincinnati the county town, until the date of the incorporation of the settlement as a village in 1802 covers practically the entire life of the Northwest Territory. The political history of that Territory, which during twelve years was the supreme authority for the settlement which was its seat of government, is so wrapped up with the history of Cincinnati as to make some narrative of it necessary in a work of this character.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

The organization of the Territory, its officers and its courts have already been described and the earlier part of its history and the attention of its officials was largely given to the Indian wars and to the settlement of the new country and its proper organization. Much of St. Clair's time was taken with his duties on the Mississippi and in the West. His unfortunate campaign had been a serious blow to him and his ambition. He began to feel that possibly he had made a mistake in cutting himself off from the East where he had obtained so splendid a position by reason of his ability and prominence in the War of Independence. The task of molding a great territory, as yet an undeveloped wilderness infested with savages and lacking all the attractions of a more cultivated community, seemed a discouraging one. Just at this time an opportunity seemed to offer which would enable him to reenter public life in a more congenial field. The representative in Congress from his home district seemed to be in doubt as to making the canvass for a reelection and St. Clair's Federalist friends suggested that he should make the canvass. After some discussion however he felt that it was wisest to abandon this idea and by so doing he cut himself off forever from the life that was most congenial to him. This determination of his friends and of himself was a very great disappointment to his wife and family who had never reconciled themselves to the abandonment of their Pennsylvania home for the hardships of a new country. This episode in the life of the Governor occurred in the summer of 1792, a large part of which St. Clair spent in Philadelphia. During this summer he obtained from Congress an act authorizing the Governor and judges to repeal laws made by them. From this power resulted a complete revision of the laws which resulted in the establishment of a system in 1795, which Salmon P. Chase says was "not without many imperfections and blemishes; but it may be

doubted whether any colony at so early a period after its first establishment ever had one so good."

After providing in general for the regulation of society and adopting a procedure, the common law of England and the general statutes in aid of the common law enacted prior to the fourth year of James I were declared in full force within the Territory. The General Court was fixed at Marietta and Cincinnati and a circuit court was established "with power to try in the several counties, issues in fact depending before the superior tribunal where alone causes could be finally decided." A single judge of the General Court was empowered in the absence of the others to hold the terms. This had seemed to St. Clair a source of danger, especially by reason of the fact that two of the judges were interested in the lands of the Territory. Judge Putnam was the director of the Ohio Company and Judge Symmes the sole manager of the Miami Company; both were members of the Supreme Court. "Every land dispute will be traced to some transaction of the one or of the other of those gentlemen, and they are to sit in judgment upon them. It must, I think, be acknowledged that this is not a groundless cause of apprehension, for though they are both of firm character (and delicacy would prevent their decision in any case where they were themselves parties) the people have but a slender security for the impartiality of their decision. Interest hangs an insensible bias upon the minds of the most upright men." (St. Clair to Jefferson, December 14, 1794.)

St. Clair as we have already seen was involved on several occasions in controversies with the judges. Judge Turner particularly seemed unable to get along with the Governor and for a time impeachment was contemplated. Another difficulty arose from the appointment of his son, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., as attorney-general of the Territory. The compensation of the office was so small and so precarious that no fit person could be induced to accept it and finally in 1796 young St. Clair who was practicing in Pittsburg was induced to remove to Cincinnati and accept the position. This naturally aroused much criticism at a later time. Arthur St. Clair, Jr., seems to have been a man of ability and fine character and he won the respect of the people of the Territory.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY.

In 1798 Winthrop Sargent, who had been Secretary of the Northwest Territory, was promoted to the governorship of the Mississippi Territory and William Henry Harrison was appointed Secretary in his place. Sargent and St. Clair had in the main agreed very well. According to Judge Burnet, the two were very different in their type. "He (St. Clair) was plain and simple in his dress and equipage, open and frank in his manners, and accessible to persons of every rank. In these respects he exhibited a striking contrast with the Secretary, Colonel Sargent; and that contrast in some measure increased his popularity; which he retained unimpaired until after the commencement of the first session of the Legislature." (Burnet's Notes, p. 375.)

Despite this difference in temperament, each had very great respect for the other, combined with friendly feeling, although on several occasions St. Clair felt that Sargent was lacking in tact. This was notably so in the matter of the organization of Wayne County. "Between the Governor and the new Secretary (Harrison) there were no such ties—no bond of sympathy. They belonged to opposite schools. The one was growing gray; was accustomed to deference from others; and held tenaciously to the political opinions formed amid the surging elements of revolution in the camp of Washington. The other, young and ambitious, was ready to sympathize with any movement that had for its object the changing of the old for a new order of things. Hence, it soon came to pass that the Secretary formed plans about which he did not consult the Governor." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, p. 208.)

Sargent, who disappears from the history of this section at this time, subsequently made his home at Natchez where he married a widow of wealth and became a planter. He was reported a year later by General Wilkinson as being fat and happy. He died at New Orleans June 3, 1820. Winthrop Sargent was a man of the highest cultivation and deeply interested in scientific and historical study. He was a member of the American Academy of Art and Science and the American Historical Society and contributed a number of papers on the subject of American antiquities to the publications of these societies. He lived just north of the fort east of Broadway and north of Fourth street; the entire square had been enclosed and a respectable frame house erected by him. This house and grounds, the best improved in the village were occupied by Hon. Charles Wylling

Byrd, his successor in office. The house referred to was about where Fifth street now runs. This street was afterwards called Byrd street from Judge Byrd who was the first United States judge of this district.

The Sargent family was a most distinguished one and among its members are such distinguished names as those of John S. Sargent, probably the greatest living portrait painter, Epes Sargent, one of the most prolific of American editors and writers, and Charles Sprague Sargent, America's greatest arboriculturist.

The appointment of Harrison was not at all acceptable to St. Clair and he once more contemplated making the canvass for Congress from his home county. This purpose was however finally abandoned as it was thought that the Federalists would have no chance of an election.

THE FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE.

The census of the Territory taken in 1798 disclosed the fact that it contained a population of five thousand free white male inhabitants of full age and that therefore it was entitled to enter upon the second stage of government provided for in the Ordinance of 1787. The Governor therefore ordered an election of representatives to the first General Assembly to meet at Cincinnati. Only freeholders in fee simple of fifty acres within the Territory had the right to vote and no one could be eligible as a representative who was not a freeholder of two hundred acres. In accordance with the proclamation of the Governor, the representatives assembled at Cincinnati on February 4, 1799. Their duty at this meeting was to nominate ten persons from whom there should be selected by the President of the United States five, who commissioned with the advice and consent of the Senate should act as a Legislative Council. The members selected for the first Territorial Legislature were almost in every instance the strongest and best men in their respective counties. Party influence which was so strong in the East was not felt in local affairs and, says Judge Burnet, "it may be said with confidence that no Legislature has been chosen under the State government which contained a larger proportion of aged, intelligent men than were found in that body. Many of them it is true were unacquainted with the forms and practical duties of legislation; but they were strong minded, sensible men, acquainted with the condition and wants of the country and could form correct opinions of the operations of any measure proposed for their consideration." (Burnet's Notes, p. 289.)

In this Legislature, Hamilton County (the Miamis) had seven representatives; Washington (the Muskingum) two; Ross (the Scioto) four; Adams (Virginia Military District) two; Jefferson (Upper Ohio) one; Wayne (Detroit) three; St. Clair, Randolph (Illinois) and Knox (Indiana) each one. The Western Reserve or New Connecticut was not represented and St. Clair knew but one man in the district. Among the representatives from the counties other than Hamilton were such men as Thomas Worthington, Samuel Findlay, Edward Tiffin, Return Jonathan Meigs, Paul Fearing, Joseph Darlington and Nathaniel Massie. The Hamilton County representatives were as follows: William McMillan, John Smith, Robert Benham, Aaron Cadwell, William Goforth, John Ludlow and Isaac Martin. All of them, to quote Judge Burnet, were intelligent, substantial men. Judge McMillan has already been referred to at length and the same is true of John Smith of Columbia.

Benham, an officer of the Revolutionary War, was in the Rogers party which was destroyed at the mouth of the Licking and he it was who with broken thigh with the assistance of a comrade with shattered arms was able to maintain his life and that of his comrade for many weeks until they had recovered the use of their limbs. He was one of the first to come to the Symmes purchase and served in the expeditions under Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. "He was possessed of great activity, muscular strength and enterprise—had a sound discriminating judgment and great firmness of character—and was a safe and useful member of the Assembly. He was the grandsire of the accomplished Mrs. Harriet Prentice of Louisville." (Burnet's Notes, p. 293.)

Judge Goforth and John Ludlow have also been referred to elsewhere.

The representatives in due form nominated ten persons from whom the five members of the Legislative Council should be selected and adjourned to meet at Cincinnati on September 16th. The Governor transmitted the names to the President and in due time, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, President Adams appointed "Jacob Burnet and James Findlay of Cincinnati; Henry Vanderburgh of Vincennes; Robert Oliver of Marietta; and David Vance of Vanceville; to be the members of the Legislative Council of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio," and their selection was

duly announced by the Governor by proclamation. James Findlay, one of the members from Hamilton County, was a native of Pennsylvania. He was one of the early pioneers in the West and settled at Cincinnati during the time of the Indian wars. In 1801 he was appointed United State marshal for the District of Ohio, being the first to hold that office. After Congress had established a land office at Cincinnati he was appointed receiver of public money, which position he held for many years until he resigned it. He volunteered to serve under General Hull and commanded one of the regiments at Detroit. After Hull's surrender, he returned to his home. He was elected in 1825 to Congress, succeeding James W. Gazlay, and served in that position until 1833, when he was succeeded by Robert T. Lytle. He was for many years major-general of the first division of Ohio militia. Judge Jacob Burnet was a native of New Jersey and graduated at Princeton College and was a lawyer by profession. "During the long period of his professional labors at the bar both in the Territory and State he was placed by common consent among the most respectable of his professional brethren. He was brought up in a school of politicians who had been active agents in commencing and sustaining the Revolution. He was taught to confide in the wisdom, and purity of Washington, and his confidential associates, who stood at the head of the Federal party." (Burnet's Notes, p. 297.)

As will be seen by this self-characterization, Judge Burnet was a man of most decided opinions. He became the chief adviser and support of the territorial administration and also the historian of the Northwest Territory. He had been in the Territory but two years and was at this time but 28 years of age, but from the start in influence and usefulness he stood head and shoulders above all others in the Legislature and was then and for many years afterwards the leading member of the bar.

Judge Carter in his reminiscences speaks of him as one of the most expert and learned, and able lawyers of the bar and justly esteemed the pioneer lawyer of the "Old Court House" whose name deservedly stands at the head of the list of its members of the bar. He was subsequently a member of the Supreme Court of the State from 1821 until 1828 and Senator of the United States from 1828 to 1831, succeeding in this position William Henry Harrison. He retired from active practice in 1825. Judge Burnet exercised the largest influence in the molding of the new settlement and to him the public is indebted for many of its most beneficent laws. He it was who devised the scheme by which in 1820 the hopelessly indebted Western settlers were enabled to save part of their lands. To him in a great measure is due the success of the canal system of Ohio. His "Notes on the Northwestern Territory" is one of the most valuable books concerning our early history and, as Rufus King says, "without it St. Clair's administration and the early settlement of the Ohio would hardly be intelligible." Its accounts of the life of the early settlers and the experience of the early members of the bar are most graphic and present a picture of the times such as is preserved of the early days of but few settlements. Judge Burnet survived until the age of 83, dying in 1853, and until his death he was one of the most notable figures of the city. "Tall and dignified in his appearance he retained the styles and manners of the olden times. He wore the old-fashioned queue and in public assemblies his grave stately deportment inspired, if not awe, at least respect. In his opinions and judgments he was decided. He did not believe in anything half way, but altogether, nor did he hesitate to state his views, when occasion required, and they were so stated as to be completely understood. Having been judge of the Supreme Court, United States Senator, and a public man all his life, and being in affluent circumstances, he was the most prominent citizen of Cincinnati. His hospitality was generous, and his home a hostelry for the stranger. No one had appreciated fully the merits of the city, unless they had sat at his board and there would be encountered the most distinguished men of the country. The venerable mansion (at the northwest corner of Seventh and Elm), formerly so long his home, has sheltered beneath its roof General Lafayette, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, William Henry Harrison, Lewis Cass and many others whose lives are ended but whose names remain. There has been in the Queen City no other residence within whose walls have been gathered so many who have been illustrious in their day. But he selected his company. Judge Burnet's father and brothers were intimate acquaintances of Colonel Burr during the Revolutionary War and when Burr visited Cincinnati he expected to receive the courtesies so notoriously and so liberally extended to almost every man of prominence. Judge Burnet, however, peremptorily refused to make his acquaintance and with that vigor with

which he entertained his views and that perspicacity with which he expressed them put his refusal upon the distinct ground that he 'considered Colonel Burr a murderer.'" (Judge Wright in Nelson's Cincinnati, p. 166.)

The five unsuccessful nominees were Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and Richard Allison of Hamilton; William St. Clair of St. Clair; William Patton of Ross; and Joseph Darlington of Adams. Arthur St. Clair, Jr., was, of course, the son of the Governor and of him and Mr. Burnet, St. Clair, in transmitting the nominations to the President, spoke as two young gentlemen of the bar and of handsome abilities. Mr. Findlay, according to St. Clair, was "in trade." Mr. Allison is the well known Dr. Allison of the fort.

The assembly consisting of the Governor, the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives were to convene on September 16, 1799, but there was not a quorum present until the 24th. The Legislative Council organized by the election of Henry Vanderburgh, president, and W. C. Schenck, clerk. Edward Tiffin was chosen speaker of the House of Representatives and John Reily, clerk in place of Charles Killgore, who had been temporarily appointed but refused to serve. On September 25th the Governor met both branches of the Legislature in the chamber of the representatives and delivered to them an elaborate address, the principal point of which seemed to be to convince the people that it would not have been wise to have granted to them self-government at the start. He also called attention to the controversies with regard to the enactment of laws. The matter of public revenue, the militia, education (and particularly the "College Township"), the election of a delegate to Congress, the want of jails, the evils of the sale of liquors to the soldiers, and the jurisdiction of constables were among other matters which he thought deserved their attention. On the 28th the council replied to the Governor regretting that circumstances had required so long a delay in the establishment of representative government but agreeing that the system appointed by Congress was well adapted to the state of society which was necessarily to follow and testifying their gratitude to the Federal government. A tribute was paid to the virtue, integrity and talents displayed by St. Clair's services and a confidence expressed that his acts had been founded in wisdom and were dictated by the purest desire of promoting the happiness of the people. This called forth a response from the Governor containing the usual platitudes of such addresses. The House of Representatives directed the Speaker, attended by the sergeant-at-arms, to present their address in reply to the Governor, and appointed a committee to wait upon his excellency to know where and when it would be convenient for him to receive the same. The committee reported that his excellency had signified that it would be convenient for him to receive the address at twelve o'clock on the next day in his own chamber, and therefore on October 1st the Speaker preceded by the sergeant-at-arms and attended by the house withdrew to the chamber of the Governor and there presented the address of the house. This opened with the expression of confidence in the Governor and with reference to the various matters spoken of in his address. To this St. Clair also delivered a response.

HARRISON, DELEGATE TO CONGRESS.

The first duty of importance which devolved upon the Legislature was the election of a delegate to the Congress. Mr. Burnet tells us that his friends pressed him to become a candidate and ventured to give him strong "assurances of success if he would consent to serve; but being at the time in an extensive practice and not wealthy he could not afford to quit his profession or abstract from it as much time and attention as the duties of the station would require. In addition to this it appeared to him that he could be more useful to the people of the Territory in their own Legislature than in Congress." (Burnet's Notes, p. 301.)

The contest settled down to William Henry Harrison and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and on October 3rd, at the joint session of the two houses, William Henry Harrison received twelve votes and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., ten votes, whereupon Harrison was declared elected.

BYRD, SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY.

The resignation of William Henry Harrison from the office of Secretary of the Territory created a vacancy in this position, which was filled by the appointment on December 30th of Charles Wylling Byrd. Harrison proceeded immediately to Philadelphia and took his seat which he retained but for a single session. At the end of this time, Congress divided the Northwest Territory by establishing the new Territory of Indiana. Harrison was appointed Governor of this Territory and superintendent of Indian affairs.

Harrison while in Congress was instrumental

in securing the adoption of a resolution to subdivide the surveys of the public lands and have them offered for sale in small tracts. He also secured an extension of the time of payment for those who had bought lands from Judge Symmes in the territory north of his patent. He was chairman of the committee to report the plan for the division of the Northwest Territory.

THE DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY.

St. Clair took an active part in the matter relating to the division of the Territory. He thought the Territory should be divided into three districts instead of two as provided by the Ordinance. His suggestion was that the Scioto and a line drawn north from its forks should form the western boundary of the eastern district; a line drawn north from that part of the Indian boundary opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky, the western boundary of the middle division; and the western division should include the remaining part to the Mississippi. This would make Marietta the seat of government for the eastern district, Cincinnati for the middle district and St. Vincennes for the western. "I will only observe that almost any division into two parts which could be made would ruin Cincinnati." (St. Clair to Harrison, February 17, 1800.)

A previous letter to his friend James Ross, of December, 1799, shows what was uppermost in his mind. St. Clair realized that if the Territory were not divided it would soon reach the point where it could demand statehood for which he did not think it prepared. "A multitude of indigent and ignorant people are but ill qualified to form a constitution and government for themselves; but that is not the greatest evil to be feared from it. They are too far removed from the seat of government to be much impressed with the power of the United States. Their connection with any of them is very slender—many of them having left nothing but creditors behind them, whom they would very willingly forget entirely. Fixed political principles they have none, and though at present they seem attached to the General Government, it is in fact but a passing sentiment easily changed or even removed, and certainly not strong enough to be counted upon as a principle of action; and there are a good many who hold sentiments in direct opposition to its principles and who though quiet at present would then take the lead. Their government would most probably be democratic in its form and oligarchic in its execution and more troublesome and more opposed to the measures of the United States than even Kentucky."

To accomplish the beneficent result sought for, the conversion of the Territory into a Federalist stronghold would require it to be kept "in the colonial state for a good many years to come." A plan which he had suggested to the Secretary of State he concluded would not do because, although the boundaries indicated would make the eastern division surely Federal, it "is too thinly inhabited and the design would be too evident." Colonel Worthington and the people of Ross County wanted the Great Miami as the line. "Their views are natural and innocent enough. They look no further than giving consequence of Chillicothe. But I am very much mistaken if their leaders have not other and more extensive views. They think a division in that way would but little retard their becoming a State and as almost all of them are Democrats, whatever they pretend to the contrary, they expect that both the power and the influence would come into their hands, and that they would be able to model it as they pleased; and it is my fixed belief it would be in a manner as unfriendly to the United States as possible. This, however, is in confidence, and I particularly request that my sentiments may not be confided to Mr. Worthington, who I have discovered not to be entirely that candid man I once represented him to you, and who I now think a very designing one." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 482.)

This letter is amusing as well as instructive. It shows that even the patriot fathers were not very different from the statesmen of the present day. All pretend to believe in self government and have confidence in the people but all are equally anxious that the people should be first instructed into the right party.

Rufus King comments on this letter as follows: "Why Colonel Worthington had gone to Philadelphia and whether the people of Ross County were yet awake to the huge design thus imputed to them might appear if Worthington's papers were not lost. The notion that he was applying to a Congress and President of Federalists to establish a democratic State wears an air of ideality and romance of which he was not suspected." (Ohio, p. 276.)

Harrison favored the party which desired statehood at an early date and a division was finally made into two districts with the dividing line at the Greenville treaty line,—from the Ohio up to Fort Recovery and thence directly north

through Michigan. With the passage of this act, St. Clair's connection with the Mississippi and Wabash countries terminated. The act also provided that Chillicothe should be the seat of government for the eastern division; this was regarded by the Cincinnati people and especially St. Clair's friends as an infringement upon the authority of the Legislature. Mr. King points out that this criticism is not of great force as the power that could divide the Territory certainly could fix the seat of government and furthermore that Cincinnati had never been selected by any proper authority.

The first session of the Legislature closed on December 19, 1799, after having passed many important laws most of which had been framed by Judge Burnet. One of the interesting episodes of the session had been a presentation of a memorial by officers of the Virginia line asking for permission to remove to the military bounty lands between the Scioto and Little Miami with their slaves. This of course was forbidden by the Ordinance and the Legislature was bound to reject the petition but Judge Burnet assures us that even if this had not been so and although a favorable action upon it would have brought a great accession of wealth, strength and intelligence to the Territory, the public feeling was such that it would have been denied by a unanimous vote. "They were not only opposed to slavery, on the ground of its being a moral evil, in violation of personal right, but were of opinion, that, whatever might be its immediate advantages, it would ultimately retard the settlement, and check the prosperity of the Territory, by making labor less reputable, and creating feelings and habits, unfriendly to the simplicity and industry, they desired to encourage and perpetuate." (Burnet's Notes, p. 306.)

Another bill which was passed legalized the Fourth of July as a holiday, this being the first bill of that character passed in the United States. On the last day of the session, the General Assembly passed a most complimentary address to John Adams, President of the United States, which was prepared by Judge Burnet. This adopted by unanimous vote of the council, but with five negative votes in the lower house, brought an equally complimentary reply from Adams. In his address delivered to the Legislature on the day of their adjournment, St. Clair discussed at considerable length the differences which had existed between the Legislature and the Governor. The principal matter of difference related to the erection of new counties which St. Clair insisted was a peculiar prerogative of the Governor and which the Legislature thought came within its own jurisdiction.

The feeling over the action of the Governor in vetoing so many bills on the last day of the session aroused much contention throughout the Territory. This action was particularly objectionable to many present who were contemplating the erection of new towns for county seats which now must wait for at least another year.

The death of General Washington which became known in Cincinnati in January, 1800, had a tendency to quiet all contention for a time. The more one studies the history of the time and the more familiar one becomes with the most intimate correspondence of the day, the more strongly is one impressed with the general affection and respect with which Washington was regarded. Despite the bitterness of party controversy, which for a time was carried on with a rancor that has never been surpassed and seldom been equaled in modern days and which even went so far as to make Washington an object of personal attack, the almost universal feeling of all classes was one of the most profound reverence and love. Although at the time of his death he held no office in the civil department of the government, to many he was still the controlling influence in the country and the fact that when the possibility of war suggested itself all turned toward him as the natural leader shows the light in which he was regarded. To no one was his death a matter of deeper personal grief than to St. Clair. He had been a companion at arms and associate through the most trying days of the Revolution and afterwards when he himself had suffered the greatest defeat sustained by the American arms within the memory of men then living Washington had judged him fairly, despite the popular clamor, and had sustained him with his friendship and respect. Throughout the Territory many of the most prominent citizens had been bound by ties of close friendship to Washington. It was not unnatural that at Cincinnati the event should be observed by the most solemn funeral honors. The account of the funeral services is given in another chapter.

The two sessions of the General Assembly which stood adjourned to meet at Cincinnati on the first Monday of November, 1800, met in obedience to the act of Congress at Chillicothe. The session was opened by the Governor in a speech which showed the growth of the discord between him and many of the citizens. After

going at length into the various matters which demanded their attention, he referred to the fact that his term of office would soon expire and that it was uncertain whether he should ever meet another assembly. "For I well know that the vilest calumnies and the grossest falsehoods are assiduously circulated among the people with a view to prevent it. * * * I am certain that be my successor who he may, he can never have the interests of the people of this Territory more truly at heart than I have had nor labor more assiduously for their good than I have done; and I am not conscious that any one act of my administration has been influenced by any other motive than a sincere desire to promote their welfare and happiness." Although it is probable that much of St. Clair's subsequent unhappiness resulted from faults of his own temperament, a survey of his career seems to lead to the conclusion in the mind of any unprejudiced observer that the statement just made is a truthful one.

Both the council and representatives answered his address in complimentary terms, although in the latter body there were seven nays to the ten ayes that carried the reply. Almost the first action of the body was to elect a successor to Mr. Harrison. William McMillan of Hamilton County was duly elected to fill the vacancy until the fourth day of March and Paul Fearing of Marietta for the two years thereafter.

A joint committee of the two houses prepared an address to the Governor on the differences of opinion which existed between both houses and the chief magistrate as to the power to lay out new counties. This right it was claimed was a purely legislative one. It was also suggested that the Governor should notify the General Assembly of bills which he did not approve in order that his objections could be considered by that body. St. Clair's argumentative disposition was too pronounced to permit such an opportunity to pass without an elaborate reply in which he insisted that he was a coordinate part of the law-making power. He did not view the second suggestion with approval, but thought that a respectable representation to Congress praying an alteration of that part of the Ordinance the proper remedy. The view taken by the General Assembly was finally approved by Congress.

This whole matter seems to have been regarded as one of great consequence and even the writers of the present day treat it with great feeling. The editor of the "St. Clair Papers," William Henry Smith, speaks in very strong terms of those who were opposed to St. Clair's view: "The greed which characterized the transactions in land actuated those who were speculators to seek to control the establishment of county towns. They hoped thereby to increase the value of their lands as the public improvements, in the way of buildings and roads and superior school advantages incidental to a county seat, would attract a better class of settlers to such neighborhoods. Hence the hot strife over this business." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, p. 221.)

ST. CLAIR REAPPOINTED.

In view of the fact that it was supposed to be the policy of the government to encourage the settlement of new counties and that in this way only could the new country be opened up, this criticism seems uncalled for. The situation became more strained when on December 3rd the Governor notified the Legislature that on Thursday, the 9th of the month, an end must be put to the session, as on that day his term would expire and there was no provision of law by which the Secretary could take his place after the expiration of his term. It is claimed that a scheme existed by which Charles Wylling Byrd, the Secretary, who was unfriendly to the Governor, was to become acting Governor and together with the General Assembly carry out the plans of those who desired the erection of the new counties. Even Judge Burnet, a strong supporter of St. Clair, seems to feel that his action in this particular was injudicious. However, the Legislature made no remonstrance and on the 9th of December, 1800, the second session of the General Assembly came to an end. On December 22nd, the President sent St. Clair's nomination for reappointment to the Senate. With this he sent, however, a number of representations for and against the nomination. Action on the nomination was deferred for some time but on February 3, 1801, Senator Ross was able to write to his old friend that his nomination had been confirmed by a considerable majority but not without opposition. Senator Mason of Virginia in writing to Thomas Worthington of the result states that the charges made against St. Clair were not supported by the memorialists but that some voted for the appointment for fear that should he be rejected some person more obnoxious might be appointed "and that it would only be exchanging an old and feeble tyrant for one more active and wicked." He suggests that

the new House of Representatives could petition the new President for St. Clair's removal.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT CHILLICOTHE.

At the opening of the General Assembly at Chillicothe, November 26, 1801, which was convened on November 24, 1801, the last stage of the contest between the assembly and St. Clair was entered upon. This was really the first session of the new assembly. In the council there was but one change, Solomon Sibley of Detroit taking the place of Vanderburgh, who had been transferred to Indiana. The new members of the House of Representatives from Hamilton County were Francis Dunlevy, Jeremiah Morrow, Moses Miller, Daniel Reeder and Jacob White. John Ludlow, who had succeeded Aaron Cadwell (removed from Territory), and John Smith entered upon their second term. The usual addresses and responses were delivered at the outset of the session. The response of the council congratulated St. Clair upon his reappointment. Nothing was said about him in the response of the House of Representatives. Edward Tiffin was chosen Speaker of the house, John Reily, clerk, and Edward Sherlock, doorkeeper.

THE CHILLICOTHE MOB.

On January 1st an act was passed, changing the seat of government from Chillicothe to Cincinnati. Shortly previous to this, an act had been passed declaring the assent of the Territory to an alteration in the Ordinance for the government thereof, the object of which was to effect a change in the boundaries of the three States first to be formed therein. This act passed the council by a unanimous vote but in the house seven members signed a protest against it. The great objection to it was that a division into three States would retard the establishment of a State government. The party of Mr. Jefferson, which was then in control of Congress, relied upon new States to strengthen their position and for this reason when the law was presented to Congress at its next session it was not sanctioned. These two acts aroused feeling to fever heat in Chillicothe which resulted in a disgraceful mob, led by a dissolute young demagogue named Baldwin. This mob took possession of the town for two nights (December 23rd and 24th) and particularly threatened those members of the Legislature who had been most outspoken in political opposition to the views of the State party. The door of the house, in which the Governor and one of the members who had voted for the bills were living, was burst open by the rioters but they were driven back at the point of a pistol. St. Clair, who was burnt in effigy, did not seem to hold Worthington in any way responsible, for in writing to Senator Ross he speaks of the splendid exertions of Mr. Worthington, who went so far as to threaten Baldwin with death, and also says that had he not come in, mischief would have ensued. St. Clair complained to a magistrate, asking that the malefactors be bound over; instead of that being done, they were found not guilty and dismissed.

THE INCORPORATION OF CINCINNATI.

Among other acts passed by this Legislature was the act of January 1, 1802, incorporating the town of Cincinnati. The assembly was adjourned January 23, 1802, to meet on the 4th day of November next at Cincinnati. When that time had arrived, the State convention was in session considering the constitution and at the request of that body Governor St. Clair postponed the day of the meeting of the General Assembly. As a result it never met again.

Immediately after the passage of the act with regard to the change of boundaries, the war against St. Clair became an open one. St. Clair claimed that he had never seen the bill prior to its introduction but it was very much like the one outlined in his letter some time before. It was introduced by Judge Burnet, one of St. Clair's partisans. The Judge in his "Notes" makes very little reference to it. The minority issued an appeal to the people to aid in obtaining the authority of Congress to erect a State government within the bounds assigned in the Ordinance to the first State and Worthington went to Washington with petitions and remonstrances against the recommendation of the Legislature. It soon became apparent that not only would that not be granted but that statehood would be given if desired. The fact that the Ordinance required a population of sixty thousand when there were but forty-five thousand in the district cut no figure.

The situation was a clear one. Mr. Jefferson and his friends favored the creation of the new States as rapidly as possible and the dissensions in the Territory made this a favorable opportunity for action. The suggestion of the General Assembly with regard to new boundaries was rejected by a vote of 81 to 5.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

On April 30, 1802, Congress passed an act authorizing a convention of delegates to be elected in October by the votes of that part of the Northwest Territory bounded on the east by Pennsylvania, on the south by the Ohio River, on the west by a line drawn from the mouth of the Big Miami River due north to an east and west line passing through the south extremity of Lake Michigan and by this line and the Canada line through Lake Erie to the west line of Pennsylvania.

The convention was directed to meet in November at Chillicothe and thereupon to determine whether it was expedient to establish a State government. If decided to be expedient, the convention was authorized to proceed to the adoption of a constitution and formation of a State government which were to be republican and in accordance with the Ordinance of 1787. Two objectionable conditions were annexed. One was that exempting public lands from taxes for five years in return for a gift of section 16 in each township for schools and the other was reserving to Congress jurisdiction of the territory now known as the southern part of Michigan.

The contest for the election of delegates was a very bitter one. The leaders of the State party were Col. Nathaniel Massie, Col. Thomas Worthington and Dr. Edward Tiffin; and in Hamilton County, Judge Symmes, John Smith, William Goforth, Francis Dunlevy and Jeremiah Morrow. St. Clair's opposition to statehood made him necessarily the point of attack of all its advocates. As a result of this, the contest became largely a personal one against the Governor. Into this contest there entered with eagerness many of the most prominent citizens of the Territory. The strongest defender of St. Clair, according to Judge Burnet, was a man whose name afterwards became distinguished throughout the State,—Charles Hammond, a young lawyer of Wheeling just admitted to the bar of the Territory, who published a series of numbers in the *Scioto Gazette,* defending the Governor with great ability. He had not been personally acquainted with the Governor but had an intense admiration for his conduct and an enthusiastic belief in the purity of his motives. The violence of the party feeling is shown by two celebrations described by St. Clair's biographer:

"On the 4th of July, 1801, there were two notable celebrations in Hamilton County. One, held at Columbia, had as presiding officers, William Goforth and Benjamin Stites. Governor St. Clair who had just returned from a tour to the upper counties was present by invitation. The following toast offered during his temporary absence was received with applause: 'His Exc'y. Gov. St. Clair—May his administration be as agreeable to himself as his grey hairs are honorable, and may it be his glory to have been instrumental in metamorphosing the present antirevolutional heterogeneous government of the Territory into that of a free State.'

"At the other which was held on the Ohio above Deer creek and presided over by Judge John Cleves Symmes, the toasts were all wildly Republican—extolling Jefferson, Burr, Gallatin, Madison, Clinton, and McKean to the skies. There was no reference to Washington or to Adams." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, p. 235.)

The result of the election was that St. Clair and his party were badly beaten. When the convention assembled on the first Monday in November, 1802, at Chillicothe, it was clear that the delegates would be in favor of forming a State. The delegates from Hamilton County were Francis Dunlevy, whom Judge Burnet calls a veteran pioneer of talents, of liberal education and of unbending integrity, Jeremiah Morrow, John Smith, Charles Wylling Byrd, William Goforth, John Reily, John Paul, John Wilson, John W. Browne and John Kitchel.

Edward Tiffin of Ross was elected president and Thomas Scott, secretary. Before they proceeded to business, Governor St. Clair proposed to address them in his official character. The proposition was resisted and finally a motion was carried by a vote of 19 to 14,—"that Arthur St. Clair, Sr., Esquire, be permitted to address the convention on those points which he deems of importance." Judge Burnet speaks of the address as sensible and conciliatory. Mr. King regards it as an unhappy mistake.

The address certainly was indiscreet in that it undertook to criticise Congress for what it called an interference in the internal affairs of the country. It could hardly be called conciliatory in its tone nor can any good reason be perceived why it should have been made under the circumstances. On the other hand it is plain that there was nothing in it that afforded a sufficient reason for the action of the President but its deliverance was made an excuse for an action to which many other influences contributed.

THE REMOVAL OF ST. CLAIR.

The attack on St. Clair had been vigorous for some time. At the time of his reappointment, as has been noted, protests were filed. The charges as they are now preserved are not worthy of serious consideration; it seems inconceivable that so childish a controversy should have had so serious an effect upon the history of the State. Massie's letter to Madison, asking that the charges be laid before the President, complained first that the Governor had assumed to recommend to Harrison, the delegate in Congress, the plan of division already referred to—a most remarkable complaint indeed. He also charged St. Clair with receiving oppressive fees and assuming legislative powers. Both of these were matters wherein a reasonable difference of opinion might and did exist, and where the courts could easily determine the controversy. His conduct with relation to the magistrates is complained of. It is remarkable that this charge should have been made as it redounded to St. Clair's credit. Another charge was made to the effect that he manifested a hostile disposition to the republican form of government. This charge was true in those days of every Federalist, from the standpoint of the Jeffersonian Republican.

Colonel Worthington and Baldwin were selected to present the charges to the President and on January 30, 1802, Worthington addressed a letter to the President. The opening words are indicative of its character and its insincerity,—"feeling no prejudice toward Governor St. Clair as a man but on the other hand viewing him rather with an eye of pity." The whole letter and the charges accompanying it might well be considered as among the humors of politics were it not for the serious results. The whole proceeding is so undignified and so unworthy of the men who were engaged in it, in view of the fact that in the natural course of things the people would soon have an opportunity to pass upon St. Clair's administration that it has a tendency to diminish the esteem in which the fathers of the State have usually been held. St. Clair's address however gave the opportunity and his enemies availed themselves of it.

On November 22, 1802, the Secretary of State, James Madison, addressed to the Governor the following letter:

"ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, ESQ.,

"Sir:—The President observing, in an address lately delivered by you to the convention held at Chillicothe, an intemperance and indecorum of language toward the Legislature of the United States, and a disorganizing spirit and tendency of very evil example, and grossly violating the rules of conduct enjoined by your public station, determines that your commission of Governor of the Northwestern Territory shall cease on the receipt of this notification."

At the same time a letter was sent to Charles W. Byrd, Secretary of the Territory, notifying him of the President's action and of the fact that the functions of the office devolved upon him as Secretary of the Territory and enclosing the letter to St. Clair. St. Clair's acceptance of this remarkable notice was written in the severest tones, which seem entirely justified after the lapse of time.

ST. CLAIR'S SUBSEQUENT ILL TREATMENT.

Thus ended the connection of its first and only Governor with the Northwest Territory. Sadly enough, the name St. Clair will live in history in connection with one of the most terrible defeats suffered by the Western people and furthermore in connection with one of the blackest pages of the nation's ingratitude. This Revolutionary soldier, who sacrificed his all to the cause of his country and at the conclusion of the war had left the charms of a home life in a congenial community for the hardships of an utterly unsettled community to which he had given the best years of his life, was pursued to the grave by the bitterest and most malignant persecutions. As he himself stated he undoubtedly committed many errors. The most serious of these arose from lack of tact. There does not seem to have been in all the years that have passed, in spite of the most searching and rancorous investigation, a single act of his life made public that was done from a corrupt or dishonorable motive. No purer officer ever served a State. Had he been more subservient to popular favor and less inflexible in adherence to his own views of right and wrong, he might have retained forever public favor but his temperament and character were of the kind that made no compromise and as a result he suffered defeat. He had many friends, however, in the Territory and he was desired by some of them to become a candidate for Governor of the new State. Prior to his removal on December 8, 1802, he delivered an address to the people of the Northwest Territory declining to make the race which would have been a useless one. He returned to Pennsylvania and with his family lived at Ligonier. He had become an

old man, too old to engage in business, and his life and fortune had been given to the public. During the Revolutionary time when Washington was in the greatest distress for funds, St. Clair had supplied from his private resources the necessary money. This had never been repaid and when application was made to Congress in St. Clair's behalf, the committee reported that the money had been furnished and expended for the benefit of the country but that the claim was barred by the statute of limitations. St. Clair as superintendent of Indian affairs had given a bond for supplies furnished. His first account had been disallowed because the accompanying vouchers had not been receipted. When they were receipted, St. Clair was required to give his personal bond for the payment of the voucher and when again it was presented for payment it could not be paid as there was no appropriation; in 1796 the papers were all destroyed by fire. An application was made by St. Clair to Congress but here again the statute of limitations was again invoked. The creditors got a judgment on the bond and five thousand dollars were paid on the debt. In 1810 the debt with interest had increased to ten thousand dollars and St. Clair's property, including a large tract of land, his mill, dwelling house, farm houses, his smelting furnace and property valued at over fifty thousand dollars, was sold at a sacrifice. At the time when the embargo had driven the money out of the country, the property was sold for four thousand dollars and St. Clair and his family were made penniless to pay a debt from which he had not received one penny's benefit and which was the debt of the United States which he had served so well. Even as late as 1818, when a resolution was offered in Congress to the effect that Congress entertained a high sense of the tried integrity as well as of the civil and military virtues of Arthur St. Clair, late president of the Congress and commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, whom they learned with regret had been reduced by misfortune to extreme poverty, the bitterness of his enemies was such as to defeat the motion by a vote of 81 to 61. Finally a pension of $60 a month was passed but it was seized by a creditor before it ever reached St. Clair. Pennsylvania at length gave him an annuity of $300 a year which in 1817 was increased to $600. St. Clair was driven from his home to a log house near the old State road passing from Bedford to Pittsburg. Here he lived with his daughter, Louisa, much of the time in great want. Lewis Cass saw him shortly before his death in this rude cabin where he was supporting himself by selling supplies to the wagoners who traveled the road. Another traveler saw him in 1815. He says of him: "I never was in the presence of a man that caused me to feel the same degree of esteem and veneration. He wore a citizen's dress of black of the Revolution; his hair clubbed and powdered. When we entered, he rose with dignity, to receive us most courteously. His dwelling was a common double log-house of the Western country, that a neighborhood would roll up in an afternoon. Chestnut Ridge was bleak and barren. There lived the friend and confidant of Washington, the ex-Governor of the fairest portion of creation. It was in the neighborhood, if not in view, of a large estate near Ligonier that he owned at the commencement of the Revolution, and which, as I have at all times understood, was sacrificed to promote the success of the Revolution. Poverty did not cause him to lose his self-respect, and, were he now living, his personal appearance would command universal admiration." (Elisha Whittelsey, St. Clair Papers, Vol. I, p. 253.)

In the latter days of August, 1818, St. Clair, then 84 years of age, while undertaking a trip to Youngstown, three miles distant, was thrown from his wagon. He was found lying insensible, where he had fallen, with his ponies standing by him. He was carried back to the house but never recovered consciousness. He died August 31, 1818. He was buried in the cemetery at Greensburg. On the monument are cut the words: "The earthly remains of Major-General Arthur St. Clair are deposited beneath this humble monument, which is erected to supply the place of a nobler one due from his country."

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1802.

The convention, at the conclusion of the address of the Governor, proceeded to the consideration of the constitution. Its first action was to declare that in its judgment it was expedient to form a constitution and State government for the people of the Territory. This was carried by a vote of 32 to 1. Judge Burnet states that "more than a fourth of the members, composing the body, had expressed their opinion, in very decided terms, against the expediency of the measure, and against the manner of its accomplishment; yet the resolution was carried. * * * Judge Cutler (Ephraim), an indomitable Whig, of Washington County, voting in the negative, 'solitary and alone.' " (Burnet's Notes, p. 352.)

A resolution to submit the proposed constitution to the people was rejected by a vote of 27 to 7. As the people had nothing whatsoever to do with passing the law by the authority of which the convention had been called, nor any opportunity other than the mere election of delegates to express an opinion on the conditions of the constitution, this was rather a remarkable action and gave rise to suspicion that the convention feared that the people would repudiate their work and on the other hand to the charge that the members were over anxious to get the new government in operation as it was expected that all the offices were to be filled by themselves. An effort to prescribe the belief in the Deity or in a place of future rewards and punishments as a test of eligibility to office was defeated by a vote of 30 to 3. At first the right of suffrage was given to negroes but afterwards by a casting vote of the president of the convention, Edward Tiffin, it was taken from them. On the 29th of November the constitution was adopted by the unanimous vote of the convention. By the terms of the enabling act of April 30, 1802, the action of the convention was final.

The constitution of 1802 need not be discussed in a history of this character. It seems to have been relegated to the limbo of things that ought not to have been. It never gave satisfaction to the people and those who felt that its adoption was brought about by improper methods could point to its defects as a justification of their opposition to it. Mr. King says of it: "The instrument so adopted, it would be respectful to pass in silence. It was framed by men of little experience in matters of state, and under circumstances unfavorable to much forecast. With such a model of simplicity and strength before them as the National Constitution, which had just been formed, the wonder is that some of its ideas were not borrowed. It seems to have been studiously disregarded; and Ohio, as well as some States further westward, which her emigrant sons with filial regard induced to adopt her example, has suffered ever since from a weak form of government made up in haste, and apparently in mortal dread of Governor St. Clair. * * * Briefly stated, it was a government which had no executive, a half-starved, short-lived judiciary, and a lop-sided Legislature." (Ohio, p. 291.)

The constitution was immediately forwarded to Congress and was laid before the House of Representatives on December 23rd. The question was immediately raised in that body as to Mr. Fearing's right to continue as delegate from the Territory. On January 31st the house decided that he still held his place. On March 3, 1803, a supplementary act was passed consenting to the modifications proposed by the convention. The Senate on January 5th had taken under consideration the State of Ohio and on February 19th, an act was passed reciting the organization of the State of Ohio and organizing the said State as a district and providing for the appointment of the United States judge and a district attorney and marshal. Up to this time, however, no State government had been formed. The elections were held on January 11, 1803, and the General Assembly, the first of the State of Ohio, met at Chillicothe March 1, 1803. Edward Tiffin was elected Governor and during the session Return Jonathan Meigs, Samuel Huntington and William Sprigg appointed the judges of the Supreme Court. Thomas Worthington and John Smith of Columbia were chosen as Senators and subsequently Jeremiah Morrow of Hamilton County was elected a member of Congress. Congress had adjourned, however, and the Ohio Representatives and Senators were not admitted until the next session. As there was no act of Congress formally admitting the State of Ohio, some dispute has arisen as to the first day of the State's official existence. The first official act as a State being the meeting of the Legislature on March 1, 1803, this date has by common consent been agreed upon as the birthday of the State of Ohio. The action of Congress with reference to the salaries of the territorial judges, taken some years later, in effect adopts this date.

An account of the reception of the first State constitution in Cincinnati is given in a letter of the pioneer, William Cary, written April 6, 1859, to the Cincinnati Pioneer Association and contained in the minutes of that association. According to this, "on the inauguration of the constitution framed in 1802 the leading Republicans of Hamilton County, Daniel Symmes, Hezekiah Flint, Thomas Ramsey and others, determined to celebrate the event by a grand demonstration. A great barbecue was resolved upon, a large ox procured and roasted whole in the following manner: A pit was excavated some four or five feet deep in the wall of the ancient circular fortification (which was then visibly surrounded about ten acres five or six feet above the level) the spot being on Fifth street near where the east end of the market house now stands (Fifth and Walnut). The pit was filled with logs and then fire and when it was burned until the smoke

was well exhausted a wooden spit was thrust lengthwise through the ox poised over the fire and turned with a common windlass. After the ox had been well roasted it was served to the multitude with bread and 'fixens,' not forgetting the universal beverage of the day, whiskey, not your poisonous strychnine manufactured stuff of to-day but good old Monongahela, a much slower but nevertheless fatal poison to many of the first settlers. After fully discussing the good things provided, a procession was formed which, preceded by a fife and drum, went to Main street below Fifth, where a triumphal arch had been placed, and marched and countermarched under it for some time. In the center of the arch which was supported on each side by columns was painted the rising run with this inscription: 'The sun of liberty has arisen to never set.' Finally, like Sampson with the gates of Gaza, they seized the columns and bore the whole through the principal streets of the town followed by an enthusiastic liberty-loving multitude two or three hundred strong, a large crowd for the times. When the festivities of the day were over, the arch with the painting and inscription was deposited for safe keeping in the second story of a huge log house on Main street near Front, kept as a hotel by a man whose name I think was Gordon. The following morning the arch and appendages were lashed to a whipping post and pillory, those relics of a darker age which then and for several years afterwards stood on Fifth street on the spot now occupied by John Cavagna near Walnut street (Peebles'). When it is remembered that at this time party spirit ran high between Federalists and Republicans and that in the previous election for delegate to the constitutional convention the Republicans charged the Federalists with the design of introducing slavery in spite of the Ordinance of '87 the object of the above proceedings will be understood. The design undoubtedly was to insult the friends of freedom."

THE ERECTION OF HAMILTON COUNTY.

There can be no question that Hamilton County began its existence under the name which it now bears on the 4th day of January, 1790. As already stated, Governor St. Clair arrived at Losantiville and Fort Washington on January 2nd. He was received as he stepped ashore from his barge with a salute of 14 guns and as he marched into Fort Washington with his suite another salute of 14 guns was fired in his honor. He sent for Judge Symmes at North Bend on the following day. It is probable that at the meeting of January 3rd the names were all determined upon. St. Clair naturally permitted Symmes, the owner of the entire purchase, to name the county and town. General Harmar, who was in command, had already named the garrison Fort Washington. The name naturally to suggest itself next to the two soldiers would be that of Alexander Hamilton and that was selected as the name of the county. The city was named in honor of the order in which St. Clair was one of the most conspicuous officers and in whose membership there was hope to draw many settlers. The proclamation of the Governor was dated as of the 2nd of January, 1790, but was issued on January 4th and that date can properly be credited with being the birthday of the present county. In the manuscript journal of the official record appears the following:

"1790, January 2.—His Excellency arrived at Fort Washington in the purchase of Judge Symmes and on the 4th was pleased to order and direct that the whole of the lands lying and being within the following boundaries—viz: Beginning on the bank of the Ohio River at the confluence of Little Miami, and down the said Ohio River to the mouth of the Big Miami, and up said Miami to the Standing Stone Forks or branch of said river, and thence with a line to be drawn due east to the Little Miami, and down said Little Miami River to the place of beginning—should be a county by the name and style of the county of Hamilton, and the same was accordingly laid off agreeably to the form which has been transmitted to Congress." These limits of Hamilton County were probably given in accordance with the suggestion of Judge Symmes and indicated clearly the boundaries which he intended for his purchase.

In accordance with the terms of the Ordinance which provided that the Governor should proceed from time to time as circumstances required to lay out a part of the districts in which the Indian titles should have been extinguished into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as might thereafter be made by the Legislature, St. Clair issued a proclamation of February 11, 1792, adding the territory between the Scioto and the Little Miami, which had not been included in any county, to the county of Hamilton. This made the county of Hamilton as follows: "Beginning at the confluence of the Scioto with the Ohio River, and up the Scioto River with the courses thereof to the upper part of the old Shawanee town upon said river;

thence by and with a line to be drawn due north to the Territorial boundary line, and westerly along said line to the eastern boundary of the County of Knox, and down along the said eastern boundary of Knox County by a due south line to the standing stone forks of the Great Miami River, and with the said Miami to its confluence of the Ohio River; thence up the Ohio River to its place of beginning." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 310.)

THE ERECTION OF OTHER COUNTIES.

Knox County, most of which was in the State of Indiana, had already been organized on June 20, 1790. By this provision Hamilton County included the land between the Miamis and also that east to the Scioto and a long narrow stretch between parallel lines running to Lake Erie and Lake Huron, taking in Detroit and the eastern part of the Southern Peninsula of Michigan.

In the following year, August 15, 1796, Wayne County was organized by the Secretary of the Territory, Winthrop Sargent, acting as Governor in the absence of St. Clair. The southern boundary of Wayne County began at Fort Laurens, extended "thence by a west line to the eastern boundary of Hamilton County, * * * thence by a line west-northerly to the southern part of the Portage, between the Miamis of the Ohio and the St. Mary's River" and so on to Lake Michigan. This cut off the northern portion of Knox and Hamilton.

On July 10, 1797, Adams County was taken off the east side. The intervening boundary line began at the bank of the Ohio at the mouth of Elk River or Eagle creek and ran thence up the principal water of said river to its source or head, thence by a due north line to the southern boundary of Wayne County. On June 22, 1798, Hamilton County was extended westward to make it correspond with the change in the boundary of the Territory made by the Wayne treaty. By proclamation, it was directed that "the western boundary of the county of Hamilton shall begin at the spot on the bank of the Ohio River, where the general boundary line between the lands of the United States and the Indian tribes, established at Greenville, the third day of August, 1795, intersects the bank of that river, and run with that general boundary line to Fort Recovery, and from thence by a line to be drawn due north from Fort Recovery, until it intersects the southern boundary line of the county of Wayne."

By this, Hamilton County obtained a large part of what is now in Indiana. Fort Recovery was on the Wabash near the present western boundary of Ohio and near the line dividing Darke and Mercer counties. The treaty of Greenville defined the general boundary line so as to run from Fort Recovery southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio so as to intersect the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky or Cuttawa River (at Carrollton fifty miles in a direct line southwest of Cincinnati). The county at this time included over three millions of acres, about one-eighth in area of the tract now known as the State of Ohio.

The next alteration grew out of the establishing of Ross County. On August 20, 1798, a strip was taken off the east side of Hamilton County and added to Adams. The west line of Adams was made to commence on the Ohio at the mouth of Eagle creek and to run due north instead of following the river up to its head and *thence* running due north. The section north of the enlarged Adams County was erected into a county called Ross County, with its western boundary a continuation of the same line.

When the Territorial Legislature was organized, a controversy arose between the Governor and the Legislature with regard to the matter of counties. The Legislature insisted that after the Governor had laid out the country into counties and townships, as he had already done, they alone were empowered to pass laws making such alterations as they might see fit and that when all the territories had been divided his exclusive powers had been exhausted. St. Clair refused to give his assent to this view and vetoed six acts changing the boundaries of counties, holding that the power of erecting new counties was the proper business of the executive and that the Legislature could only alter the boundaries of counties after they had been originally established by the executive. Another reason was his objection that in many of the new counties proposed there were not enough inhabitants to support a county.

An act of Congress on May 7, 1800, provided for the separation of the western part of the Territory, calling it the Indian Territory. The line began on the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Kentucky, thence ran to Fort Recovery and thence north to the intersection of the territorial line between the United States and Canada. It was also provided that whenever the eastern part should be formed into States the western boundary lines should begin at the mouth of the Great Miami River and run thence due north to the Canada line. The enabling act, which passed

April 30, 1802, made the line on the west to be drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami.

In 1800 St. Clair had taken the county of Clermont from that of Hamilton. The erection of this county was proclaimed December 6, 1800. Its boundaries were as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of Nine Mile or Muddy creek, where it discharges itself into the Ohio, and running from thence with a straight line, to the mouth of the east branch of the Little Miami River, thence with the Little Miami River to the mouth of O'Banion's creek; thence with a due east line, until it shall intersect a line drawn due north from the mouth of Elk River or Eagle creek; thence with that line south, to the mouth of the said Elk River or Eagle creek and from thence with the Ohio, to the place of beginning."

On January 23, 1802, an act was approved instructing the surveyors of the various counties, Adams, Ross, Clermont and Hamilton, to mark the dividing lines between the counties and to make proper plats thereof.

In 1802 the inhabitants of Hamilton County to the north of the third or military range petitioned Charles Wylling Byrd, who was then acting as Governor in the absence of Governor St. Clair, for a division of the county. He replied calling attention to his inability to grant the petition but promising that it should be laid before the Legislature.

When the eastern division of the Northwest Territory became the State of Ohio, one of the first acts of the new Legislature which met in session at Chillicothe on March 1, 1803, related to the matter of counties. On March 24, 1803, was passed an act erecting from the county of Hamilton the counties of Warren and Butler and from the counties of Hamilton and Ross the counties of Montgomery and Greene. This act was to take effect on May 1, 1803.

The county of Warren was named from Gen. Joseph Warren, the hero who was killed at Bunker Hill. The county of Butler was named from Gen. Richard Butler of whom we have heard so much in this history. The county of Montgomery received its name from Gen. Richard Montgomery who fell at Quebec in 1775, while Greene took its name from Wayne's old friend and companion at arms, Gen. Nathaniel Greene for whom Greenville has been named.

Warren County contained all that part of Hamilton County contained within the following bounds: "Beginning at the northeast corner of the county of Clermont, running thence west with the line of said county to the Little Miami; thence up the same with the meanders thereof to the north boundary of the first tier of sections in the second entire range of townships in the Miami purchase; thence west to the northeast corner of section number seven in the third township of the aforesaid range; thence north to the Great Miami; thence up the same to the middle of the fifth range of townships; thence east to the Ross county line; thence with the same south to the place of beginning."

The south line of Butler County began at the southwest corner of the county of Warren and ran thence west to the State line.

Montgomery and Greene counties lay to the north and east of Warren and Butler counties and their boundaries therefore do not touch those of Hamilton and therefore are of no importance to Hamilton County.

The boundary line between the counties of Hamilton and Butler seems to have been unsatisfactory and an act was passed by the Legislature, January 20, 1808, establishing the line as follows: "Beginning at the southwest corner of the county of Warren and at the northeast corner of section number seven in the third township of the second entire range of townships in the Miami purchase; thence westwardly along the line of the said tier of sections, to the Great Miami River; thence down the Miami River, to the point where the line of the next original surveyed township strikes the same, thence along the said line to the western boundary of the State." As a result of this act, Hamilton County has the irregular boundary at the north which was occasioned by errors of survey and the inconsistency arising from the fact that the lands west of the Great Miami were included in a separate grant from those between the Miamis.

THE FIRST OFFICIALS.

After establishing the county of Hamilton, St. Clair proceeded to appoint officials who should administer the laws for the county, as in accordance with the act passed August 23, 1788, which established General Courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas and provided for the appointment of the officers thereof, including sheriffs. The first appointees made during the early days of January, 1790, were William Goforth, William Wells and William McMillan to be judges of the Court of Common Pleas and justices of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace. They were also commissioned justices of the peace and quorum in Ham-

ilton County. Jacob Tapping, Benjamin Stites and John Stites Gano were also commissioned as justices of the peace and John Brown, gentleman, was commissioned as sheriff during the Governor's pleasure. From this number William Goforth was selected as president judge of the Court of Common Pleas, although some of the records speak of McMillan as presiding, and John Stites Gano was appointed clerk.

In the following May, William Burnet was appointed register of deeds and shortly after John Blanchard, clerk of the Legislature. On December 14, 1791, George McCullom was added to the justices of the peace of Hamilton County. The first appointment of an attorney to act for the United States in Hamilton County was made on July 13, 1792, at which time Abner M. Dunn received his commission. On the same day Blanchard was succeeded as clerk of the Legislature or General Court by Samuel Swan. On August 13th, William McMillan and John S. Gano were appointed commissioners with power to license merchants, traders and tavern keepers. On September 3rd Stephen Wood was appointed treasurer of Hamilton County and Robert Bunton, gentleman, as coroner. On January 30, 1793, Abner M. Dunn, the United States attorney, was appointed register of deeds of Hamilton County in place of William Burnet who had removed from the Territory. He afterwards resigned his position as attorney and was succeeded on July 23, 1793, by Ezra Fitts Freeman.

A controversy arose between the judges and Secretary Sargent, who was acting Governor in the absence of Governor St. Clair, in the early part of 1793. Sargent on February 5th issued new commissions to the county judges designating, as the Court of Common Pleas, William Goforth, William Wells, William McMillan, John S. Gano and Aaron Cadwell. These commissions ran "during the pleasure of the Governor" whereas the original commissions had run "during good behavior." This commission was refused by the judges who on February 29th returned it through Israel Ludlow who had been appointed prothonotary to the Court of Common Pleas and clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions. The judges stated that they would not stoop to the indignity of holding offices, the tenure of which was during pleasure but preferred their commissions as justices of the peace to the highest seat of government during pleasure. The Secretary called their attention to the fact that the phraseology was the same as in his own commission and that of the Governor and that they had two options, either to accept or refuse the commissions. The judges refused to do either but continued their career under their original commissions issued by the Governor. On St. Clair's return on May 3rd, he was able to adjust matters. He called in to his aid the United States attorney and two of the leading members of the bar all of whom agreed with him in the main as to the propriety of the Secretary's action. Finally the judges were appeased and received new commissions from the Governor. Bunton, either because he thought the position of captain in the militia was inconsistent with that of coroner or because of his moving to Vincennes, resigned his office in Hamilton County and was succeeded as coroner by Maj. George Gordon, the tavern keeper, on June 18, 1793. The appointment of John Stites Gano as prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas and clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for Hamilton County in place of Samuel Swan, deceased, is given in the official records as of September 19, 1793. On October 1st of this same year, John Armstrong of Columbia, the well known soldier and citizen, was appointed justice of the peace for Hamilton County and on October 28th judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Another justice of the peace for Hamilton County appointed November 13th of this same year was John Mercer. In November of the following year, 1794, Timothy Symmes and Stephen Wood were commissioned justices of the peace and Aaron Cadwell was appointed commissioner to succeed Gano and McMillan in issuing licenses. Freeman was succeeded at this time as United States attorney by Isaac Darneille, whose career seems to have been unfortunate as indicated in the extracts of the newspaper quoted elsewhere. On April 20, 1795, another justice of the peace was appointed, John Wallace.

On June 6, 1795, St. Clair sitting with Symmes and Turner in legislative session passed an act reconstructing the judicial system and establishing new courts of judicature. The Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace was to meet four times a year and to be composed of the justices of the county nominated by the Governor sitting altogether in bank, any three constituting a quorum to do business. The Court of Common Pleas was constituted by justices appointed by the Governor, of whom three would make a quorum. After the passage of this act, we find that in 1796 Thomas Gibson and John Beasly were appointed justices of the peace, Nathan Allison (Ellis) in 1796, Ignatius Brown,

William Bunn, Ichabod B. Miller, Asa Kitchel, Jacob White and Alexander Martin in 1799, Olear Todd in 1800, James Findlay, Joseph Prince, Emanuel Vantrees and Cornelius Sedam in 1801 and William Armstrong and Samuel Robb in 1802. Others whose names are mentioned are Henry Weaver of Tucker's Station, appointed in 1794, and James Barrett, appointed in 1795.

As already stated, Israel Ludlow acted as clerk for the first two years, Samuel Swan for the following year and John S. Gano for the 25 years following 1793.

The attorneys for the United States occupied practically the position of prosecuting attorney. The first three were Dunn, Freeman and Darneille already mentioned. The last named resigned under a cloud and in 1796 John S. Wills seems to have acted. Arthur St. Clair, Jr., the attorney general of the Territory, acted in 1797, George W. Burnet in the following year and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., from 1799 to 1807. Other officers of this period were the sheriff, treasurer, register of deeds and coroner. John Brown we know was sheriff for the first two years and had as his deputy Isaac Martin at whose house the court sat. John Ludlow was sheriff the two following years and Martin was one of his deputies, another was R. Wheelan. Daniel Symmes was sheriff for two years (1795 and 1796) and James Smith, commonly known as "Sheriff Smith," who was also collector of public revenues, served from 1797 to 1804. Stephen Wood's appointment as treasurer has already been mentioned. Apparently he served at various times during a period of five years. Jacob Burnet seems to have acted as treasurer from 1798 until 1806. Gordon continued as coroner probably until 1799. During the next three years William Austin and William Schenck seem to have acted. In the list of county commissioners during this early period are found the names of William McMillan, Robert Wheelan, Robert Benham, Joseph Prince, Ichabod B. Miller, William Ruffin and John Bailey. Tabor Washburn seems to have served as commissioners' clerk to 1798, when he was succeeded by John Kean. Robert Reynolds served from 1799 to 1800 and Aaron Goforth to 1803.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The first Legislative Council of the Northwest Territory included the Governor, the Secretary and Judges Parsons and Varnum. It sat at Marietta during the summer and fall of 1788 and passed ten laws, to one of which the signature of Judge Symmes was fixed. There is no public record of any acts of the council during the year 1789. In 1790 the council sat in July and August at Vincennes and consisted of Sargent, Symmes and Turner and, subsequently in Cincinnati, we are told St. Clair took the place of Sargent. But six acts were passed during this year. St. Clair, Symmes and Turner published seven acts passed in Cincinnati during the summer of 1791. In 1792 Sargent, Symmes and Putnam sat in Cincinnati on the 1st of August and fixed their names to thirteen laws which were published in Philadelphia. In 1795 St. Clair, Symmes and Turner sat in Cincinnati during the months of June, July and August. They completely revised the laws of the Territory and caused them to be printed in Cincinnati by William Maxwell. This volume, the first printed in Cincinnati, has become famous as the "Maxwell Code." In 1798 Sargent, Symmes, Gilman and Meigs sat at Cincinnati on May 1st. They enacted eleven laws, the last legislative work done by the council.

The Territorial Legislature had its beginning in September, 1799. It enacted 38 laws which were printed by Carpenter & Findlay in Cincinnati in 1800. At the second session beginning in Cincinnati in November, 1800, 26 laws were passed, printed in Chillicothe by Winship & Willis in 1801. At the first session of the second General Assembly, beginning in Chillicothe in November, 1801, 40 laws were passed, printed by N. Willis, Chillicothe, 1802.

The minutes of the Legislative Council contain a record of petitions concerning the most minute details of the life of the community. For instance on May 30, 1795, we find there was presented a petition of Joel Williams asking for a law to permit him to erect and hold a public ferry from his landing in Cincinnati to the opposite shore of the Ohio, a petition of Rebecca Kennedy for the same purpose, and one of Daniel Symmes, the sheriff of Hamilton County, concerning the better regulation of the jail and the safe-keeping of prisoners. Another petition was that asking for a divorce. On June 2nd we find that Stephen Wood, the treasurer, produced his books and papers. These were found defective and he was permitted to withdraw them for correction.

On the 13th of August the Governor was directed to declare by proclamation what ferry should be erected, by whom to be kept and where

and the Court of Quarter Sessions was empowered to fix the rates.

An interesting petition was that presented to the House of Representatives on Wednesday, October 30, 1799, from a number of citizens of Hamilton County, praying for the removal of the seat of justice from Cincinnati to Mill creek between William Ludlow's and Jacob White's. Fortunately for the city it was resolved that this request was unreasonable and was not granted.

A resolution of November 27, 1799, directed the preparation of an address to the people of the Territory calling attention to the necessity for strict attention to industry and frugality and the discountenancing of idleness and dissipation, the encouraging of home manufactures and the retrenchment of unnecessary expenses.

THE MILITIA.

The first law passed by the Legislative Council, that of July 25, 1788, was for the purpose of regulating and establishing the militia. In accordance with this act Governor St. Clair on the occasion of his first visit to the newly created Hamilton County made a number of militia appointments "For the First Regiment of Militia in the County of Hamilton." The appointments seem to have contemplated the formation of four companies. The captains were John Stites Gano and James Flinn at Columbia, Israel Ludlow at Cincinnati and Gersham Gard at North Bend. Lieutenants were Francis Kennedy, John Ferris, Luke Foster and Brice Virgin. The ensigns were Scott Traverse, Ephraim Kibby, Elijah Stites and John Dunlap. On December 1st of the same year Kennedy resigned his captaincy and was succeeded by Scott Traverse, whose place as ensign was filled by the appointment of Richard Benham. Both of these were in Ludlow's company at Cincinnati. In March of the following year the official records show that by the general orders the returns of the militia with the report of arms were to be made to the Secretary at once. Regulations were established for the apportioning of militia to the various so-called fortresses and upon the firing of one cannon or three muskets the militia were to repair to their alarm posts. All firing of guns within a mile of any fortification except for defense or the purpose of alarm was forbidden. At the beating of the reveille every man enrolled in the militia and within the fortification was required to appear upon parade with his arms ready for military service and a patrol was sent out every morning from the fortifications in the settlements and no one was allowed to pass out until it had returned. This reconnaissance was for the purpose of preventing a surprise, the fatal effect of which had been so recently impressed upon all minds. The orders concluded with the statement that "to guard as much as possible against all danger, it must be the utmost invariable practice upon leaving the fortifications, even for the shortest distance to take our arms in our hands, for experience has convinced us that the Indian will conceal himself at our very doors. In the fields alone and at labor, men would at this time be most wantonly sporting their lives. They should work in large parties, armed, and with sentinels always posted out. This will deserve and insure security, while a contrary line of conduct may deprive of many good soldiers and valuable numbers of community." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 274.)

On April 30th the Secretary of the Territory, Winthrop Sargent, was commissioned colonel of the militia and on the 6th of the following month all persons between the age of 15 and 50 were ordered to be enrolled as militia. In December, after the St. Clair defeat, the Hamilton County battalion was more fully organized and placed under the charge of Oliver Spencer as lieutenant-colonel. Brice Virgin became captain in place of Gersham Gard of North Bend while Daniel Griffin was made a lieutenant and John Bowman an ensign in the first regiment. Very shortly afterwards, Levi Woodward was appointed captain and John Vance and John Wallace were made lieutenants. Isaac Freeman received an ensign's commission. Kibby was promoted to be lieutenant in place of Scott Traverse, resigned. The continuing danger from the Indians made necessary the proclamation of September 18, 1792, quoted elsewhere, with reference to the requirement that each citizen should attend public worship armed and equipped as though he was marching to engage with the enemy as required by the laws of the Territory. (Act July 2, 1791.)

On November 28th of this year (1792), Thomas Goudy, gentleman (Gowdy) the first lawyer admitted to the bar, was appointed ensign of the first regiment.

In the beginning of the following year on January 30th, Ludlow resigned his captaincy and was succeeded by John Wallace. Benham resigned his position as ensign and was succeeded by Celadon Symmes. Other appointments in January were those of Robert Bunton as captain and James McConnel, lieutenant. On the 1st of February Benjamin Orcutt was appointed lieutenant

in the first regiment in place of Newell killed and Ignatius Ross in place of Miller. The approach of hostilities made necessary by the breaking off of negotiations with the Indians was the occasion for a proclamation of the Governor calling attention particularly on the part of the militia officers to the importance of diligence in the inspection of the arms and accoutrements of the companies. A little later, on October 19th, the removal of Robert Bunton to Vincennes in Knox County created a vacancy as captain in the first regiment and John Green received this commission. McConnell who had recently been appointed lieutenant also resigned and in his place as lieutenant and adjutant was appointed Davies (Darius) C. Orcutt. Other appointments were those of Samuel Creigh and John Schooly as ensigns, and James Lyon and Stephen Reeder, lieutenants, the latter in place of Vance removed. Ten days later, October 29th, the Governor directed Lieutenant-Colonel Spencer to mount patrol in Cincinnati, Columbia and North Bend every night to protect the inhabitants from surprise from Indians of which the people were apprehensive, while General Wayne's army was moving into the Indian country. The seriousness of the situation in the following year is indicated by the proclamation of July 31st, on the eve of the battle of Fallen Timbers, ordering a fast on the 14th of August. This issued by the Secretary was enclosed to Lieutenant-Colonel Spencer at Columbia with the request that it be read by Mr. Smith to his charge on the following Sunday.

After the victory of Wayne, the militia were called upon to do quasi police duty on September 8, 1794. A number of Choctaw Indians who had been aiding General Wayne were assaulted on their return from the Miami of the Lakes by lawless men and were obliged to take refuge in Fort Washington. Colonel Sargent detailed twenty privates from the militia with the due complement of non-commissioned officers under the command of Major Gano to be paraded at Mr. Cutter's near the churchyard and the Major was directed to establish and preserve order in Cincinnati and afford protection to the Indians. The town was disturbed for several days by the violence of some of the old pioneers to whom no Indian was a good Indian except a dead Indian.

The varied duties of the militia are indicated by the instruction sent October 6, 1794, to Captain Virgin at North Bend to remove squatters intruding upon government lands west of the Great Miami. On November 25, 1794, there seems to have been a large addition to the number of officers of the militia. On this date, according to the official records, the following military promotions and appointments were made: Lieut. William Rittenhouse to be captain; Robert Wheelan, lieutenant; Garret Vanvile, ensign; Ensign Celadon Symmes to be lieutenant; Samuel Seward, ensign; Lieut. James Lyon, captain vice Wallace removed; Ensign Uzoe Bates, lieutenant; Samuel Dick, ensign; Darius C. Orcutt, captain vice Grear removed; Jonathan Schooly, lieutenant; John Riddle, ensign vice Creigh removed; Seth Cutter, ensign vice Schooly promoted; James Cox, adjutant vice Orcutt promoted; John Brown, lieutenant and adjutant; and Ensign Jonathan Bowman, lieutenant.

After the conclusion of the peace of Greenville, there was not much demand for the service of the militia for some years. From time to time Captain Flinn at Columbia or Lieut. Celadon Symmes at North Bend or some other militia officer was called upon to lead parties in pursuit of horse thieves and on other occasions the whole body of the volunteer soldiers turned out on the occasion of the celebration of the Fourth of July or to take part in the sadder functions, such as the memorial funeral of General Washington.

General Harrison after his resignation from the army was made chief officer of the territorial militia by virtue of his office as Secretary with headquarters at Cincinnati. Among the general orders we find that of September 24, 1794, issued by him as commander-in-chief of the militia of the Northwest Territory stating that the Secretary of the Territory then vested with all the powers of Governor and commander-in-chief of the same would on Tuesday, the 25th instant, review the first battalion of militia of Hamilton County. The battalion was to be formed for this purpose at three o'clock, on some convenient spot of ground near to Major Ludlow's.

Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and Jacob Burnet were to act as aids-de-camp to the commander-in-chief on this occasion, and were to be respected and obeyed accordingly. This order addressed to Lieut.-Col. John S. Gano, the commander of the first battalion of Hamilton County militia, was accompanied by a note requesting Gano to fill up the blank with the hour he thought most convenient. In *Freeman's Journal* of October 27, 1798, Colonel Gano commands the officers of the militia to march their respective companies to the public grounds in Cincinnati on Tuesday the

30th instant so as to form battalion for exercise by eleven A. M.; a troop of horse was included. The *Spy and Gazette* of May 13, 1799, publishes a battalion order of Daniel Symmes, lieutenant and adjutant, exhorting the officers to exercise and teach the men the necessary manoeuvres. Lieutenant Symmes trusts that the delay of the muster will permit the farmers to put in their crops and the officers to improve their men in drill so that they may be distinguished when the battalion is formed on the Fourth of July. A little later came the battalion parade on the Fourth with two or three companies in uniform and a troop of horsemen about thirty in number mostly so, also reviewed by Harrison.

The *Spy and Gazette* of July 16, 1800, contains a notice: "HEADS UP SOLDIERS!"

"Those gentlemen who wish to join a volunter light infantry company are requested to meet at Mr. Yeatman's tavern."

The company was organized and at its head was Sheriff Smith. About that time we are told that the militia of the county were organized into five companies numbering about eight hundred, one of which was this company of light infantry just mentioned. They were required to muster two days in the spring and four days in the fall and two of these days were devoted to school instructions for the officers. These organizations were under the acts of December 13, 1799, and December 8, 1800, by which acts the militia were reorganized. It is in connection with this act that we find St. Clair forwarding for the inspection of the President a list of proper persons to be appointed general officers. According to his statement (St. Clair to Pickering, March 30, 1800): "In the county of Hamilton Oliver Spencer commands. He is an old officer but has been altogether inattentive to the militia and is either too old or too indolent to give much attention to it in future. Next to him stands John S. Gano, an active intelligent man and a staunch friend to Government." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 495.)

The Gano thus mentioned was of course the pioneer. He had been topographical engineer in command of an advance party to survey the route for the march of the army under St. Clair and shared in that defeat. He afterwards commanded the battalion of one hundred and thirty-two men including forty or fifty volunteers who marched to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, buried the dead and brought back the arms and again acted as captain in the expedition to build Fort St. Clair. He was in command of a company of one hundred volunteers who marched to the relief of Kingsbury at Dunlap's Station. He subsequently received commissions as captain, major, brigadier and major-general of the first division of the Ohio militia, remaining in the service from September 1, 1803, until 1818, when he removed to Covington. Part of the time during the absence of General Harrison he acted as general in chief of the military districts. He also acted in the earlier days as surveyor and aided in marking the sections and fractions in one of the ranges of the Symmes purchase. He was clerk of the court for many years. He died January 1, 1822, and his remains were afterwards buried in Spring Grove Cemetery. His mother was a daughter of Judge William Goforth.

CINCINNATI TOWNSHIP.

The first civil administrative organization in Hamilton County was that of the townships. The history of the erection of these subdivisions is involved in considerable obscurity. In the early days before the constitution of the State was adopted, these were created in the different counties by the courts of General Quarter Sessions and later by the county commissioners and associate judges of the Court of Common Pleas acting concurrently. The act of February 19, 1810, gave to the county commissioners exclusive jurisdiction. The first three townships represented the settlements first made and together included the whole of the purchase on the river extending to the military range, a point six miles north of the present village of Springdale. The names given to these townships were in order of the settlements, Columbia, Cincinnati and Miami. The Court of Quarter Sessions in 1791 erected the three townships.

Columbia began "at the foot of the second meridian east of Cincinnati on the Ohio bank; thence north to the third entire (or military) range; thence east to the Little Miami; thence down the Miami to the Ohio River; thence down the Ohio to place of beginning."

Cincinnati was described as "beginning at a point where the second meridian east of the town intersects the Ohio; thence down that stream about eleven miles to the first meridian east of Rapid Run; thence north to the Big Miami; thence up that stream to the south line of the military range; thence south to the place of beginning."

Miami township was described as "beginning at a point on the Ohio at the first meridian east

of the mouth of Rapid Run; thence due north to the Great Miami; thence down that stream to the Ohio; thence up the Ohio to the place of beginning." No part of this township is in the present limits of Cincinnati.

The erection of Butler County and other counties in 1803 made necessary a rearrangement of the townships, which left to Columbia township the territory now included in that township together with Spencer township and that part of the city now east of the second meridian east of the old city of Cincinnati.

The new boundaries of Cincinnati township commenced "at the southeast corner of Miami township on the Ohio River; thence north to the northwest corner of section 17 in fractional range 2, township 2; thence east nine miles; thence south to the Ohio; thence westward along the Ohio to the place of beginning." These lines included more than one-half of what was subsequently Delhi township, the eastern part of Green except the three northern sections, the whole of Mill Creek except the northern section and the city of Cincinnati to the range line on the east.

A very important matter, as indicated by the action of the court at the time of the institution of townships, was the selection of cattle-brands. "A" was assigned to Columbia, "B" to Cincinnati and "C" to Miami.

By this change the western line of Columbia township ran due north from the point where the line between section 1 of the third township and section 31 of the fourth township of the second fractional range cuts the Ohio River to the northwest corner of section 36 of the last named township. Subsequently Spencer township was taken off the southern part of this township, the dividing line running between the second and third tier of sections of the fourth township, running east from the northwest corner of section 32 to the Miami River.

Colerain township had been created in 1794 by the Court of Quarter Sessions and given the cattle-brand "G."

Springfield township had been carved out of Cincinnati township in 1795 as a result of the great movement of settlers to the country after security from the Indians was assured by the Wayne victory.

South Bend township, created in 1795, included Delhi and a part of Green. Delhi was not created until more than fifteen years later and Green probably about 1809. Although the name Sycamore appears in 1800, the township does not appear to have been created until 1803 at the time of the general reorganization following the admission of Ohio to statehood.

Mill Creek was set off in 1809 from Cincinnati and Springfield townships. Its southern line was at the old corporation line at Liberty street and it occupied the third township of the second fractional range.

SOME TOWNSHIP OFFICERS.

The first Cincinnati township officers, so far as can now be stated with accuracy, were as follows:

"1791—Levi Woodward, township clerk; Samuel Martin, constable; John Thompson and James Wallace, overseers of the poor; James Gowdy, overseer of roads; Isaac Martin, Jacob Reeder, and James Cunningham, street commissioners.

"1792—Samuel Martin, constable; John Ludlow and David E. Wade, overseers of the poor; James Miller, Jacob Miller, and John Vance, viewers of enclosures and appraisers of damages; Isaac Martin, Jacob Reeder, and Ezekiel Sayre, overseers of highways.

"1793—Nathaniel Barnes and Robert Gowdy, constables; Jacob Reeder and Moses Miller, overseers of the poor; Joseph McHenry, Samuel Freeman, and Stephen Reeder, viewers of enclosures and appraisers of damages; Isaac Martin, Usual Bates, and John Schooly, overseers of highways.

"1794—Nathan Barnes, Darius C. Orcutt, and Robert Gowdy, constables; James Brady and David E. Wade, overseers of the poor; James Wallace, Levi Woodward, and James Lyon, viewers of enclosures and appraisers of damages; Isaac Martin, Jacob White, and William Powell, overseers of highways.

"1795—Nathan Barnes, Ephraim Carpenter, and Benjamin Van Hook, constables; James Brady and Samuel Freeman, overseers of the poor; Samuel Dick and Richard Benham, viewers of enclosures and appraisers of damages; James Brady, Levi Woodward, and Samuel Freeman, overseers of highways." (Ford's Cincinnati, p. 51.)

Abraham Carey was a constable of Cincinnati township in 1797, Levi McLean in 1798 and John Bailey in 1799. James Smith and William Stanley were trustees in 1801-02 and William State in 1801. Other overseers of the poor given by John D. Caldwell include Abraham Carey (1799-1800), Peter Kemper (1800), and Cornelius Van Nuys (1800-01). (Cincinnati Annual Reports, 1888, p. 368.)

CHAPTER XXII.

CINCINNATI VILLAGE (1790-1802)—I.

Early Descriptions of the Village—The Growth of the Town and Population—Early Buildings—The First Fire—The Arrival of Judge Burnet—Samuel Stitt's Reminiscences—The First Jail—The Arrival of Dr. Drake—Cincinnati in 1800—The First White Child Born in Cincinnati—Early Settlers.

The physical aspect of the settlement changed but slowly in the first few years of its existence. The fear of the Indians necessarily kept the inhabitants together and the out-lots were used merely for farming purposes; still there was an atmosphere of prosperity for a time at least. During the first year (1790) the settlement, which according to the Directory of 1819 during the previous year consisted of 11 families and 24 unmarried men inhabiting twenty small log cabins built on the lower bank, increased by as many as forty families and an equal number of new cabins. The first two frame houses were built during this year and among the population were two blacksmiths, two carpenters, a shoemaker, a tailor and a mason.

Fifteen or twenty of the inhabitants were killed by the Indians during this year.

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE VILLAGE.

One of the earliest descriptions of the village is that of Benjamin Van Cleve already quoted. At the time of his landing on January 3, 1790, he tells us that two small, hewed-log houses had been erected and several cabins. Apparently Fort Washington was not then completed for he speaks of General Harmar's being employed in building it.

The building of the town must have progressed very rapidly for in a letter to his associates from Cincinnati, written November 4, 1790, Symmes says that "the advantage is prodigious which this town is gaining over North Bend; upwards of forty framed and hewed-log two-story houses have been, and are building since last spring. One builder sets an example for another, and the place already assumes the appearance of a town of some respectability. The inhabitants have doubled here within nine months past."

Oliver M. Spencer who arrived at the town in the following year says that about the 22nd of February, 1791, when he first saw it, it contained not more than forty dwellings, all log cabins, and not exceeding two hundred and fifty inhabitants. In the southeastern part of the town, near the site of his present dwelling, stood the cabin of D. E. Wade; in the midst of the forest trees, and just below, on the first bank, between the mouth of Deer creek and Lawrence street, were scattered among the trees four or five more cabins. Between Eastern row (a narrow street now enlarged into Broadway) and Main street, on Front and Columbia streets, there were about twenty log houses; and on Sycamore and Main, principally on the second bank or hill, as it was called, there were scattered about fifteen cabins more. At the foot of this bank, extending across Broadway and Main street, were large ponds, on which, as lately as the winter of 1798, he had seen boys skating. All the ground from the foot of the second bank to the river between Lawrence street and Broadway, and appropri-

ated to the fort, was an open space on which, although no trees were left standing, most of their large trunks were still lying. (Spencer's Narrative, p. 27.)

Spencer's account of the fort, which of course was the most conspicuous object in the town, has already been given. Columbia as we have seen increased a little more rapidly at first but Symmes was so much impressed with the future of Cincinnati especially after it had been selected as the seat of government that during the year 1790 he laid out the lots in the fractional section 12 as an addition to the town plat; this lay just east of Broadway on the river. The streets in this addition were but 60 feet wide and those in continuation of the east and west streets took a more northerly course on lines following the lines of the river.

Mrs. Wallace in her recollections states that in 1791 there was but one frame dwelling in Cincinnati and that belonged to Israel Ludlow and stood at the lower end of Main street. The room in front was occupied as a store.

Mathew Winton kept tavern on Front nearly opposite to David E. Wade, rather to the west. Ezekiel Sayre was exactly opposite Wade. A German named Bicket had a dram shop opposite Plum street between Front and the river bank. Mrs. Wallace and her husband, John S. Wallace, resided on Front street below Race. Joel Williams' celebrated tavern was at what was afterwards called Latham's Corner. This was on Water street as was also Isaac Felter's tavern. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. II, p. 65; Cincinnati in 1859, p. 149.)

The next year, 1791, was not an especially prosperous one. About one-half of the able bodied citizens had gone with the army and many of them had been killed. Not only was the number of citizens lessened by this loss but many were frightened away by the sad result of the campaign and removed to Kentucky. No manufacturing establishments were built this year except a horse mill for grinding corn. This stood on Main street below Fourth. It was used at times by the Presbyterians for their meetings as their church had not yet been built.

John Bartle, however, opened his general store in the hipped-roof frame building on the corner of Front and Broadway, where the Cincinnati Hotel was subsequently erected. This has been generally accepted as the first regular store in Cincinnati.

John Bartle (properly Bartel) was born in La Marne, France, about 1743. He served in the army of his native country and afterwards came to America with Lafayette. At the close of the Revolutionary War, he retired with the title of colonel. He at first became an army trader between Baltimore, Hagerstown and Pittsburg and afterwards started the first store in Cincinnati. This he left for a time and took part in the campaigns of St. Clair, Harmar and Wayne and after the peace of Greenville he returned and was for many years one of the leading merchants. Many years later after the marriage of his children, growing weary of a settled life, he wandered among the Indians of the North and Northwest undergoing many hardships and making many hairbreadth escapes. When quite an old man, he returned to the house of his daughter, Mrs. Elijah Pierce. Here he lived for a few years but finally his roving tendencies came upon him again and he disappeared. He died in December, 1839, at the City Hospital. He was given a public funeral. Dr. W. E. De Courcy of this city is his great-grandson. (In Memoriam, p. 101.)

THE GROWTH OF THE TOWN AND POPULATION.

The first contemporary account of the settlement is contained in a journal of the trip made by John Heckewelder in 1792. This journal was published in Halle in 1796. The translation of it appears in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. (No. XII, pp. 34 and 165.)

On the first day of July the party reached Columbia and stopped with Major Stites. Heckewelder found here a ship mill and many well built houses. The inhabitants numbered eleven hundred, including two Baptist preachers, Smith and Clark. The town was well situated except that part of the land was inundated by high water. A large portion of the ground was covered by walnut and locust trees. On the 2nd of July after breakfast they left Columbia and reached Cincinnati at nine o'clock where they were greeted with a salute of nine cannon shots in honor of General Putnam who was on a mission to conclude a treaty with the Indians. Heckewelder was assigned quarters with General Putnam at Fort Washington but he preferred going to a landlord in the town by the name of Martin (Isaac) formerly from Sussex County, New Jersey. There were at that time 56 Indian women and children confined as prisoners in the stockade. These had been brought here about a year before by the Scott and Wilkinson expedition. Putnam told them that they would be soon released. In the afternoon Com-

mandant Wilkinson arrived on his return from a visit to the Western forts and on the 3rd five Indian men and one woman were brought in who came to seek and take away their captive friends. "This fact was made known to the prisoners before night, the guard within the stockade was called away, and the gate opened, but for the safety of the prisoners, a guard was placed outside. It was touching to witness the loud outbursts of weeping when relatives met." This party brought the tidings of the murder of Trueman, Freeman and Hardin. Heckewelder witnessed the celebration of the Fourth at which time 15 cannon shots were fired from a six-pounder in the morning, at noon and in the evening. Judge Symmes came up from North Bend to attend this celebration. The two days following were spent with Colonol Menzies, the inspector of the troops, and Lawyer Smith and in viewing the town. "The ground upon which the town stands is a plain along the Ohio about two miles long, and extending northward seven miles along the road. The town is in a manner divided into two parts, as one or a second shore of the Ohio is 140 perches from the real bank of the Ohio. Each of these banks is 40 ft. high, and on account of its situation or straight line, very pleasant to the eye. What lies below this second bank, is called the lower town; the upper town is however connected with the lower one. At present there are 354 surveyed lots purchased and used for building purposes. Four acres outside of the town belong to every lot within the town. The price of the lots was at first from four to eight dollars per lot, and twenty dollars an acre for the lots outside of the town. The rush is however so great at present, that lots are being sold at from $30 to $60 cash, from the second purchaser. More than 200 houses have been built, many of which are two stories high, well built and painted red. They command a rent of from 50 to 60 dollars per year. In the centre of the upper town, there are two large squares, the one intended for a Court House, and the other for a Church. On the latter a fine Church is being built, and under roof. The streets of the town are everywhere four perches wide. All the lots which have been surveyed are enclosed with good posts and Indian corn, wheat, oats, barley, millet, potatoes and turnips are cultivated in them. There are eight open roads leading from East to West, and six from South to North, pleasant for walking, there being no obstacles in the way, on the one road for 3-4 of a mile, and on the other for 1-2 a mile. At the east end of the town, and on the second height, lies Fort Washington, built similar to Campus Martius in Marietta; the roof and palisades on the front are painted red. Near the fort, there are some very fine, large gardens, in which vegetables and fine flowers are cultivated. Tasty summer-houses have been built in them, the most prominent of these belong to Gen. Wilkinson and Dr. (Richard) Allison. Just below Fort Washington there are long low buildings forming a square, where the mechanics in the service of the United States Army work; it is also a storehouse for provisions. The inhabitants of this city number more than 900, not counting the garrison and its belongings. This does not contain any positive number, but at present consists of about 200 men. The city has its judges and holds regular courts. The military wish to govern, but the city insists upon its rights under the constitution, and in consequence frequent quarrels ensue. The city is overrun with merchants, and overstocked with goods. More than 30 magazines or warehouses can be counted, so that one injures the price of the other. It is a town teeming with idlers, and according to the report of respectable persons, they are a people resembling Sodom. Yet they hope that this place, as well as the others on the north bank of the Ohio, will perhaps in time, or soon, be purged of this wicked class, for experience teaches, that as soon as they are made subject to the law, they leave for Kentucky which lies just across the Ohio, and if they are stopped there, they push on to the extreme boundary along the Clinch or Cumberland River, or even down as far as New Orleans. * * * Although according to the description, this city consists principally of bad inhabitants yet a clergyman resides there. The present *one* belongs to the Presbyterian Church. I was really astonished to find so many, and partly attentive listeners in the Sunday services. What adds to the beauty of the city of Cincinnati, and contributes to its advantages, is the fact, that just opposite, on the south side of the Ohio, the beautiful Licking River (about ¾ as broad as the Lehigh) empties into it. A city has also been located and begun there, which is called New-Port. From the mouth of this river, which flows from a rich inhabited country, a main road leads to Lexington, the capital of Kentucky. They expect that in future a lively traffic from there to this place, and from here down the Mississippi may be carried on. At present two fer-

ries are maintained here, one of them belongs to a German by the name of Pickel."

Curiously enough Heckewelder was at Cincinnati at the time of the taking of young Oliver Spencer on July 7, 1792, and gives an account of the episode.

The erratic habits of the Ohio showed themselves even at this early date, for the river rose 11 feet on the 9th, which enabled a number of boats from Pittsburg to come down.

On the 12th William Wells who had been taken prisoner by the Indians when a boy of 12 years of age some eight years before came in from Louisville. He was pressed into service by General Putnam as an interpreter. He found among the prisoners his adopted mother and sisters and their meeting evoked many tears. Wells, it will be remembered, afterwards became one of the most valuable of Wayne's scouts. Two days later two soldiers who had been among the Indians were brought in and described the death of the peace mesengers, Trueman and Freeman. On the same evening the news came of an attack of thirty Indians upon Columbia where three men had been taken captive. A company of cavalry was sent in pursuit and followed the trail for thirty miles but were unable to take the redskins. On the 16th the head chief, one of those who had come in a few days before, died at Fort Washington. "The funeral march was beaten on the drum draped in mourning. They granted him a resting place in the cemetery believing that this might be of advantage to them, among the relatives as well as among the Nation in general. Malicious people dug up the body again at night, tore down the flag and post, threw them into a mud-hole and dragged the body down along the street and stood it up there. The generals had the body buried again immediately in the morning and a flag raised. Governor St. Clair's secretary issued a proclamation offering 100 dollars reward for the discovery of the perpetrators. On the following night however the flag and proclamation were torn down, but the body remained unmolested. For a second time a new flag was raised, a guard placed near by, and nothing further happened."

An incident of the 22nd was the punishment of a soldier who had attempted a revolt. "He was obliged to run the gauntlet, have his head shaved, a collar put around his neck and in this manner be drummed out of the fort and city. He had formerly been tied to the Wheelbarrow in Philadelphia."

Heckewelder took trips across the river from which side he found Fort Washington in Cincinnati presented a very pleasant view. He describes the sermons delivered at various times by the Presbyterian minister (Kemper) and by a Mr. Clark, a Baptist from Columbia. The sermon of the latter in which he depicted the heathen and the calamity of November 4th (St. Clair's defeat) as a chastisement of the Lord inflicted as a scourge because of the unbelief and disobedience of the settlers seems to have been received very favorably. Mr. Heckewelder's journal makes almost daily mention of reported attacks by the Indians, of the movement of soldiers to and from the Indian country and the passage of boats up and down the river. On August 16th, the Indians who had been prisoners for more than a year at an expense to the United States of sixty thousand dollars were forwarded to Post Vincennes and on the 18th General Putnam and his party including Heckewelder left the settlement on the way to Louisville. They passed South Bend and North Bend and were impressed with the extent of the settlements along the river where five years before had been a wilderness. There were between three and four hundred people in the neighborhood some living in town and others on farms. These settlements had not been troubled by Indian raids for over two years. This was attributed to the friendly feeling of the Indians for Judge Symmes who was regarded by them as a father. Evidently a favorite story with the Judge was the explanation of the United States coat-of-arms given by one of the Indians which he reported in one of his letters already quoted, for he tells this story over again to Heckewelder.

In October the party returned. They stopped at Judge Symmes' where they were delayed by the fact that the Indians of their company were given so much brandy that they could scarcely stand. When the party arrived at Fort Washington on October 24th it was saluted by 15 cannon shots. Two days later they witnessed the hanging of a murderer who with another man in a fit of drunkenness had vowed to murder the first man they should meet. A few minutes afterwards they were caught in the act, imprisoned and upon trial one was acquitted and the other condemned to death. As is usual, the murderer on the gallows ascribed his misfortune to association with evil companions.

The next day Secretary Winthrop Sargent gave a dinner to the party, including the Indians. On Sunday, the 28th, General Wilkinson gave a similar dinner at the fort. At this meal the

healths of the President, General Knox, Putnam and each of the chiefs present were drank and as each was named a salute was fired. One of the Indians seemed disturbed by the preparations for war which he noticed all about him and arose from his seat and asked an explanation. General Wilkinson reassured him, whereupon the Indians arose and each shook hands with General Wilkinson and all the officers and gentlemen present (there were about thirty of them). Each nation separately returned thanks for the General's explanation and for the dinner. At this dinner the Indians were seated mixed with the other guests and great cordiality prevailed.

Two days later an Indian prince died and at his funeral all the officers and gentlemen of the city were present. Three salutes were fired over his grave, each answered by a cannon shot from the fort. After the coffin was lowered, the Indians and the others present each threw a handful of earth upon it. In the coffin were placed the gun of the deceased, his tomahawk, powder-horn and balls, tobacco and pipe, several pairs of shoes and leather wherewith to mend them, a tin flask, knives and such like provisions and a bottle of brandy to be used on the journey in the new country. A long pole stripped of its bark was put up at the head of the grave and a white flag suspended from it. The party left the fort on the evening of the 1st of November.

Another account is contained in a letter of a Gallipolis merchant, E. J. D. Le Ture, written at Cincinnati July 6, 1792:

"I have had the pleasure to receive your last by General Putnam. Would to God that my anxiety could alleviate yours. Since the opening of the store again, except the first days, I do not sell a d—n's worth a day. New stores flock in every day, and with large assortments. The officers at this place give no more company orders. Platt and McPherson, who were my friends, are out of the service, and all of the storekeepers content themselves with small profits. There is now neither flour nor corn at this place. If some could be got soon somewhere on the river, I am confident I could sell a thousand bushels of the latter. This is worth attending to, for there are many mouths at the settlement who will eat, let it be at what price it will.

"In my opinion the best speculation that could be done in this country would be to have a store in the fall of the year up the Kentucky River, or at Washington, near Limestone, to take corn for the goods, which should be brought here before planting time. It is astonishing the quantity of that produce that is here. The transport in canoes, if proper measures are taken, will be trifling. Then will be the time that horses will flock in, and the Militia Horse will give their breeches for food. Cheese, bacon, gammons, tobacco, hemp, and some butter will always find a good market here. Home-made sugar fetches a quarter of a dollar a pound.

"The situation of the colony alarms me much. I can not think so many people will be sacrificed to a few speculators. Should any thing turn up that would oblige me to go into the settlements, I believe it will be in my power to advise them on the methods they are to take in order to have justice done them." (Quoted by George M. Roe, in *Times-Star* History.)

EARLY BUILDINGS.

An important building erected in 1792 was the Presbyterian meeting house that stood at the northwest corner of Fourth and Main. It will be remembered that in laying out the town the proprietors dedicated the south half of this block to school and church purposes. During the next year Rev. David Rice of Kentucky organized a religious society of the Presbyterian faith and proceeded to occupy the premises thus set apart. The society was not able at the time to erect a church edifice and the only use made of the premises at first was that of a graveyard. Their meetings were held at the horse-mill and occasionally at private houses.

In 1791 Rev. James Kemper arrived and a subscription was soon set on foot to erect a meeting house. The trees had already been cleared from a portion of the lot at Fourth and Main and within a small circle, seated upon the logs, the people with rifles by their sides met for worship in the open air. After the meeting house was completed in 1792, the whole four lots were enclosed with a post and rail fence. The timber for the building was taken from the spot upon which it was erected. It was a plain frame, about 30 by 40 feet in dimensions, roofed and weatherboarded with clapboards but neither lathed, plastered nor ceiled. The floor was of boat plank laid loosely upon sleepers. The only ornamentation was a small semicircle cut in the front gable above the door. The seats were formed by rolling in the necessary number of logs which were placed at suitable distances and covered with boards whipsawed for the purpose at proper spaces for seats. They were of course

without backs and, for a time it is said, the rough logs served the purpose of seats. On one side of the room a breastwork of unplaned cherry boards was constructed which was styled the pulpit behind which the preacher stood upon a boat plank supported by two blocks of wood. This building was finally removed in 1804 to Vine below Fifth about the spot where the Emery Hotel is now located and became known for many years as Burke's Church. It was replaced by a large brick building. (Cincinnati in 1859, pp. 136-139.)

Dr. F. C. Monfort in "One Hundred Years of Presbyterianism in the Ohio Valley" states that the picture usually given as that of the first church is inaccurate. It represents a two-story building with a stone foundation whereas the church was one story and rested on blocks of wood. The picture represents Burke's Church, as it was reconstructed from the material of the old building. Dr. Monfort gives a copy of a sketch of the first church drawn by Isaac McFarland which he says is more accurate though not so pretty. (See also Martin's Schools of Cincinnati, p. 24.)

President L'Hommedieu, in his address to the Pioneer Association delivered in 1874, stated that the pews and pulpit sounding board of the old pioneer meeting house were still in use in a small German Lutheran Church on the river road within the present corporate limits of the city. (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 11.)

During this same year (1792) about fifty persons were added to the population by immigration and several more cabins with three or four frame houses were put up. The first school was also established this year and was attended by about thirty scholars. Two important stores were established, one by James Ferguson who had been a volunteer under Harmar, another by James Smith and James Findlay under the name of Smith & Findlay. The advertisements of both these stores appear frequently in the early numbers of the *Centinel*. Ferguson's store was at the corner of Third and Sycamore while that of Smith & Findlay was on Front near the foot of Broadway.

The first of Cincinnati's many great floods after the year of the settlement itself occurred during this year and as a result the town, that is to say the Bottom which was in fact all of the town, was flooded to the average depth of five feet. The same thing happened the next year.

THE FIRST FIRE.

Some idea of the physical appearance of the settlement above the bottoms is given by the account of Goudy's fire which happened in 1794. For three or four years prior to this time, according to the statement of Judge Matson, there had been a worm fence enclosing a number of out-lots which extended about Sixth street north to Court street and from Main street west to the section line about where is now John street. There were but a few buildings on this space. One of them a small frame east of Main street on what is called the St. Clair square between Seventh and Eighth had been put up by Thomas Goudy, the pioneer lawyer, as an office. He found however that this was too far out of town and the place was abandoned by him for office purposes. In the early spring of the year one of the occupants of this enclosure, while engaged in clearing up land for farming purposes, built a brush fire at the west end. The fire spread over the whole clearing and soon had occupied the entire territory, feeding on the dead trees which had been girdled and had become perfectly dry. The high wind blew the conflagration eastward as far as Main street, carrying in its course large flakes of the sap wood fully ablaze. The sight of more than one hundred acres of dry timber in flames must have been not only magnificent but terrifying. The whole population turned out in the endeavor to save the rails but in this they were not very successful. A number of men were stationed on Goudy's building with buckets of water and succeeded in saving it. This was the first important fire in the city and it was most important in its results. It brought clearly to the minds of the settlers the danger in which they lived by reason of the girdled dry trees standing all about and induced them to clear out the out-lots more rapidly than they otherwise would have done.

The defeat of the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers and the treaty of Greenville which followed changed very materially the conditions of the settlement. Prior to this time there was no certainty of continued life but from 1794 the uncertainty vanished and the settlement's progress though slow was sure. Another element which contributed to the advance of the settlement was the final issue of the patent to Judge Symmes which ended the annoyance about the titles to the section within the town limits. A very important factor as well was the establishment of a line of keel-boat packets by

Jacob Myers which ran between Cincinnati and Pittsburg. A more complete announcement of this enterprise is contained in the extracts from the *Centinel* published in another chapter.

The peace of Greenville was "hailed by the infant settlements as the era of peace and security. They now looked forward to an exemption from ravage, danger and distress and all the horrors of savage warfare. The return of peace gave them new ambition and new hopes. They removed from their forts into the adjacent country, selected farms, built cabins and began to subdue the forest. They were soon joined by other emigrants who upon the news of peace began to flock across the mountains in great numbers. * * * In 1795 the town contained ninety-four cabins, ten frame houses and about five hundred inhabitants. In 1800 the population was estimated as about seven hundred and fifty and five years afterwards, 1805, it amounted to only nine hundred and sixty." (Directory of 1819, p. 29.)

THE ARRIVAL OF JUDGE BURNET.

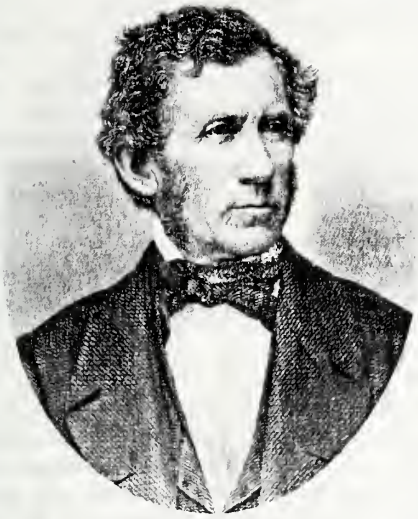
During the year 1796, Judge Burnet arrived and he found a small village of log cabins, including about fifteen rough unfinished frame houses with stone chimneys. Not a brick had then been seen in the place. His account of the town with its lower and upper plain and the swamp extending at the base of the upper plain has already been given. The chief hotel of the village he tells us was that of Griffin Yeatman and the most remarkable object in the city was Fort Washington with the artificers' yard on the bank of the river. Among other important structures he mentions Colonel Sargent's residence north of Fourth street behind the fort and that of Dr. Allison to the east of the fort on what is now Ludlow street. The Presbyterian Church on Main street and the school house on the north side opposite to where St. Paul's Church afterwards stood (where now the St. Paul Building stands) are also mentioned by him. The frame school house was unfinished but enclosed at that time. Upon the north side of the public square, there was a strong log building erected and occupied as a jail. A room in the tavern of George Avery near the frog pond at the corner of Main and Fifth streets had been rented for the accommodation of the court; and as the penitentiary system had not been adopted and as Cincinnati was the seat of justice it was ornamented with a pillory, stocks and whipping post and occasionally with a gallows. These were all the structures of a public character then in the place. The frog pond referred to by Burnet as at the intersection of Main and Fifth streets was a pond of water and full of alder bushes from which the frogs serenaded the neighborhood during the summer and fall, and rendered it necessary to construct a causeway of logs, to pass it. That morass remained in its natural state with its alders and its frogs for several years.

SAMUEL STITT'S REMINISCENCES.

Another arrival of this year who gives us some account of the settlement was Samuel Stitt, who died in 1847 at the advanced age of 78 years. He had been born in Ireland in 1769 and came to America twenty years later. He arrived in Cincinnati in May, 1796, and settled on the river bank. His description of the town at the time of his arrival is published by Mr. Cist:

"Facing the river, at the time I came, was entirely a bluff bank, the surface being cleared, excepting a large elm tree, east of what is now Commercial Row (Southwest corner of Main and Water streets), from which, for several years, the martins took their departure. It stood many years, until struck by lightning, when it was cut down to keep it from setting on fire the adjacent houses. There was a large cove opposite Griffin Yeatman's, at the mouth of Sycamore street. This cove, and at Joel Williams', now Latham's Corner (foot of Main), were the principal landings. There was another cove at Ludlow street. An old woman, named Wright, who did washing for the garrison, had a cabin at this cove, and was obliged to remove to the upper bank when the river was high. There was a duck and snipe pond, a hundred feet across, where Walker kept store, reaching half-way to Sycamore street. A post and rail fence extended along Main from Columbia (Second) street, which, in extremely wet weather, was our only means of getting on foot to the hill. There was no horse-path at this period up the hill, on Main street, which was a bluff, gravel bank; and it required a pretty active man to climb it; but there was a cow-path up Broadway, and a very steep wagon road up Sycamore street. The timber was all cut down on the town plat in 1796, when I first saw it.

"Gibson had a frame house at the corner of Main and Front streets, in which he kept store. D. C. Cooper, who afterward laid out Dayton,



DR. DANIEL DRAKE.

REV. JAMES KEMPER.

JUDGE JACOB BURNET.

EDWARD D. MANSFIELD.

had the opposite corner, now Bates', which he rented of Israel Ludlow. There were no other houses between Front and Columbia streets, except a few one-story frames; at Mitchell's corner there was an uninhabited log house.

"Geo. Gordon kept tavern above Resor's (on Main), and there was no other house on that side toward Second street; all up to the corner was a pasture-lot, belonging to and occupied by Israel Ludlow.

"William Ramsay kept store where Kilgour & Taylor have since, at the corner of the alley (on Front) below Main street. Isaac Anderson and Samuel Dick owned and occupied the lots, west on Front, as far as Walnut street. William McCann kept tavern at Liverpool's corner (Front and Walnut). Freeman, the printer, resided between Walnut and Vine streets.

"Martin Baum, William Ramsay, and myself, clubbed together and paid *one dollar,* per year, to a man for mowing down the gympson weeds in front of the houses on the Public Landing. We all had our pasture-lots; mine was on Deer creek, a little north of Fox's sawmill. On this lot was a large hollow sycamore tree, which was occupied as a dwelling by a woman who washed for the garrison. A large limb had been broken off, and the stump of it left, served for a chimney. It was as much blacked by the smoke as any brick chimney I have seen since.

"General Wilkinson commanded the garrison in 1796. He had a carriage, with two handsome horses. It was the only carriage in the place at that period.

"J. W. Browne kept store where Manser's iron store now is—William and Michael Jones across the alley (Front east of Main). Duffy had a store next east, and Baum where Shoenberger's iron store has been since built. Major Ziegler kept store next to the corner of Sycamore, where Yeatman had his tavern.

"The first jail was on Water street, west of Main. It could be readily seen from the river. The debtors and criminals were all shut up together; but in daylight the jailor allowed them the liberty of the neighborhood, they taking care, whenever the sheriff was about, to make tracks to the jail as rats to their holes. There was a whipping-post, when I came to Cincinnati, about one hundred feet west of Main, and fifty feet south of Fifth street, near the line of Church alley. Levi McClean (McLean), the jailor, did the whipping. I saw a woman whipped for stealing. McClean would get drunk at times, and in these frolics would amuse himself by whipping, with a cowhide, the prisoners in jail, all round, debtors as well as criminals.

"The second jail was built at Stagg's corner of Walnut and Sixth streets. It was burnt down, after standing some years. The third was built on Church alley, nigher Walnut than Main street. The court was held on the Gano property, Main, between Fifth and Sixth streets. The Supreme Court, of which Symmes was a judge, was held at Yeatman's Tavern.

"When I first saw the mound on Fifth street, it had timber on it, like Loring's woods. There were poplars growing of immense size in the hollows below Hathaway's.

"I never saw Indians but once, in early days, and this was a party which came down Main street, in single file—all in a row, like wild geese. The squaws came last. They were quartered in the artificers' yard, just where Strader & Gorman's warehouse now stands." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 145.)

THE FIRST JAIL.

The first jail referred to had been built in 1793. It was a mere log cabin, a story and a half high and 16 feet square. The ground in its neighborhood was cleared out and it was distinctly visible from the river. Most of its occupants were debtors and were not treated with great strictness. The erection of the jail was a matter of some considerable discussion as is shown by a letter from Symmes to McMillan, written December 8, 1792. From this we learn that the jail had been begun and was going on briskly but that the people of Cincinnati were voting on the question whether the jail should be built on the first bottom or on the second bank. Symmes gave his voice for the second bank for the reason that the ground could be had much cheaper, fuel at less expense and that the situation would be more elevated and healthy, in addition to its more magnificent appearance. The soil was much more dry, the prisoners would at no time be drowned like pigs in a sty and great expense would be saved in carting the timber, and this was already more in the center of the town. This would be "more convenient than Cincinnati for the people of the other villages in the county." Water could be had by digging a well which ought to be within the liberties of the prison and if it stood on the bank of the Ohio a well would be necessary that privileged prisoners for debt might draw for themselves. In time the increase in population resulted in an increase of prisoners

and a new jail of hewed logs with a lapped shingled roof two stories high and larger than its predecessor was erected within less than two years at the southeast corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. Its size was 15 by 20 feet. Late in 1795 this building was moved by the public teams of eight yoked oxen in charge of Capt. John Thorpe, the quartermaster, who was assisted by John Richardson, to the lot at the corner of Church alley (now Church place) and Walnut street. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, p. 51.).

Another early settler who gave some account of the town was Hezekiah Flint who was one of the 48 that formed the settlement at Marietta in 1788. He came to Cincinnati on a flat-boat loaded with corn on April 7, 1794. He also speaks of the pond, the home of the alder bushes and the frogs. He bought a lot of James Lyon 100 by 200 feet on Walnut below Fourth street for $150 and the southeast corner of Fourth and Walnut streets, the same size, three years afterwards for a horse valued at $400. He was offered a lot at Fourth and Main streets, 100 feet on Main by 200 feet on Fourth (afterwards the Harrison drug store corner), in 1796 for $250. This was the same year that Francis Menessier of Gallipolis bought the lot 100 feet on Main and 200 feet on Third street, (where the trust company's bank afterwards stood) for an old saddle.

Flint cultivated the square opposite the Cincinnati College, that is the square between Fourth, Fifth, Walnut and Vine streets, from 1795 to 1800 as a corn field.

Judge Matson, as well as Flint and Stitt, speaks of the difficulty of communication between the Hill and Bottom in the infancy of the city. Even at a later date he says wagons would stall going up Walnut street opposite the corner of Front. On Main from Front to Lower Market street, now Pearl, which was then many feet below its present grade from "Hill's store, No. 31, to Lower Market street, boat gunwales were laid as footways, part of the distance, and the citizens walked, in very muddy weather, upon the rails of the post and rail fences, which inclosed the lots of that street. When Pearl street was opened, some twenty-eight years ago, and the building extending from the corner to Neave & Son's store was putting up, in digging the foundations, a number of panels of posts and rail fence, the relics of those days, and which had been covered up for, probably, thirty years, were found and dug up absolutely sound. Causeways of logs, generally a foot in diameter, were laid in various parts of Main street, and it was but a few years since, in re-grading Main from Eighth to Ninth street, that a causeway of such logs were taken up, sound, but water-saturated, which extended from near Eighth street to a spot above Pfau's tavern, probably one hundred and twenty feet in distance.

"As late as the year 1800, Broadway, opposite Columbia street, and for one hundred feet north of that point, was the centre of a pond, three or four acres in extent, to which the early settlers resorted to shoot plover. Another pond, of considerable size, spread on every side from the northeast corner of Fifth and Main streets, over which persons, still living, have crossed on decayed logs. A bluff gravel bank occupied the line of Third street, for two or three squares east and west of Main street. This overhung the lower ground to the south, and was frequently caving in upon it. A faint idea only of the elevation of the bluff can be formed by observing the ascent of Main street, from Lower Market to Third. The hill, at an early date, presented its front below the line of Hopple's alley, nearly thirty feet above the present level, while Lower Market must have been thirteen or fourteen feet below its present grade. A swamp extended through Lower Market street its entire distance west of Ludlow street." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 141.)

Judge Matson tells a curious anecdote about the erection of one of the first brick houses put up in the city, the well known tobacco establishment on Lower Market (Pearl) street. This building, which was three stories high, although one of its stories was covered up in the repeated fillings of the street, "was built upon boat gunnels." Casper Hopple, one of the early pioneers, superintended the building. "Fourteen feet above what then constituted the sill of his door, he placed the joists of the next story, and while that tier was laying, our old fellow-citizen, Jonathan Pancoast, passed by, and, after gazing at the improvement, without comprehending its design, asked of Mr. Hopple what he meant by what he was doing? Mr. H. observed, that, as accurately as he could judge, that would be the proper range of the floor, when Lower Market street would be filled to its proper level, to correspond with what he supposed would prove the final grade of Main street opposite. When the first filling of Lower Market street took place, Mr. H. was compelled to convert some five feet deep of the lower story into a cellar, to which he had access by a trap-door; and after the estab-

lishment of the present grade, of that street, the level at which he had built his joists corresponded exactly to its purpose, giving him a sill at his door and a cellar of the ordinary depth with one, as already described, below it." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 142.)

Another pioneer, Capt. Hugh Moore, had his store on the west side of Main street erected with boat planks for the inside walls, lined with poplar boards and with boat gunnels for a foundation. "When he had bargained for the house, which he rented at one hundred dollars per annum, and which, with the lot, one hundred feet on Main, by two hundred on Pearl street, he was offered, in fee simple, at three hundred and fifty dollars, he brought the flat-boat which was loaded with store goods from the Ohio, via Hobson's Choice, not far from Mill street, up Second or Columbia streets, and fastened the boat to a stake near the door, as nearly as can be judged, the exact spot where the lamp-post now stands, at the southwest corner of Main and Pearl streets." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 143.)

In 1797 Francis Baily, who afterwards became president of the Royal Astronomical Society, visited the town. His life was afterwards written by Sir John Herschel and with it was included Baily's "Journal."

According to Baily, at this time Cincinnati contained about three or four hundred houses, mostly frame-built. "The inhabitants are chiefly employed in some way of business, of which there is a great deal here transacted, the town being (if you may so call it) the metropolis of the Northwestern Territory. This is the grand depot for the stores which come down for the forts established on the frontiers, and here is also the seat of government for the Territory, being the residence of the Attorney-General, Judges, etc., appointed by the President of the United States, for the administration of justice. On the second bank there is a block fort put up with two ravelins; and between the fort and the river, and immediately upon the borders of the latter, is the Artificers' Yard, where a number of men are kept continually employed in furnishing the army with mechanical necessaries, such as tubs, kegs, firearms, etc., etc. On the second bank, not far from the fort, there are the remains of an old fortification, with some mounds not far from it. It is of a circular form, and by walking over it I found the mean diameter to be three hundred and twelve paces, or seven hundred and eighty feet, which makes the circumference very nearly half a mile. There are on the ramparts of it the stumps of some oak trees lately cut down, which measured two feet eight inches diameter, at three feet from the ground. The mounds, which were at but a short distance from it, were of the same construction as those I have described at Grave creek." (Journal of a Tour in North America in 1796-97, p. 228.)

A little later description is that of Jeremiah Butterfield who in 1798, passing down the Ohio on a flat-boat, visited the town, "which was then but an inconsiderable village, composed mostly of log cabins, with few good brick or frame buildings, containing not more than one thousand inhabitants. It contained one bakery, at which Mr. Butterfield applied for bread to supply the boat's crew; but without success, the baker having but three loaves on hand, and these engaged by other persons."

THE ARRIVAL OF DR. DRAKE.

The best description of the early town at the end of the century is of course that of Dr. Daniel Drake, who came to Cincinnati a boy of 15 years on December 18, 1800. In his address delivered many years later, January 9, 1852, before the Cincinnati Medical Association at the hall of the Mechanics' Institute at Sixth and Vine, he gives us a description of the settlement as he first saw it, which has ever remained the most vivid picture of the city's early days:

CINCINNATI IN 1800.

"In the first year of this century the cleared lands at this place did not equal the surface which is now completely built over. North of the canal and west of the Western row there was forest, with here and there a cabin and small clearing, connected with the village by a narrow, winding road. Curved lines, you know, symbolize the country, straight lines the city. South of where the Commercial Hospital now administers relief annually to three times as many people as then composed the population of the town, there were half-cleared fields, with broad margins of blackberry vines; and I, with other young persons, frequently gathered that delicious fruit, at the risk of being snake-bitten, where the Roman Catholic Cathedral now sends its spire into the lower clouds. Further south the ancient mound near Fifth street, on which General Wayne planted his sentinels seven years before, was overshadowed with trees which, together with itself, should have been preserved; but its dust like that of those who then delighted to play on its beautiful slopes, has mingled with

the remains of the unknown race by whom it was erected. The very spot on which we are now assembled, but a few years before the time of which I speak, was part of a wheat field of sixteen acres owned by Mr. James Ferguson and fenced in without reference to the paved streets which now cut through it. The stubble of that field is still decaying in the soil around the foundations of the noble edifice in which we are now assembled. Seventh street, then called Northern row, was almost the northern limit of population. Sixth street had a few scattering houses; Fifth not many more. Between that and Fourth there was a public square, now built over. In one corner, the northeast, stood the Court House, with a small market place in front, which nobody attended. In the northwest corner was the jail, in the southwest the village school house; in the southeast, where a glittering spire tells the stranger that he is approaching our city, stood the humble church of the pioneers, whose bones lie mouldering in the centre of the square, then the village cemetery. Walnut, called Cider street, which bounds that square on the west, presented a few cabins or small frames; but Vine street was not yet opened to the river. Fourth street, after passing Vine, branched into roads and paths. Third street, running near the brow of the upper plain, was on as high a level as Fifth street is now. The gravelly slope of that plain stretched from east to west almost to Pearl street. On this slope, between Main and Walnut, a French political exile, whom I shall name hereafter, planted, in the latter part of the last century, a small vineyard. This was the beginning of that cultivation for which the environs of our city have at length become distinguished. I suppose this was the first cultivation of the foreign grape in the valley of the Ohio. Where Congress, Market, and Pearl streets, since opened, send up the smoke of their great iron foundries, or display in magnificent warehouses the products of different and distant lands, there was a belt of low, wet ground which, up to the settlement of the town twelve years before, had been a series of beaver ponds, filled by the annual overflows of the river and the rains from the upper plains. Second, then known as Columbia street, presented some scattered cabins, dirty within and rude without; but Front street exhibited an aspect of considerable pretension. It was nearly built up with log and frame houses, from Walnut street to Eastern row, now called Broadway. The people of wealth and the men of business, with the Hotel de Ville, kept by Griffin Yeatman, were chiefly on this street, which even had a few patches of sidewalk pavement. In front of the mouth of Sycamore street, near the hotel, there was a small wooden market house built over a cove, into which pirogues and other craft, when the river was high, were poled or paddled, to be tied to the rude columns.

"The common then stretched out to where the land and water now meet, when the river is at its mean height. It terminated in a high, steep, crumbling bank, beneath which lay the flat-boats of immigrants or of traders in flour, whiskey, and apples, from Wheeling, Fort Pitt, or Redstone Old Fort. Their winter fires, burning in iron kettles, sent up lazy columns of smoke, where steamers now darken the air with hurried clouds of steam and soot. One of these vessels has cost more than the village would then have brought at auction. From this common the future Covington, in Kentucky, appeared as a corn field, cultivated by the Kennedy family, which also kept the ferry. Newport, chiefly owned by two Virginia gentlemen, James Taylor and Richard Southgate, but embracing the Mayos, Fowlers, Berrys, Stubbs, and several other respectable families, was a drowsy village set in the side of a deep wood, and the mouth of Licking River was overarched with trees, giving it the appearance of a great tunnel.

"After Front street, Sycamore and Main were the most important of the town. A number of houses were built upon the former up to Fourth, beyond which it was opened three or four squares. The buildings and business of Main street extended up to Fifth, where, on the northwest corner, there was a brick house, owned by Elmore Williams, the only one in town. Beyond Seventh, Main street was a mere road, nearly impassable in muddy weather, which at the foot of the hills divided into two, called the Hamilton road and the Mad River road. The former, now a crooked and closely built street, took the course of the Brighton House; the latter made a steep ascent over Mount Auburn, where there was not a single habitation. Broadway, or Eastern row, was then but thirty-three feet wide. The few buildings which it had were on the west side, where it joins Front street; on the site of the Cincinnati Hotel there was a low frame house, with whiskey and a billiard table. It was said that the owner paid seven hundred dollars for the house and lot in nine pences; that is, in small pieces of "cut money" received for drams. North of this, towards Second street, there were sev-

eral small houses, inhabited by disorderly persons who had been in the army. The sidewalk in front was called Battle row. Between Second and Third streets, near where we now have the eastern end of the market house, there was a single frame tenement, in which I lived with my preceptor (Dr. Goforth) in 1805. In a pond, directly in front, the frogs gave us regular serenades. Much of the square to which this house belonged was fenced in, and served as a pasture ground for a pony which I kept for country practice. * * *

"Between Third and Fourth streets, on the west side of Broadway, there was, in 1800, a corn field with a rude corn-field fence, since replaced by mansions of such magnificence that a Russian traveler, several years ago, took away drawings of one as a model for the people of St. Petersburg. Above Fourth street, Broadway had but three or four houses, and terminated at the edge of a thick wood, before reaching the foot of Mount Auburn.

"East of Broadway and north of Fourth street, the entire square had been enclosed and a respectable frame house erected by the Hon. Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwest Territory. He had removed to Mississippi Territory, of which he was afterwards Governor; and his house and grounds, the best improved in the village, were occupied by the Hon. Charles Wylling Byrd, his successor in office. Governor Sargent merits a notice among the physicians of the town, as he was the first who made scientific observations on our climate.

"Immediately south of his residence, from Fourth street to the river east of Broadway, there was a military reserve. That portion of it which laid on the upper plain was covered by Fort Washington, with its bastions, port-holes, stockades, tall flag-staff, evening tattoo, and morning reveille. Here were the quarters of the military members of our profession, and for a time for one of its civil members also; for, after its evacuation in 1803, my preceptor moved into the rooms which had been occupied by the commander of the post. In front of the fort, where Congress street now runs, there was a pond, in which ducks and snipes were often shot; and from this pond to the river, the tract through which Second and East Front streets now run was overspread with the long, low sheds of the commissaries, quartermasters, and artificers of the army.

"The post office was then and long after kept on the east side of this military common, where Lawrence street leads down to the Newport ferry. Our quiet and gentlemanly postmaster, William Ruffin, performed all the duties of the office with his own hands. The great Eastern mail was then brought once a week from Maysville, Kentucky, in a pair of saddle-bags.

"East of the fort, on the upper plain, the trunks of large trees were still lying on the ground. A single house had been built by Dr. Allison where the Lytle house now stands, and a field of several acres stretched off to the east and north. On my arrival this was the residence of my preceptor. The dry cornstalks of early winter were still standing near the door. But Dr. Allison had planted peach trees, and it was known throughout the village as Peach Grove. The field extended to the bank of Deer creek; thence all was deep wood. Where the munificent expenditures of Nicholas Longworth, Esq., have collected the beautiful exotics of all climates —on the very spot where the people now go to watch the unfolding of the night-blooming cereus—grew the red-bud, crab-apple, and gigantic tulip tree, or the yellow poplar, with wild birds above and native flowers below. Where the Catawba and Herbemont now swing down their heavy and luscious clusters, the climbing winter vine hung its small, sour branches from the limbs of high trees. The adjoining valley of Deer creek, down which, by a series of locks, the canal from Lake Erie mingles its waters with the Ohio, was then a receptacle for driftwood from the back water of that river, when high. The boys ascended the little estuary in canoes during June floods, and pulled flowers from the lower limbs of the trees or threw clubs at the turtles, as they sunned themselves on the floating logs. In the whole valley there was but a single house, and that was a distillery. The narrow road which led to it from the garrison—and, I am sorry to add, from the village also—was well trodden.

"Mount Adams was then clothed in the grandeur and beauty which belongs to our own primitive forests. The spot occupied by the reservoir which supplies our city with water, and all the rocky precipices that stretch from it up the river, were buried up in sugar-trees. On the western slope we collected the *sanguinaria Canadensis, geranium maculatum, gillenia trifoliata,* and other native medicines, when supplies failed to reach us from abroad. The summit on which the Observatory now stands was crowned with lofty poplars, oaks, and beech; and the sun in summer could scarcely be seen from the spot where we now look into the valleys of the moon

or see distant nebulae resolved into their starry elements.

"Over the mouth of Deer creek there was a crazy wooden bridge, and where the depot of the railroad which connects us with the sea has been erected, there was but a small log cabin. From this cabin a narrow, rocky, and stumpy road made its way, as best it could, up the river, where the railway now stretches. At the distance of two miles there was another cabin—that from which we expelled the witch. Beyond this all was forest for miles further, when we reached the residence of John Smith, who was afterward mixed up in Burr's conspiracy, and died in exile in Pensacola. The new village of Pendleton now covers that spot. Then came the early, but now extinct, village of Columbia, of which our first physicians were the only medical attendants." (Drake's Discourses, p. 31.)

THE FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN IN CINCINNATI.

The names of many of the early settlers and the times of their arrivals have already been given in the descriptions of the town, but it may be well to note particularly some of them. One of the earliest arrivals in the first year of the village was that of William Moody (the son of a baker from Marietta) who is said to have been the first child born here. The date of his birth was St. Patrick's Day, March 17th, and the place a cabin on the southwest corner of Fourth and Main. Julius Dexter, than whom no one was more accurate in statement, in his brief note of introduction to King's "Hand Book of Cincinnati," says: "A single lifetime has covered the existence of Cincinnati; for the first white child born in the place (William Moody, March 17, 1790), died in 1879."

Moody's claim to the honor mentioned was recognized in many other ways and when he was sergeant-at-arms to the City Council he was referred to both in the city reports and in the directories as the first white child born in Cincinnati. At the time of his death in 1879 he was referred to by the mayor in his message as follows:

"Within a few days has died, on Barr street, William Moody, who, as extraordinary as it may appear, was generally accredited with being the first white child born in this city. Mr. Moody was born in a log cabin which stood not far from the corner of Fourth and Main streets. Cincinnati, or Los-anti-ville, as it was then called, consisted of a few log cabins mostly located south of Third street, and had a population of less than two hundred people, the soldiers stationed in Fort Washington included; yet this child grew to manhood and lived long enough to see Cincinnati become the Queen City of the West, teeming with an active, energetic, thrifty population of over three hundred thousand people. How hard it is to realize the fact that such wonderful, marvelous changes could take place within the lifetime of a single citizen."

We have already seen that others laid claim to the same distinction. Dr. Drake in the address already referred to, while enumerating the early practitioners of medicine, puts in a claim for David Cummins in the following words:

"But truth and gallantry alike demand, that in this enumeration, I should not omit the first *Sage-femme* of the infant village, which in its first year, began to be a village of infants. The eldest-born, of a broad and brilliant succession, was DAVID CUMMINS, whose name is appropriately perpetuated in our little neighbor—Cumminsville, the site of which was then a sugar-tree wood, with groves of papaw and spicewood bushes. I have not been able to learn the native place of the venerable Mrs. McKnight. The scene of her first professional achievement, in the young village, was an humble log cabin, in front of where the Burnet House now stands. I do not know when she died, but this I *do* know, and record with pride, that her night-errandry was not only professional but chivalrous, for the cry of Indians did not frighten her to the other side of the river." (Drake's Discourses, p. 20.)

Another claimant for this distinction is Maj. Daniel Gano (born May 27, 1794), for many years clerk of the old Court of Common Pleas and Supreme Court and afterwards clerk of the old Superior Court. Judge Carter says: "He was, I believe, among the first white children, if not the very first white child born in the city of Cincinnati. He was born and grew up here, and he lived here, and he died here. Near fourscore years of age, he departed this life, which had been rewarded through the whole long line of it, by the highest regard and esteem of his fellow citizens. He was a worthy, clever man, and most efficient officer, and was certainly one of the best looking men in the city and country. He was distinguished for wearing a large perfectly white, cambric ruffle, down the open bosom of his shirt adorned with a beautiful breastpin, and the *old-fashioned Revolutionary* plaited cue of his hair, tied with black ribbon in a bow, and hanging down his back between his shoulders; and even for modern times, he never gave it up, and retained in his toilet this mark of the old

Revolutionary forefathers of this country, to the day of his shroud and coffin. He was buried with it, and no doubt, it is in his grave, and flourishing still. His ancestors were among the first settlers of Cincinnati, clear back in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and his posterity are still with us, in respect and esteem, and long will the name of GANO be remembered and respected in this Queen City of the West." (The "Old Court House," p. 59.)

David R. Kemper who was born on Sycamore street in Cincinnati in May, 1793, has been frequently referred to as the first born Cincinnati child, but this statement arises from a remark by Mr. Cist, who in 1845 said that he could not find any individual living at that time who was a native of Cincinnati at an earlier date than May 17, 1793, which was Kemper's birthday. Moody was alive at that time.

The minute book of the Cincinnati Pioneer Association contains a record of many births and arrivals in Ohio. Among these appear the names of the following early residents born in Ohio: William Moody, born on Fourth and Main on March 17, 1790; Daniel Gano, born in the house at Front and Lawrence, afterwards styled Major Ruffin's, May 29, 1794; William Maxwell, son of the publisher, born November 9, 1794; Thomas D. Kennedy, born on the northwest corner of Main and Columbia streets August 6, 1795; Fergus Anderson, born on Front street (near Walnut) June 14, 1797; Samuel B. Demoret, born at head of Broadway near Canal crossing, July 8, 1798; Elizabeth Reynolds, daughter of Benjamin Griffith, born in 1797; Sophia B. Williamson, daughter of Samuel Williams, born October 23, 1798; Charles Kilgour Smith, son of Sheriff James Smith, born February 15, 1799; Isabella Anderson, daughter of Griffin Yeatman, born October 12, 1799; John H. Ewing, born October 2, 1801; and the following born in 1802,—Ezekial Walker, Margaret Douglass, Abigail Bernard and Melancthon S. Wade. The following names are those born in the county outside of Cincinnati: 1790,—in the picket fort at North Bend, Daniel G. Howell; 1792,—Columbia, David M. Miller; 1794,—James Sampson and Drusilla C. Williams, daughter of Allen Cullom; 1795,—Stephen Schooly; 1796,—Springfield township, Daniel Camron; 1797,—Eliza Yeatman; 1798,—at North Bend, Dayid Gerard; 1799,—Mill Creek township, Maria Williams, daughter of Peter Mills; Springfield township, Cyrus Brown; 1800,—Francis Burns and Henry S. Earhardt; 1801,—Julia Delaplaine, daughter of William Cullum, five miles below Cincinnati; 1802,—Anderson township, John H. Gerard—Springfield township, Cornelius Sprong—North Bend, Thomas J. Silvers, son of Judge James Silvers—White Water township, Sarah Gerard, daughter of John Gerard and Phoebe M. Wilson, daughter of Benjamin Cutler.

As marriages are usually placed next to births the first ceremonies of the kind that are remembered may as well be mentioned. 'Squire William McMillan married two couples in 1790,—Daniel Shoemaker and Elsy (Alice) Ross and Darius C. Orcutt and Sallie McHenry. A little later Peter Cox was married to Frances McHenry. The death of Cox which took place shortly afterwards at the hands of Indians is described in another chapter.

The same magistrate married Benjamin Orcutt and Ruth Reynolds of Columbia, March 17, 1790, and 'Squire John S. Gano married Joseph Kelley of Cincinnati and Kesiah Blackford of Columbia, on April 22, 1790.

EARLY SETTLERS.

The arrival of Benjamin Van Cleve on January 3, 1790, has already been noted. He did not remain in Cincinnati many years, but removed to Dayton in 1796.

Samuel Dick with his wife and two children came from Washington County in September, 1790, and purchased the lot at the northeast corner of Front and Walnut streets where he built his residence in which he kept tavern. He was one of those who subscribed to the first church and afterwards marched to the relief of Dunlap's Station. He purchased a number of pieces of property and opened a grocery and engaged in the forwarding of supplies to the various forts. He did not remain a permanent resident but removed in 1801 to Butler County.

In October of this year (1790), Ezekiel Sayre came from Stony Hill, New Jersey, with his four sons and two daughters. He finally settled at Reading. One of his daughters, Huldah, married Col. John S. Wallace. She survived until November 29, 1850, being at the time of her death one of the oldest continuous residents in Cincinnati. She retained her faculties to the last and from her have been obtained many of the reminiscences of early days.

A son of Sayre, Maj. Pierson Sayre, who was a soldier of the Revolution, came to Cincinnati some years afterwards and for a time kept the Green Tree Inn. He returned very soon to Butler County from which point he had come, where he lived until 1852.

Another settler of 1790 was Col. John Riddle from New Jersey who became a prominent citizen. He was a blacksmith by trade and shod the horses for the garrison at Fort Washington. He accumulated enough at this trade to purchase from Judge Symmes the section of land near the subsequent site of the Brighton House, at that time two miles northwest of the village. On this, for which he paid 66 cents an acre, he settled in 1793 and lived until his death on June 17, 1847.

The most important arrival of the following year, 1792, was William Henry Harrison who after attempting for a time the study of medicine in Philadelphia had concluded to enter the army and had been appointed ensign in the infantry. He was about 19 years of age and, as he tells us in his autobiography, was not pleasantly received by his fellow officers as he had displaced the son of one of them who desired his appointment.

Among the immigrants of the following year was James Smith who soon formed the partnership with James Findlay already spoken of. Smith held many offices including that of sheriff of the county which he retained until the formation of the State, at which time he was elected to the office by the people and continued in that position for eight years. He was also collector of taxes and of the Federal revenue, private secretary to Governor St. Clair, captain of the first company of light infantry and paymaster in the War of 1812. He was among the foremost of the early settlers as respects character, influence and capacity for business, and possessed in a large degree that public confidence most highly prized by gentlemen, the trust reposed in an honest man. He moved to a farm near Hamilton in 1805 where he died in 1834. (McBride's Pioneer Biography.)

James Findlay, his partner, has been referred to frequently. He also was a man of great prominence in the settlement. He was receiver of the Land Office for many years, major general of the first division of Ohio militia, and a member of Congress from 1825 to 1833.

In April, 1793, David McCash and his family emigrated to Cincinnati, landing at the Stone Landing near Broadway.

"They bought out a settler's right to a log cabin, on Walnut, north of Third street, being the lot north of that on which the Masonic Building has been recently built, and purchased an outlot of four acres for as many dollars, being the ground now including Miles Greenwood's foundry, the Bavarian Brewery, and bounded south by the Miami Canal. and worth now, without including the improvements, three hundred thousand dollars.

"The oldest brother, William, constructed a water-cart, the frame of which was formed of two poles, in the middle of which a crosspiece was fastened; pegs to hold the barrel were driven into the lower part, and the ends served for shafts. This was the first convenience for supplying the city with water for cooking or drinking uses.

"The next step in the progress of vehicles for transportation, in this city, was the construction, by McCash, of a wheeled cart. This was effected by making a pair of wooden wheels, perhaps six inches thick, and two and a half feet in diameter, connected with—not running on—an axle, which was held by large staples in which it rolled, that secured it to the bed and shafts. McCash hauled the first barrel on his car and the first load of goods on his dray or cart, ever transported through the streets of Cincinnati.

"James, the younger brother, from whom I have these facts, recollects, when but five years old, planting the four-acre lot alluded to, in pumpkins, which he dropped into the hills of corn, prepared by the old man, and planted by the elder brother." (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 130.)

Another early trader, who staid but a short time however, was a Virginia tanner named Matthew Hueston, who landed April 17, 1793. His experience in the city was unfortunate. He had brought with him a stock of leather goods part of which he sold in Cincinnati to a man who took away the goods but failed to pay the money. Hueston thereupon went to work in the tannery afterwards owned by Jesse Hunt and later took service under William and Robert McClellan, packhorse masters for Wayne's army. He served for a time as commissary in the army but in 1795 he resigned and took up the business of trader. He formed a partnership with John Sayre, who had charge of the business in Cincinnati and he himself conducted for a time a branch establishment at Greenville so as to be nearer the forts. The business was profitable for a time and quite a fortune was accumulated but Sayre became intemperate and took to gambling and finally sold the stock and ran away, leaving Hueston to pay the debts. This he did in part and then he took employment as a cattle herdsman driving cattle to Detroit. For this service he was paid two and one-half dollars per head. He was successful and shortly returned

to Cincinnati and soon paid off the remaining debts of his firm. He finally bought a tract of land near Hamilton where he settled and lived until the time of his death in 1847.

Another noted arrival of the same year was Col. John Johnson, so many years Indian agent and quite a prolific writer of early history. Many of his articles, contributed to Mr. Cist's "Miscellany" and other periodicals, are of great value.

A citizen whose name appears as frequently as that of any of the early inhabitants was Griffin Yeatman, who arrived June 20, 1793.

The arrival of Francis Menessier, who had been an advocate in France and a member of the French Parliament, took place in the following year. He had been one of those who were compelled to leave France just prior to the Revolution and had joined the Gallipolis settlement. He finally gave up the struggle at that point and came to Cincinnati. Here the lawyer and statesman took up the occupation of a pastry cook and innkeeper at Main and Third streets.

Isaac Anderson who had been a lieutenant under Colonel Laughery and with his expedition had been defeated and captured just below the Great Miami in 1781 came back to Cincinnati as a settler in 1795. He took up his residence at the northeast corner of Front and Walnut streets in a cabin already erected there. Subsequently he built a larger house on the lot in which he kept a tavern known as the Green Tree Hotel. This tavern appears on the well known map of Cincinnati in 1802. About 1809 he was succeeded by Major Sayre and moved to Butler County.

The following year as already stated was the year of the arrival of Judge Burnet and his brother George W. Burnet. This was the most distinguished family in the early history of the city. The death of the brother George is pathetically mentioned by the Judge in his "Notes." Another brother, Isaac G. Burnet, was mayor of the city and editor of *Liberty Hall*. A fourth brother, David G. Burnet, finally went to Texas where he became the first president of the Texan Republic. This too was the year of the arrival of Rev. William Burke.

In addition to Francis Baily, whose visit has already been mentioned, two other distinguished strangers passed through Cincinnati in 1796.

One was the famous French philosopher, Volney, the author of the "View" and "Ruins." He stopped at Yeatman's Tavern while in the city, where his visit excited much curiosity.

Another visitor was Andrew Ellicott, commissioner on behalf of the United States for determining the boundary between this country and Spain. Mr. Ellicott in his journal spoke of Cincinnati as the capital of the Northwest Territory situated on a fine high bank and for the time it had been building a very respectable place. The latitude by means of three good observations he determined to be thirty-nine degrees five minutes and fifty-four seconds north. He was entertained while here by Mr. Sargent and Captain Harrison who commanded at Fort Washington.

In 1798 among the arrivals were John M. Wright, Hugh Moore, Samuel Newell, Ebenezer Pruden, David Kautz and William Legg.

The last of the old century, 1800, contributed an unusual quota of distinguished settlers. Dr. William Goforth came in the early part of the year and his pupil Dr. Daniel Drake towards the end of the year.

Another prominent arrival was Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, pastor of the Presbyterian Church and for many years one of Cincinnati's most distinguished citizens.

Martin Baum, one of the early members of the powerful German constituency which has done so much for Cincinnati, probably arrived this year.

Mr. Cist in his "Miscellany" published the following list of pioneers of Cincinnati which of course was very incomplete. (Although obviously inaccurate in some particulars, it is given without change):

1790—James Ferguson, John Riddle, Mrs. Mary Gano, Christop'r Smith, Mrs. H. Wallace.
1792—Asa Holcomb.
1794—Dan'l. Gano, Jonathan Lyon (?), Griffin Yeatman (?).
1795—Jonah Martin.
1796—Jacob Burnet, Isaac Burton, William Burke, Sam'l. Stitt, Wm. Saunders.
1797—John Mahard.
1798—David Kautz, Wm. Legg, Nich. Longworth (?), Hugh Moore, Samuel Newell, Ebenezer Pruden.
1800—Daniel Drake, Jno. B. Enness, Edward Dodson, Charles Faran, A. Valentine, Stephen Wheeler, John Wood, J. L. Wilson, Caleb Williams.
1801—Robt. Wallace, John Whetstone.
1802—Sam'l. Perry, Wm. Pierson, Ethan Stone.
1804—Ephraim Carter, James Crawford, William Crippen, Henry Craven, Caspar Hopple, Andrew Johnston, Benjamin Mason, Peter McNicoll, Adam Moore, Wm. Moody, Jona. Pancoast, Jos. Perry, Jos. Pancoast, Robt. Richardson, P. S. Symmes, Benj. Smith, P. A. Sprigman, G. P. Torrence. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. I, pp. 255, 271.)

This publication called forth a letter from Thomas Irwin who, referring to the trip already described at length, states that when he was

seventeen years of age he with James Burns landed from Washington County, Pennsylvania at Cincinnati between the 1st and 10th of April, 1789, and continued here until the second week in June. There were but four families here when they landed. Mr. McHenry had a large family, two sons and two daughters; Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Dement and Mr. Ross had small families. "Mr. McMillan, John Vance, David Logan, Mr. Reeves, Hardesty, Van Eaton and McConnell all lived in one shanty being perhaps the first that was ever put up in the place as nearly all of them had been out with the surveyors surveying Symmes' purchase and were there when the town was laid out and all had lots in it." Irwin returned again in 1790 on Harmar's campaign and was also in Cincinnati in 1791. In the winter after Harmar's campaign he recollected Mr. Riddle, Mr. Ferguson, who married a Miss Reeder, and Mrs. Wallace, whose maiden name was Sayre, as being at Cincinnati.

Another list of arrivals is as follows:

1790—Samuel Dick and family, Ezekiel Sayre and family, John Riddle.
1791—W. H. Harrison.
1792—James Ferguson, (?) James Smith, James Findlay, Asa Holcomb, Captain Spencer.
1793—Matthew Hueston, David McCash, John Johnson, William Maxwell, Griffin Yeatman. (?)
1794—Hezekiah Flint, Francis Menessier, Daniel Gano, Jonathan Lyon (?).
1795—Benjamin Perlee, Jonah Martin, Isaac Anderson.
1796—Jacob Burnet, George W. Burnet, Samuel Stitt, J. W. Brown, Rev. William Burke, William Saunders, John Mahard.
1798—John M. Wright, Nicholas Longworth (?) Hugh Moore, Samuel Newell, Ebenezer Pruden, David Kautz, William Legg.
1799—Aaron Lane.
1800—Dr. William Goforth, Dr. Daniel Drake, Joshua L. Wilson, Stephen Wheeler, Mr. Pierson, Charles Cone, John B. Enness, Edward Dodson, Charles Faran, A. Valentine, John Wood, Caleb Williams, Martin Baum.
1801—Robert Wallace, John Whetstone, Robert Parkhalter, Ephraim Morrison, William Austin, C. Avery, Thomas Frazer, Levi McLean, Dr. Homes, Thomas Thompson, Michael Brokaw, James and Robert Caldwell, Aaron Cherry, Daniel Globe, Andrew Westfall, Nehemiah Hunt, Thomas Williams, Benjamin Walker, Edmund Freeman, John C. Winans, James Conn, Uriah Gates, Richard Downes, Lawrence Hildebrand, D. Conner, Larkin Payne, Henry Furry, George Fithian, Lewis Kerr, Joseph Blew, Isaac Anderson, William McCoy, James Wilson, and Andrew Brannon.

Another list of pioneers and times of arrivals of more or less authority is as follows:

1788—Mrs. General Gano.
1798—Mrs. Col. Strong.
1799—Mrs. Dr. Goforth.
1793—P. S. Symmes.
1791—Nehemiah Wade.
1790—William Ludlow.
1792—John Whetstone.
1795—Jonah Martin.
1795—Stephen Schooley.
1796—Jane Wade.
1800—Dr. Daniel Drake.
1800—Samuel Perry.
1801—Robert Wallace.
1801—D. C. Wallace.
1801—Daniel Van Matre.
1803—William Dennison.
1804—Mrs. Squire Merrie.

According to the signed statements in the records of the Cincinnati Pioneer Association, Jesse Coleman arrived in Columbia, December, 1788, with Captain Stites' company; Samuel Hahn, 1789; Ezra and Abram Ferris arrived at Columbia December 12, 1789; Jonathan W. Lyon and Sarah Brown Gillespie arrived in 1790; Samuel Doddridge Kemper, Edward Young Kemper, R. Cunningham, John Covert and Joseph Benham Covert arrived in 1791; John Whetstone arrived at Columbia in 1792; John Johnston and Hester Reilly arrived in 1793; Elijah Peirce and Stephen Howell arrived in 1795; William M. Badgely arrived in 1796; John Loder, Benjamin Loder, G. C. White, Daniel Cost and Isaac L. Malcott arrived in 1797; Samuel Arthurs, Samuel J. Browne, Thomas Corwin and S. R. Strong arrived in 1798; James Orr and Sarah Burdge arrived in 1799; Thomas Armstrong, Zadock Williams, William Moore, Robert Reilly, William Pierson, Stephen Wheeler, Ebenezer Wheeler and William Betts arrived in 1800; Benjamin Stewart, Thomas Autmen, Martha Hubbell and Abraham Larew arrived in 1801; Morton Wheatley, Rebecca Conklin, Robert Cary, William Carey, Bradbury Cilley and Jonathan Spinning arrived in 1802; Nicholas Longworth arrived in 1804; William Perry and J. Craven arrived in 1805; Jonathan Pancoast and Joseph Pancoast arrived in 1806; J. L. Avery arrived in 1807. (Minute Book, Cincinnati Pioneer Association.)

The following list includes the names of many of the pioneers who were the invited guests of the city at the semi-centennial celebration on December 26, 1838. The original signatures taken by John D. Jones were deposited in the archives of the city:

Signatures.	When arrived in the West.	Where Born	Age.
James Taylor,	May 1, 1792	Caroline Co., Va.	70
Clark Bates,	April 1, 1793	Massachusetts	67
Isaac Dunn,	Dec. 23, 1788	New Jersey	57
Ezra Ferris,	Dec. 12, 1789	Greenwich, Conn.	55

J. Bartle,	Dec.,	1789	New York City	94
Jacob Williams,	April,	1798	New Jersey	61
Israel Donaldson,	Nov.,	1787	New Jersey	67
Peter McNicoll,	May,	1804	Highlands of Scotland	68
Reuben Reeder,	March,	1791	Virginia	54
Hezekiah Flint,		1788	Massachusetts	68
Charles Coue,	May,	1800	Connecticut	64
John Mahard,	June,	1797	Ireland	68
Stephen Wheeler,	October,	1800	New Jersey	47
J. L. Wilson (Rev.)	Oct.,	1781	Virginia	64
T. Henderson (Judge)	June,	1806	London	70
John Matson,	April,	1798	Pennsylvania	68
David Griffin,	Dec., 25,	1793	Pennsylvania	50
Aaron Valentine,	Nov.,	1797	Ohio	41
Wm. Burke (P. M.)	Jan. 13,	1793	Virginia	68
Adjel McGuire,	April,	1785	Pennsylvania	60
James Lyon, Sen.,	October,	1790	New York	85
John Riddle, Sen.,		1790	New Jersey	77
Robert Wallace,		1801	Delaware	49
Asa Holcomb,			Virginia	60
John Whetstone,	Dec.,	1792	Pennsylvania	50
Aaron Gano,		1798	Ohio	40
Daniel Gano,		1794	Ohio	44
Thomas Stansberry,			Maryland	60
Alexander Gibson,			Pennsylvania	55
David Kacety,		1798	Maryland	57
Elmore Williams,	April,	1794	New Jersey	60
Edward Dodson,	Dec.,	1795	Maryland	55
Henry Craven,		1805	New Jersey	52
Daniel Drake (Orator)	Ky., Cincin.,	1788 1800	New Jersey	53
Charles Hammond,	April,	1787	Maryland	60
J. Burnet, (Judge)	July,	1796	Newark, N. J.	69
Wm. H. Harrison,	Nov.,	1791	Virginia	66

The most casual inspection will show that there are many points of disagreement in these lists; it is obviously impossible to reconcile them or at this late date to decide between them. They are therefore given as they have been handed down.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CINCINNATI VILLAGE (1790-1802)—II.

The Pioneer Churches—The Early Schools—Amusements—Early Physicians—The Courts—Early Lawyers—Artists—The Post Office—The Water Supply—Fire Protection—Commerce—Prices of Land—Bridges—Holiday Celebrations—Society.

THE PIONEER CHURCHES.

Despite the fact that among the first settlers there seem to have been men of strong religious feeling and that throughout its history Cincinnati has occupied an important position in the religious history of the country, it can hardly be said that the religious enthusiasm of the early days was of a marked character. The Ordinance of 1787 which was the fundamental law of the Territory recited that religion, morality and knowledge were necessary to good government and happiness and therefore that schools and the means of education should be encouraged. Curiously enough, churches are omitted from this statement; however in the original plat of the city an entire quarter of a square was dedicated for church uses. The most important use however to which the lot was first put was that of a cemetery. The establishment of the first church of Hamilton County, the Baptist Church at Columbia, has already been described and reference has been made to the organization of the first Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati. The latter settlement was first visited in the fall of 1790 by Rev. James Kemper who was the pioneer in the cause of religion in Cincinnati.

James Kemper was born at Cedar Grove, Warrenton, Fauquier (then Prince William) County, Virginia, November 23, 1753, the son of John Peter Kemper and his wife Elizabeth Fishback. The manor house in which he was born is still the residence of a descendant of his father. According to his own statement he was born, baptized, raised and happily married in the Episcopal Church. He was married on July 16, 1772, to Judith Hathaway, the daughter of a distinguished jurist and soldier of the Revolution. He began his married life on a farm near that of his father, but soon added to the vocation of farmer that of school teacher.

One inclement day, we are told, when farm work could not be done and scholars were not in attendance, he took the opportunity to read and ponder over certain books that came accidentally into his hands including the "Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism and Confession of Faith," together with the "Form of Government of the Presbyterian Church," and from that moment he became a Presbyterian and in that church his 15 children were baptized.

Finding that farming and school teaching were not profitable, he took up the vocation of civil engineering and became deputy county surveyor and was afterwards appointed a government surveyor. As such he was sent to Tennessee in 1783. In 1785 he started with his wife and six children on horseback for Kentucky having been induced by Rev. David Rice to undertake the vocation of a minister. He was convoyed at the time by a mounted escort of forty men and after a trip of eighteen days he arrived at the forks of Dyck's River near Danville, which was then the residence of Rev. Mr. Rice. On the day after the arrival, his seventh child was born.

By reason of a misapprehension of the laws relating to the payments for government land he was soon in financial straits but finally accepted the use of a twenty-acre strip of land whose rent counted to him as salary. Here he began reading divinity, teaching school, catechising the churches and overseeing the farm, and his wife by her spinning and weaving supplied the livelihood for the family.

In May, 1785, he became the teacher in a school then established by Mr. Rice which was the first grammar school in Kentucky. This was in a log cabin whose remains were still visible as late as 1884.

In 1789 he was licensed by the Presbytery to preach "under the direction of Mr. Rice while he continues in the study of divinity." Under this authority he visited Cincinnati in November and December of 1790. On April 27, 1791, his examinations were completed and he was licensed and appointed "to supply in the churches of the Miami at discretion." This was the first appointment of the kind for any place north of the Ohio and he was the first preacher under any denomination regularly empowered to act in the settlement.

He visited Cincinnati again in June, 1791, and then agreed to return for a year. An armed escort including Daniel Doty of Columbia and a man named French set out from Cincinnati to convoy Kemper and his family from Dyck's River. They traveled through the deep woods along a trace where two men had been killed by the Indians but a week before.

Kemper and his family reached Cincinnati October 25 or 26, 1791, about nine days before St. Clair's defeat. Almost immediately afterwards came the fearful panic of this defeat and the newly arrived clergyman was most prominent in his efforts to give succor to the sick, wounded and weary, and encouragement to the frightened populace. At the stated session of the Presbytery, April 2, 1792, it was ordered "that Mr. Kemper supply one Sabbath at the North Bend of the Miami, and that he supply the rest of his time at Columbia, Cincinnati, and Round Bottom. That Mr. Rice supply at the Miami settlement two Sabbaths."

After his first year's service in this capacity, on October 2, 1792, a formal call was extended to Rev. Mr. Kemper by the united congregations of Cincinnati and Columbia, and on October 22nd and 23rd he was ordained as pastor of the church at those two points by Revs. David Rice, James Connel and Terah Templin, who constituted the Presbytery of Transylvania, and had been escorted by an armed convoy from Danville to Cincinnati by way of Limestone.

Kemper's personal appearance is described by his grandson, as follows: "When he came to Cincinnati, he measured five feet nine inches, weighed one hundred and sixty pounds, and was full of health, strength and endurance. He wore knee breeches, silver knee and shoe buckles, three high collars to his coat, a queue, a voluminous neckcloth, and was a careful dresser. He was unsurpassed as a horseman. He was winning in his manners and slow to speak. His eye was dark, commanding and attractive. His countenance was open, serious, preoccupied and expectant. His personal appearance attracted attention. He was not pretentious, brilliant nor profound, but plain, simple, unassuming, ready and reliable, and endued with an exquisite common sense. He shrank from personal controversy yet never chose the line of least resistance for its own sake. In his family he was quiet, gentle, reserved, and obeyed. In his habits he was regular, abstemious, temperate, and a total abstainer from spirits and tobacco. He was hopeful and cheerful, never cast down." (Rev. James Kemper by Dr. A. C. Kemper.)

Kemper wrote of the church at Cincinnati as being still unorganized because they thought the number of male members too small to select a promising session and that the church consisted of six males and two females in Columbia and Cincinnati. The date of the informal organization is variously stated as October 16, 1790, and August 20, 1791. Eight persons constituted the first society—Joseph Reeder, Annie Reeder, Jacob Reeder, Samuel Sering, Sarah Sering, David Kitchel, Jonathan Ticknor, and Isaac Morris. On September 5, 1793, the number had increased to 19 adult male members from whom were selected five ruling elders and two deacons. At the time of Kemper's arrival October 17, 1791, it had been agreed that the organization should attempt to raise seven hundred dollars which should be used in building a meeting house on the corner of Fourth and Main streets from the timber upon the lot. A subscription paper was started on January 17, 1792, as follows:

"We, the subscribers, for the purpose of erecting a house of public worship in the village of Cincinnati, to the use of the Presbyterian denomination, do severally bind ourselves and ex-

ecutors, firmly, and by these presents, the several sums of money and commutations in labor respectively annexed to our names, to be paid to John Ludlow, Jacob Reeder, James Lyon, Moses Miller, John Thorpe, and William McMillan, or either of them their heirs or administrators, trustees appointed for the business of superintending the building aforesaid, payments to be made as follows: One-third part of our several subscriptions to be paid so soon as the timbers requisite for the aforesaid building may be collected on the ground where the said house is to be built. Another third when the said house is framed and raised. And the other third part when the aforesaid house may be under cover and weather-boarded. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names, on the day affixed to our names."

The following list of subscribers is interesting as it seems to constitute almost a directory of the inhabitants:

John Ludlow,
Jacob Reeder,
James Lyon,
Moses Miller,
John Thorpe,
William McMillan,
John P. Smith,
David E. Wade,
James Brady,
Joel Williams,
Levi Woodward,
William Woodward,
Jeremiah Ludlow,
James Demint,
Richard Benham,
John Cutter,
Joseph Lloyd,
Nehemiah Hunt,
Cornelius Miller,
Abr. Boston,
Gabriel Cox,
Samuel Pierson,
Daniel Bates,
Benjamin Fitzgerald,
James Kemper,
Isaac Bates,
John Adams,
William Miner,
James Miller,
Seth Cutter,
S. Miller,
John Lyon,
James McKane,
Benjamin Valentine,
Asa Peck,
Robert Hurd,
Samuel Dick,
Robert Benham,
Joseph Shaw,
Isaac Felty,
James Wallace,
James Bury,
Thomas Gibson,
Henry Taylor,
Elias Wallen,
Thomas Cochran,
James Richards,
John Bartle,
J. Mercer,
H. Wilson,
William Miller,
James Reynolds,
Thomas Brown,
Matthew Deasy,
Ensign William H. Harrison,
Margaret Rusk,
Samuel Martin,
Moses Jones,
J. Gilbreath,
Winthrop Sargent,
Captain Mahlon Ford,
M. McDonogh,
Matthias Burns,
Jabez Wilson,
James Lowry,
Alexander McCoy,
David Hole,
James Cunningham,
Major Joseph Shaylor,
Captain William Peters,
H. Marks,
Ezekiel Sayre,
W. Elwes,
Daniel Hole,
James McKnight,
John Darragh,
Daniel C. Cooper,
Francis Kennedy,
General James Wilkinson,
Dr. Richard Allison,
Ensign John Wade,
Robert Caldwell,
Jonathan Davies,
Thomas Ellis,
Daniel Shoemaker,
John Blanchard,
Benjamin Jennings,
John Gaston,
Jonas Seaman,
Reuben Roe,
John Cummins,
Elliott & Williams,
Thomas McGrath,
Samuel Kitchell,
Samuel Williams,
David Logan,
David Long,
Joseph Spencer,
James Blackburn,
J. Mentzies,
James Kremer,
W. H. Mills,
Matthew Winton,
Samuel Gilman,
John Dixon.

The highest subscription is said to have been eight dollars, most of them were two or three dollars. Those who could not give money contributed materials or labor. The building has already been described in this chapter.

Previous to the erection of this building, meetings had been held at private houses and at the horse-mill on Vine below Third at the foot of the hill. John Smith, the Baptist preacher from Columbia (afterwards Senator), had preached a number of times to the settlement. The ground itself had already been used as a graveyard. The title to the land remained in the government until the time of the patent to Symmes who afterwards on December 28, 1797, conveyed the lots to Moses Miller, John Thorpe, John Ludlow, James Lyon, William McMillan, David E. Wade and Jacob Reeder, trustees for the Presbyterian congregation of Cincinnati. This title was afterwards assailed but was confirmed almost a half century afterwards by the Supreme Court. In the very month after the completion of the building it was used as a court house and here in October, 1792, John or James Mays was tried for murder and sentenced to hang, the first to undergo that sentence in the settlement.

Another important event of somewhat dissimilar character was the installation of Mr. Kemper as pastor on October 23rd. At the same time the Presbytery of Transylvania held its annual meeting in Cincinnati, the first meeting of an ecclesiastical body in the town.

On June 11, 1794, another subscription paper was circulated "to finish the meeting house, to pale the door-yard and fence in the burying-ground." The list of subscribers to this paper is also preserved and is valuable as giving the names of many of the early citizens of the town:

Moses Miller	$ 8.00
Jacob Reeder	8.00
James Lyon	5.00
James Kemper	8.00

John Lyon	2.00
Ezra Fitz Freeman	2.00
David E. Wade	10.00
John Brown	10.00
Nathaniel Stokes	2.00
Elliott & Williams	8.00
Thomas Irwin	1.00
Joseph Briee	3.00
C. Avery	1.00
Jacob Lowe	1.00
Edward Kelly	1.00
John Galbraith	1.00
Andrew Paul	1.00
M. Winton	3.00
John Adams	3.00
Robert McClure	3.00
William Maxwell	3.00
Robertson & Mackay	3.00
O. Ormsby	2.00
John Riddle	4.00
Job Gard	3.00
Stephen Reeder	6.00
William Reddeck	1.00
Thomas Denny	2.50
Robert Mitchell	2.00
William Harris	4.00
Christopher Dickson	4.00
Matthias Person	1.00
Frederick Coons	1.00
J. Gibson	1.00
Robert McCray	2.00
A. Hunt & Co.	20.00
Samuel James	5.00
James Ward	1.00
James Garrison	1.00
Duncan Steward	1.00
Thomas Underlevy	1.00
Alexander Darlington	1.00
Martin Baum	1.00
Enos Terry	2.00
A. J. Caldwell	1.00
Mrs. Willcocks	1.00
Peter Kemper	2.00
Thomas Goudy	4.00
G. Yeatman	2.00
Ezekiel Sayre	3.00
Samuel Robinson	3.00
Luther Kitchell	5.00
Stophel Oldrid	1.00
William Irvin	1.00
Nehemiah Hunt	1.00
John Dixon	3.00
James Brunton	2.00
William Miller	2.00
D. C. Orcutt	2.00
Nathan Barnes	1.00
Evan James	1.00
Joel Williams	3.00
Ziba Stebbins	3.00
John McCay	1.00
John Miller	1.00
William Darragh	1.00
Michael Fox	1.00
James Ferguson	5.00
Miss Henderson	2.00
Thomas Kebby	2.00
Patrick Dickey	2.00
Samuel Creigh	10.00
William Irwin	1.00
Azarias Thorn	1.00
James Gillespie	1.00
John Welsh	1.00
Samuel Freeman	1.00
Moses Bradley	1.00
George Gillespie	1.00
Caleb Mulford	1.00
John Miller	1.00
Ham. Flaugher	1.00
David Logan	1.00
Joseph McKnight	2.00
Noadial Albord	7s. 6d
J. Strickland	7s. 6d
James McKee	7s. 6d
Nathan Moody	3.00
Samuel Kitchell	4.00
Samuel Foster	2.00
McElwee & Duffy	3.00
Isaac Felty	3.00
Cornelius Van Nuys	3.00
William Woodward	2.00
Moses Jones	2.00
Elijah Craig	5.00
Timothy Scanan	1.00
Adam Galliger	1.00
Alexander Lewis	2.00
Benjamin Davis	1.00
John True	1.00
Ferd. Brokaw	1.00
Israel Ludlow	10.00
T. Hole	8.00
William Cummins	3.00
Robert Kepe	3.00
Thomas Kennedy	6.00
Joseph Kennedy	3.00
Samuel Kennedy	3.00
Samuel Dick	3.00
John Hamilton	3.00
Russell Farmer	2.00
Abel Sprague	2.00
Kennedy Morton	1.00
James Campbell	1.00
Francis Kennedy	1.00
Levi Sayre	2.00
William M. Bothero	1.00
Abraham Parker	2.00
George Dougherty	1.00
William Bedell	4.00
James Bedell	4.00
Philip Cook	1.00
Leonard Teeple	2.00
Benjamin Jenning	7s.6d
James Brady	7s.6d
Starking Stafford	1.00
Thomas Williams	1.00

Enos Potter	3.00
Thomas Cochran	4.00
A. Andrew	1.00
Thomas Gibson	8.00
Love Marcelof	3.00
William McMillan	8.00
Thomas Fream	2.00
Samuel Williams	3.00
James Lowry	2.00
John McKane	1.00
Matthias Ross	4.00
Daniel McCarry	1.00
Allyn Baker	5.00
John DeHass	1.00
John McKane	3.00
Reuben Kemper	2.00
William McLain	1.00
James McLain	1.00
Elijah Davis	1.00
Jonathan Davis	2.00
Daniel Hole	1.00
Richard Hoells	2.00
Daniel Ferrel	2.00
John Mercer	1.00
David Bay	2.00
David Reeder	3.00
Jedediah Tingle	2.00
Jabesh Phillips	2.00
Isaac Bates	3.00
Simeon Nott	1.00
Samuel Pierson	1.00
Total	$430.00

Among these subscribers are a number of the officers and soldiers of the garrison.

As a result of this subscription the entire four lots including the church, school and graveyard donations were enclosed with a post and rail fence.

In February, 1795, the distribution of pews took place but the church was not entirely completed until 1799, from which time until 1814 it occupied the ground on which it was erected and it then was sold and moved, as stated before, to Judge Burnet's lot on Vine street at the site of the present Emery Arcade.

Shortly after the building was ready for occupancy, Rev. Mr. Kemper is said to have built at his own expense a school house on the lot. It subsequently after the abandonment of Fort Washington was removed to Arch street. In this school Kemper's son Caleb was teaching in 1798. Kemper remained as pastor of the church until October 7, 1796, from which time Rev. Peter Wilson took charge of the church for two years from the middle of 1797 until the time of his death July 29, 1799. He was succeeded by Rev. Matthew G. Wallace, who preached in the church some six or seven months and was finally installed October 7, 1800. He remained in the church until April, 1804.

In the language of Rev. Dudley Ward Rhodes "Methodism came riding into Cincinnati on horseback in the person of Rev. John Kobler in 1798." Kobler was presiding elder of a Kentucky district and was sent as a missionary to the Northwest Territory. In an account long afterwards written by himself, he states: "I rode down the Miami River thirty-six miles to explore this region of country. I found settlements very sparse indeed, only now and then a solitary family. About four o'clock in the afternoon I came to an old garrison called Fort Washington, situated on the bank of the big river, which bore very much the appearance of a declining, time-stricken, God-forsaken place. Here are a few log buildings extra of the fortress, and a few families residing together, with a small printing office just put in operation, and a small store opened by a gentleman named Snodgrass. This, I was told, was the great place of rendezvous of olden time for the Federal troops when going to war with the Indians. Here, alas, General St. Clair made his last encampment with his troops before he met his lamentable defeat; here I wished very much to preach, but could find no opening or reception of any kind whatever. I left the old garrison to pursue my enterprise, with a full intention to visit it again, and make another effort with them on my next round; but this I did not do for the following reasons, namely: When I had gone a second round on my appointment, and further explored the settlements and circumstances of the country, there were some places where the opening prospects appeared much more promising than what I had seen in Fort Washington; and I was eager to take every advantage of time and things, by collecting what first was already apparent, by forming societies and building up those already formed; so that in a few rounds, I had nearly lost sight of old Fort Washington, and finally concluded that it would be most proper for me, under the existing circumstances, at least for the present, to omit it altogether."

Kobler was described as tall, well proportioned with long black hair coming down over the cape of his coat. He was always neatly dressed in a garb of decided clerical cut. He never smiled but often wept. He was a man of considerable intellectuality, great sweetness of disposition and remarkable devotion. Both his

preaching and his prayers were very impressive, beginning in a very deliberate manner and finally rising to considerable eloquence.

In the following year another circuit rider came in the person of Lewis Hunt, whose labors took him throughout the whole of the southern part of the State. Associated with him was Rev. H. Smith and also Rev. Elisha Bowman, both of whom preached at the fort on several occasions.

Rev. Francis McCormick, called the founder of Methodism, preached in Columbia in 1801 and organized a society there. A Methodist class had been organized at the fort before the end of the century.

These churches, the Presbyterian and Methodist of Cincinnati, and the Baptist Church at Columbia, seemed to form the religious life of the community during the territorial days.

THE EARLY SCHOOLS.

The education of the children naturally demanded attention from the earliest days of the settlement, although there is no positive record of the fact. Tradition relates that teaching began almost immediately after the settlers had established themselves. This of course was in the homes of the pupils and the teachers were the parents themselves. Some mother would take from her household duties a little time each day to instruct her own children (and those of the neighbors who would come in) in the rudiments of knowledge.

The school established by John Reily at Columbia opened its doors to pupils June 21, 1790. Judge Dunlevy then a young man joined in the enterprise a year later and in November, 1792, the institution developed into an academy under the patronage of Judge William Goforth, Rev. John Smith, Maj. John S. Gano and Mr. Dunlevy himself. This has been referred to in an earlier chapter.

William D. Ludlow, writing in 1856, says that the first school house stood on the river bank opposite Main and Sycamore streets. It was placed here in order that the scholars should not be exposed to the Indians. The first teacher he says was an Irishman named Lloyd.

Again, we are told that in the year 1792 the first school was erected in Cincinnati and was attended by about thirty pupils. It is supposed that this school was held in a log cabin erected in the immediate proximity of Fort Washington at about Third and Lawrence. The name of the teacher unfortunately does not seem to have been preserved. It is probable that this is the school referred to by Ludlow.

At a little later time a better structure of frame was built in the southwest corner on the public square near Fourth and Walnut streets. At the time of Judge Burnet's arrival in 1795 he says that this frame school house, which stood on the north side of Fourth street opposite where St. Paul's Church afterwards stood (St. Paul Building), was enclosed but unfinished.

The Presbyterian Church itself was used for a time for a school house and subsequently we are told that Kemper built a school house on the church lot which was afterwards, after the destruction of Fort Washington, removed to Arch street.

The *Centinel* in the issue of December 27, 1794, contains the announcement by Stuart Richey of his intention of opening a school in the house lately occupied by David Williams nearly opposite James Ferguson's store where he proposes teaching the rudiments of education. His advertisement which is printed in another chapter gives in detail the branches taught which are entirely mathematical. This school therefore was at Third and Sycamore. Mr. Richey about a year later announces the opening of his school for December 16th and limits the number of pupils to thirty. This circumstance and the location of the school suggests the possibility that the school supposed to have been established in 1792 at Third and Lawrence and that of Mr. Richey were identical.

Jonathan Lyon, who came to Cincinnati in 1791, attended school in a cabin near Riddle's blacksmith shop which it will be remembered was on the Public Landing near Sycamore street. This was probably the same school described by Ludlow. Lyon's teacher was Kennedy Morton, who was a great believer in the use of the rod. He frequently whipped grown young men and women with a long hickory gad until they would fairly jump off the floor.

Francis Menessier advertised in the *Western Spy* September 10, 1799, that at his coffee house at the foot of the hill on Main street at the sign of "Pegasus the bad poet fallen to the ground" he taught the French language and that his school was to begin on the following Monday with teaching every evening with the exception of Saturdays and and Sundays.

James White was another pioneer school teacher who in October, 1799, announced the removal of his English school to a place next door

to Thomas Williams, skin dresser. He also announced an evening school to be held four evenings in each week for three months at which the terms were two dollars for each scholar and the scholars to find fire-wood and candles.

In the same paper for December 8, 1799, R. Haughton advertised a dancing school where he taught the minuet, cotillion and country dances as well as the Scotch reels. His advertisement is quoted elsewhere in its entirety.

The suspicion forces itself on the mind of the reader of the present day that Mr. Haughton failed to pay for his advertisement for a few months later the editor of the *Spy* felt called upon to indulge in the following tirade against dancing:

"It is melancholy to observe the prevailing rage for dancing schools, the nurseries of dalliance, frippery and folly. The most important and solemn considerations are daily sacrificed to those pernicious idols. Nothing is capable of stemming the current which prostrates reason and common sense. It must be allowed that some external advantages result from dancing schools, and I know it will be contended that a graceful deportment, ease and 'suaviter in modo' entirely depend on these institutions. No man of sense will doubt such propositions unqualified; and they are only true in part. But let us reverse the song. Young misses are sent to a dancing school previous to their having progressed in reading or writing. The case is strikingly in point, for innumerable instances of the kind pass daily under my immediate inspection. Great heavens! What is the consequence? Everlasting ignorance. Parents, does the idea affect your hearts? The truth of it is indubitable. Not many persons will personally apply the case. 'My daughter,' exclaims a fond mother, 'is far removed from the alluded-to-predicament. She is advanced in her education, and therefore may, without the smallest impropriety, obtain the last polish.' Such reasoning is certainly vague and inconclusive. If the loss of time were the only loss sustained, it would not be of such serious importance. A culpable volatility presides there, tainting the virtuous plant which so much demands assiduous culture. A certain degrading lightness of carriage is the natural inherent gift of the place. *Idleness* is another *precious* boon bestowed on the victims under the domination of a dancing master, not indeed as regards dancing, but as it relates to every essential vocation in life.

"Let me ask if the most distant affinity can exist between a combined incantation of music, fanatical gambols, etc., and the stating of a question in arithmetic? The latter requires cool, collected thought and collected mind and a regular habit of mind; the former is directly calculated to eradicate solid thought, expel sober reflections and introduce a crude chaos of fluttering ideas tending to no particular point. Thus a thirst for knowledge is expelled, and every trifling idea is substituted in lieu thereof. In fact, volatility of mind, hatred for study or sober reflections, are the inseparable companions of dancing schools, and the miseries resulting therefrom are virtually incalculable."

Not only was the gentle art of tripping the light fantastic provided for in the settlement but on December 27, 1800, there was a notice calling for those disposed to patronize the singing school to assemble at the Court House in the evening at candle light and to bring their books.

In 1801, Levi McLean, the butcher and a man of many offices, also taught singing at the rate of one dollar a member for thirteen nights and two dollars a quarter; subscribers to find their own wood and candles. McLean, who was subsequently a candidate for constable, instituted in 1802 the habit of delivering an address to the citizens, asking for their vote.

In the early part of 1800 the paper contained a notice that a good schoolmaster was wanted on the Great Miami and that one with a family was preferred.

Another frequent advertisement was that of "Rev. Robert Stubbes, Philomath," an Englishman who kept the Newport Academy two miles from the Ohio opposite Cincinnati in Campbell County, Kentucky. Here he taught "English grammar, Latin, Greek and arithmetic—all the most useful and some of the ornamental branches of mathematics" and "should any feel inclined he will also teach the use of the globes at stated periods in Cincinnati."

AMUSEMENTS.

Naturally the singing schools and dancing schools were patronized more for the sake of amusement than for any more serious reason. In the rigorous life of the frontier, entertainment was not always at hand and the residents of both the fort and village were obliged to devise such amusements as they could.

We learn that at Fort Washington there was a band and its effectiveness was added to in a way to remind one of Berlioz' "Requiem" for on

July 4, 1799, we are told that "Captain Miller furnished a piece of artillery which, with Captain Smith's company of militia, accompanied by martial music, made the woods resound to the toasts that were made." A couple of years later a band on Independence Day played "The President's March, French Grenadiers' March, George Washington's March, Yankee Doodle, Guardian Angels, Rural Felicity, Soldier's Joy, Reveille, Anacreon in Heaven, Madam You Know My Trade Is War, Fair American, Love in a Village, Goodnight be wi' you a', Flowers of Edinburgh."

Klauprecht tells us that at the entertainments "a band of music accompanied them with the harmonies of Gluck and Haydn, and the reports of the champagne bottles transported the guests from the wilds of the Northwestern Territory into the Lucullian feasts of the European aristocracy."

There were other sources of amusement as well. We know that at the artificers' yard there were a number of theatrical entertainments given by amateurs and the advertisement of the Cincinnati races is quoted elsewhere.

The very day of the town meeting to consider the propriety of its incorporation, September 30, 1801, there appears in the *Spy* a reference to the Cincinnati Theatre as follows: "Subscribers will receive their tickets of admission by applying to Mr. Kilgore. Subscriptions not yet paid will be received by Mr. Seamons. Tickets cannot be granted to subscribers who have not paid. The Managers regret that they have not had it in their power to present the subscription list as generally as they wished. Such ladies and gentlemen, therefore, as are desirous of subscribing are requested to send their names to Mr. Seamons."

The advertisement of December 12th, quoted elsewhere, indicated how soon the impresario fell into difficulties. We do know that there were enacted just before Christmas "The Poor Soldier" and "Peeping Tom of Coventry."

EARLY PHYSICIANS.

No profession in the early history of the city was better represented than that of medicine and none has had so faithful a portrayer as this. Dr. Drake in his "Discourses on Early Physicians, Scenery and Society of Cincinnati" has given us a picture of the profession and the times which is unrivaled in the literature of municipal history. Any one who writes to-day on the subject can do little more than paraphrase this address.

The pioneers of the profession were the surgeons of the army who not only gave gratuitous attendance on the people of the village, but furnished medicines from the army hospital chests at a time when they could be obtained in no other way. The first of these was Dr. Richard Allison, who remained after the army left, and became a prominent citizen. He was born in New York State in 1757. He never graduated in medicine, but in 1776 he entered the army of the Revolution as a surgeon's mate and continued in this position throughout the war. At its conclusion he practiced for some years, but reentered the service for the campaigns in the West and was surgeon-general under Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne. His experience at St. Clair's defeat has been mentioned. During the summer of 1792 he was stationed at Fort Finney, the second of that name, located on the site of Jeffersonville. After Wayne's victory he resigned from the army and settled in Cincinnati. In 1799 his taste for agricultural pursuits induced him to move to a farm on the east fork of the Little Miami. He returned to the city in 1805 and resumed his practice, residing on the southeast corner of Fourth and Sycamore streets, until the time of his death, on March 22, 1816. Dr. Drake says of him that "though not profound in science, he was sagacious, unassuming, amiable and kind. As he was the first physician of Cincinnati, resided in or near by it twenty-seven years, and was the first who died within its limits, he may be called the Father of our Profession."

Another army surgeon mentioned by Drake was Dr. Adams, who came from Massachusetts, to which he returned. Practically nothing else is known about him.

Of Dr. John Carmichael, who was among those who received their discharge from the army in 1802, but little is known. He subsequently settled in Mississippi Territory, and acquired great wealth as a cotton planter and died there at an advanced age.

Dr. Joseph Phillips was a native of Lawrenceville, New Jersey, who came out with Wayne's army and after the treaty of peace returned to his birthplace, where he lived respected as a physician and citizen to be more than 80 years of age.

Dr. John Elliott came out from New York with St. Clair and was stationed at the fort

several times. He left the service with his regiment in 1802 and subsequently resided in Dayton until 1809. Dr. Drake says that he saw him in 1804, "a highly accomplished gentleman, with a purple silk coat, which contrasted strangely with the surrounding thickets of brush and hazel bushes."

Another of Wayne's surgeons was Dr. Joseph Strong, who was at the battle of Fallen Timbers and also attended the Greenville treaty. He was a graduate of Yale from Connecticut but not a graduate in medicine. He returned to Philadelphia in 1795 where he acquired a respectable practice and died in April, 1812, at the age of 43 years. His daughter married Colonel Bond, long a resident of Cincinnati.

Included in the list of army surgeons is the name of William Henry Harrison, who studied medicine in Virginia, attended a course of lectures in the University of Pennsylvania and was prosecuting his studies in Philadelphia when under the impulse of military taste he entered the army as an officer of the line instead of the medical staff. His professional knowledge enabled him frequently to give assistance when a physician could not be had. His sympathy with the medical profession was shown throughout his life, especially twenty-five years afterwards when as a member of the Senate of Ohio he spoke vigorously in behalf of the bill for establishing the Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum of Ohio. He acted for a time as one of the trustees for the Medical College of Ohio.

Dr. John Selman was born in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1764. He entered the army as surgeon's mate and came to Cincinnati with Wayne in 1793. At the end of the Indian war in 1794, he resigned and took up his residence on Front street between Sycamore and Broadway. Here he practiced his profession until his death at the age of 63 in 1827. At the time of the establishment of the arsenal and barracks in Newport, Dr. Selman was employed for many years as citizen surgeon. None of the army surgeons mentioned were graduates in medicine.

The same is true of Dr. William Burnet, Jr., who is regarded as the first citizen physician, apart from the army surgeons who settled in Cincinnati. He was a brother of Jacob Burnet but he arrived in Losantiville in 1789 bringing with him a few books and medicines. There was not much opportunity for the practice of his profession and he spent a part of his time at North Bend with John Cleves Symmes. In the spring of 1791 he revisited his native State with the intention of returning here for permanent residence. While there he obtained from the Grand Masonic Lodge of New Jersey a warrant under which the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge, No. 2, of this city was constituted and was appointed its first master. The death of his father who had been surgeon of the army kept him East and he never returned to the city. His medical books were left here, the first ever brought to the city.

Dr. Calvin Morrell was appointed an officer of the projected lodge at the same time. The exact date of his arrival in the city is not known, although he was present at the organization of the lodge, December 27, 1794. Shortly afterwards he moved some thirty miles up into the country and became associated with the Shakers of the Union village near Lebanon, where he died.

Dr. John Hole is said by Dr. Drake to have arrived in 1790 or 1791. He participated in the drawing of donation lots in May, 1789, where he drew lot 227, the northeast corner of Front and Race streets. He appears as a purchaser of a number of lots in the list of lots sold by the proprietors of the town of Losantiville. He is said not to have been a man of much education or social rank and before the end of the Indian war, in 1794, he left the town. He practiced inoculation for smallpox both in Cincinnati and at Columbia in the winter of 1792-93.

One other doctor practiced here whose name Drake does not give "for the honor of the profession." He was frightened away by an alarm of Indians.

Dr. Robert McClure came here from Brownsville, Pennsylvania, in 1792. He resided on Sycamore between Third and Fourth streets. In 1801 he moved into the country and subsequently returned to his native place. Drake said that he did not seem to be a man of great education but that he did a respectable business for the reason that his wife was a lady of such excellent kindness of heart that she greatly commended him to the people "a biographical fact, which it may be well for the younger members of our Association to treasure up. * * * Our aged people relate that in those days it was customary with the officers of the army to drink bitters in the morning—those of Dr. Stoughton of London being preferred; but as importations were sometimes suspended, Dr. McClure made a tincture, and putting it up in small vials, labeled them—'Best Stoughton's

Bitters, Prepared in Cincinnati by Dr. Robert McClure.'" Dr. Drake probably does the worthy McClure injustice as his advertisement quoted in another chapter is to the effect that his bitters are made agreeable to the London dispensatory and are equal if not superior to any made by Stoughton.

Dr. John Cranmer arrived in Cincinnati in 1798. He had been employed about the office of a distinguished physician of Pittsburg, Dr. Bedford, and "acquired some knowledge of the symptoms of disease and the properties and doses of medicines, the latter of which he kept in a table drawer at his residence between Main and Walnut streets on the north side of Second" street. He was not a man of education but he attained a position of considerable personal and professional respectability. He advanced in reputation up to the time of his death from cholera in 1832.

Dr. William Goforth was the most renowned of the early and regular practitioners in the early days of the settlement, after his arrival in the spring of 1800. He was no less renowned from the fact that he was the tutor of the leader of the profession,—Daniel Drake.

Goforth was born in New York in 1766 and received his training under Drs. Young and McKnight. In 1787 he with other students were dispersed by a mob raised against the cultivators of anatomy. He was a brother-in-law of Gen. John S. Gano and thereupon decided to accompany him West. He arrived at Limestone on June 10, 1788, and for a time settled at Washington where he had the chief business of the county for eleven years. He was a man fond of change as his subsequent life showed and in 1799 he moved to Columbia, where his father, Judge Goforth, then resided. The following year (1800) he came to Cincinnati and occupied Dr. Allison's Peach Grove house. He soon obtained an extensive practice by reason of his high reputation, his influential family connections and the fact that he was Dr. Allison's successor. He was a man of very winning manners and great courtesy; he dressed with great precision "and never left his house in the morning till his hair was powdered by our itinerant barber, John Arthurs, and his gold-headed cane was grasped by his gloved hand. His kindness of heart was as much a part of his nature as hair-powder was of his costume; and what might not be given through benevolence could always be extracted by flattery, coupled with professions of friendship, the sincerity of which he never questioned. In conversation he was precise yet fluent, and abounded in anecdotes, which he told in a way that others could not imitate. He took a warm interest in the politics of what was then the Northwestern Territory, being at all times the earnest advocate of popular rights. His devotion to Masonry, then a cherished institution of the village, was such that he always embellished his signature with some of its emblems. His handwriting was peculiar, but so remarkably plain that his poor patients felt flattered to think he should have taken so much pains in writing for them. In this part of his character many of us might find a useful example."

He is accredited as having been the first of the Cincinnati physicians to introduce vaccination as a preventive of smallpox, which he did on November 20, 1801. One of his patients in this particular was Dr. Drake. He was much interested in the study of antiquities and natural history and in the year 1803 he dug at Big Bone Lick in Kentucky the largest, most remarkable and diversified mass of huge fossil bones that was ever disinterred at one time or place in the United States. Subsequently when the impostor Thomas Ashe visited this country in 1806, traveling under the name of a Frenchman, D'Arville, he induced Dr. Goforth to entrust him with this large collection in ten boxes. These he took abroad with him and exhibited throughout Europe and the United Kingdom and finally sold to the Liverpool Museum for a large sum of money. His arrangement was a partnership one with Dr. Goforth but he not only did not pay the latter a cent of the proceeds but gave him no credit in his publication concerning the relics. This loss did much to impoverish Goforth, although he was not of a temperament to retain money. He was constantly looking for precious metals and all the neighbors brought him specimens for his analysis in the hopes of finding gold. The discoverers usually managed "to quarter themselves on his family" on the strength of their supposed finds. Among others there was a man in the village named Hall who had a glass through which he could see many thousand feet into the earth. This naturally was a very impressive accomplishment. Another scheme of Dr. Goforth was the clarification of ginseng and its shipment to China; at the same time he thought that he had discovered the genuine East India columbo root in our surrounding woods. None of these schemes

succeeded in making his fortune and he finally thought of moving to the Mad River country. He took a winter trip to Mechacheck, but arrived there at night and found no inhabitants; he could not make a fire and almost froze to death. He chose the summer time for his next trip, on which he was accompanied by Drake. However "the most popular and peculiar physician which had appeared in the ranks of her infant profession, or indeed ever belonged to it," to quote Drake's language, left Cincinnati for an entirely new field.

Goforth was a strong sympathizer politically with the French Revolutionists, but the exiles whom he had met were of the other party "and pictures of the beauty and elegance of French society began to fill his imagination." He cultivated the acquaintance of the exiled Paris lawyer, M. Menessier, whose bake shop occupied the lower story of his residence at Third and Main streets. The upper story was occupied by the Masonic lodge. "The Doctor's association with this member of the beau monde of course raised his admiration for Gallic politeness still higher; and just at the time when he began, in feeling, to prefer French to Anglo-American society, President Jefferson purchased Louisiana from Bonaparte, first consul of the Republique Francaise."

Goforth emigrated southward in 1807 and according to the peculiar habits of those days of electing men of one profession to positions in the other, he was appointed a parish judge and was afterwards a member of the constitutional convention of the State of Louisiana. He later resided at New Orleans and during the British invasion acted as surgeon under the Louisiana volunteer regiment. He got enough of French manners in time and on December 28, 1816, after a voyage of eight months up the river on a keel-boat he reached Cincinnati landing.

Mr. Mansfield in his "Memoirs" says that Goforth wrote to his father that "if ever there was a hell upon earth New Orleans was the place." In this feeling he was not unlike a somewhat well known Ohio politician of the present day who fled from New Orleans a few years since to escape an attachment for contempt issued by a Columbus judge. A few weeks later he was met on a train returning to Columbus and upon an expression of surprise at his return to the scene of danger he replied that he would rather be in jail in Ohio than the guest of honor of the city of New Orleans. Dr. Goforth's return to his beloved city did not avail him much for he died the following spring from a disease contracted from his trip up the river.

By no means the least important matter connected with his life is the fact that it was in his office which was also a drug store that Daniel Drake, who came to Cincinnati in the year 1800 a boy of 15, studied for almost four years. The latter's prominence and activity belong, however, to the next phase of the community's life and will be touched upon there.

The conditions of the practice are given by Dr. Drake in the address already quoted. There were, of course, empirics in those days, but they were in the main merely ignorant pretenders to knowledge and not decriers of scientific methods. The predominance of the military element, as has been said by Judge Burnet, influenced the social life of the people and necessarily affected their relations to the doctor. At those times Columbia and Newport both depended upon Cincinnati. A trip to Columbia took half a day and a call to Newport involved ferrying over the river in a canoe and the climbing up a steep, icy or deep muddy bank. The country practitioners frequently rode 12 to 15 miles and occasionally 20 or 30 miles on bridle paths. On one occasion Goforth started early on a freezing night to visit a patient 11 miles in the country. His horse was not as gentle as he had thought and before he got out of the village he had to dismount and walk the distance. He reached his patient before day. His charge for such a service was 25 cents a mile, half of which was paid in provender for his horse or produce for his family. The pioneers did their own bleeding and cupping and also practiced dentistry not less than physic. The charge was a quarter for pulling one tooth with a reduction for a wholesale order. Tin foil was used in plugging teeth instead of gold leaf "and had the advantage of not showing so conspicuously." Every physician kept his own drug shop and ordered his drugs through the dry goods merchants who brought them out from the East once or twice a year. Dr. Drake refers to James Ferguson who kept a store on Third and Sycamore streets, and whose advertisements appear so frequently in the *Centinel*. It took him from twenty-five to thirty days to go from Philadelphia to Brownsville and as much more by the river to Cincinnati. To bring medicine from the East required four or five months. The price of medicines was such as

25 cents for an emetic, a Dover's powder, a dose of Glauber's salt or a draught of "Paregoric and Antimonial Wine," 50 cents for a vermifuge or blister and 75 cents an ounce for pale Peruvian bark and one dollar for the best red or yellow. On the other hand the doctor received 25 cents for bleeding a patient and for sitting up all night one dollar. An ordinary visit was from 25 to 50 cents. Frequently the physician carried his medicine in his pocket, but the usual practice was to return home and make them up and send them out. This was Dr. Drake's duty during the time of his pupilage under Goforth. Dr. Drake says that his preceptor had the principal position of the village and fleetness was necessary in the delivery of the drugs and there being no pavements he found that the shortest way through a mud hole was the best, which conclusion he thinks has been generally adopted by the profession in later times.

THE COURTS.

On January 5, 1790, the Governor issued a proclamation directing that "the justices of the peace hold their Courts of General Quarter Session of the Peace at the town of Cincinnati, on the first Tuesdays in February, May, August, and November; and the judges of the Court of Common Pleas hold their courts at the same place on the first Thursdays of May and November." After having established the county, named the city and appointed the officials to administer the affairs of the place, Governor St. Clair left on the 5th for the Illinois country not to return to the Symmes purchase for some months.

The first session of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace seems to have been held on the ensuing 2nd of February. There attended at this court the three judges presided over by William McMillan; Justice Jacob Tapping (Topping); Sheriff John Brown, Levi Woodward and Robert Wheelan, constables.

At this session Justice Jacob Tapping complained of Josiah White, saying that he had slandered him. White offered his excuses and apologies and was released. The grand jury failed to bring in any bills and was discharged. This was very fortunate as it appeared by a protest of the sheriff that there was as yet no jail and for that reason he did not wish to be held responsible for prisoners. At the May term the session was more exciting.

"May term, 1790.—Present, the judges, justices, constables, and sheriff. The commissions of the peace and the Governor's proclamation were read. The names of grand jury were called; Robert Benham, foreman. Adjourned to 2 P. M.

"On sitting again, Abel Cook was called up for breach of the peace; also Josiah White, for selling liquor to soldiers; also Jacob Tapping, esq., for possessing four shirts and one pair of stockings, bought from a soldier; another count of the same sort appeared against the said Tapping. A call was ordered for Sylvester White and David Strong, for having 'on account' public clothing. The same charge was made against Scott Travers, viz.: that a pair of overalls and a woolen vest belonging to the Federal service were found in his possession. Abel Cook plead guilty to hitting Hames Sowards, and was fined fifty cents. Thomas Cochran had fifty cents fine for selling whiskey. Tapping was fined seventy-five cents, and Scott Travers was lett off. White failed to put in his appearance. Captain David Strong cleared up the matter as to his acquaintance with Tapping's clothes business, and was dismissed. The jury came in with a bill against Asa Hartshorn, Mahlon Ford, and David Strong for thrashing Isaac Taylor. The court adjourned."

At the August sessions of 1790 Robert Benham and James Miller were each fined two dollars for an assault and James Seward one dollar and a half for the same offense.

In May, 1791, the fines seem to have increased, for John McLaughlin and Henry McLaughlin were obliged to pay four dollars each for assault while Francis Luce for libel was fined eight dollars.

In 1792 at the February session William Paul was convicted of larceny and fined thirty dollars and George Paul convicted of forgery escaped with a fine of four dollars.

Even the most prominent citizens seem to have been given to fighting and in the November session of 1792 the well known merchant and militia officer, Scott Traverse, was obliged to pay one dollar for assault. The same fine was assessed on Magdala Pickle for the same offense.

When the court was involved, the fines were more serious; we find that Mathew Winton for contempt was obliged to pay sixteen dollars. A year later at the February session Paschal Hickman for contempt of Justice McMillan paid a fine of eighteen dollars. Levi Munsell was before the court several times and in 1792 was

fined one dollar and a half for discharging firearms contrary to law and in 1794 three dollars for contempt. The more serious crimes naturally involved more serious punishments. Samuel Ralston in 1793 was fined ninety-three dollars for forgery and John Burgarot for larceny the following year was fined sixty dollars. Stephen Chandler for tolerating gaming paid at the May session of 1794 one hundred dollars. Other prominent citizens were arraigned at this same session. William Stanley for assault was fined two dollars and John Cleves Symmes for selling spirituous liquor contrary to the statute, twelve dollars. In 1797 Griffin Yeatman was fined one dollar for failing to attend when summoned as a juror and Seth Cutter a dollar for assault.

The matter of discharging firearms seems to have disturbed the community a great deal and a number of cases are with reference to this offense. We find in William McMillan's original docket preserved in the files of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio that Abraham Garrison was arrested on April 9th for discharging firearms on Saturday night the 7th but as he was able to show that the discharge was an unavoidable accident he was discharged. Three weeks later Uriah Gates celebrated Saturday night by discharging firearms twice. Each shot cost him two and a half dollars.

The first civil case tried by the County Court consisting of Judges William Goforth and William McMillan assisted by Justices John S. Gano, Benjamin Stites and Jacob Tapping with John Brown as sheriff and Israel Ludlow, clerk, is that of Henry Reed against Joseph White. It was for a debt of three dollars which was settled by mutual consent as White had already been in jail for a month and agreed to work for Reed for another term. A later case is that of Peter Clark against Mary Simpson. Mary had been Clark's servant and owed him three dollars but concluded to get married without paying her debt. She finally agreed to go to jail until her husband could make enough money to pay her premuptial debt.

The first criminal jury included John Scott, Isaac Bates, Jonathan Fitts, James Dement, John Van Cleff, Scott Traverse, Ziba Stebbins, Henry McLaughlin, Aza Peck, Thaddeus Bruen, Daniel Seward and Cornelius Miller. They found Catherine Fortie guilty of stealing an iron kettle. She was ordered to receive 25 lashes on her bare back but as her husband had been a soldier and she had served as a nurse during the entire Continental War and for other reasons the punishment was modified to 10 lashes. On the back of the writ was the return: "Agreeably to the order of court the within mentioned Catherine Fortie was taken and tied to a public whipping post, her back bared and ten stripes well administered with a stout hickory gad."

At this term of court Thomas Goudy was admitted to practice, the first admitted in the county.

Ensign William Henry Harrison took it upon himself to chastise one Daniel Rian, a recently discharged soldier. Rian had a warrant sworn out for Harrison but the sheriff was not permitted by the commandant, Gen. James Wilkinson, to serve the same; thereupon Judge Goforth instructed the officers of the court to arrest Harrison whenever they found him outside of the fort. This a young deputy sheriff attempted to do and Harrison knocked him down with a walking stick. He subsequently delivered himself up to the court and received a lecture and was sentenced to 24 hours' confinement at McHenry's tavern, where it is said that he and his friends passed a very agreeable day.

Another interesting case of the early days was a suit of John Ludlow against William Woodward and Archibald Johnson for a debt of three dollars and a half which they refused to pay. Under Judge Goforth's order the founder of Old Woodward and his associates were arrested and placed in jail until the trial.

On July 30, 1792, the well known citizen, Samuel Dick, was sued by James McKean for being assaulted "with staves, swords, guns, pistols, fists and greatly endangering his life," to quote the phraseology of the old indictment. The real fact was that Dick slapped McKean. The matter was left to three arbitrators who decided that Dick not being the first aggressor and being a smaller man be fined four barrels of flour and ordered to refrain from fighting the plaintiff for the space of two weeks, certainly not a very serious deprivation.

At this time John Blanchard and Francis Taylor appeared as prominent lawyers.

Dr. William Goforth claimed to have cured one Samuel Blackburn, an early settler, of the itch, for which he asked £18. Blackburn was placed in jail to await trial which resulted in a verdict of four dollars for the Doctor. A new trial was granted and the Doctor at this time took depositions in Limestone and Lexington as to the value of his services. At the trial Blackburn appeared without any legal advice,

but when asked to plead offered his hands in evidence and even suggested that the judge and jury might examine them. They seem to have been a sufficient defense for the jury brought in a verdict of sixteen dollars and costs for the defendant to reimburse him for the expense of taking the depositions.

In another case David Voorhees endeavored to replevin a dark brown Indian pony from Col. Oliver M. Spencer. Several Indians were called as witnesses but Blue Jacket and Crooked Horn disagreed as to the identity of the pony. The jury did the same and the matter was settled by drawing straws, as a result of which Colonel Spencer kept the horse.

Benjamin Flinn sued William Shaw for assault and battery. The trial of the case was postponed and in the meantime Flinn gave Shaw a terrific beating. Upon the trial Shaw withdrew his action on the ground that the matter had been satisfactorily compromised.

Jacob Fowler sued General Wilkinson for pay as a scout which the General refused to give on the ground that Fowler's only occupation had been loafing around the Indian camps with his Indian wife, both continually drunk. The jury found a verdict for Fowler and the judge ordered the General to jail until the money was paid.

John Pennington Smith presented a recommendation from John Cleves Symmes and others certifying as to his fitness to practice law. The Secretary of the Territory, Winthrop Sargent, protested against his admission to the bar on the ground that he was a man of loose morals. Judge Goforth appointed John S. Gano, Benjamin Stites and William McMillan to investigate and they reported that Smith was no worse than other lawyers and he was admitted.

On August 6, 1793, the Governor commissioned William Goforth, William Wells, William McMillan, John S. Gano and Aaron Caldwell, judges of the Hamilton County Court of Common Pleas.

John Torrence sued William Curry for trespass and Curry was sent to jail to await trial. Torrence subsequently discovered that there was no trespass but that the surveyor had made a mistake and endeavored to have Curry released. As there was no court in session, this he could not do. When the court convened Curry was released and Goforth sent Torrence to jail for the length of time Curry had remained there.

Capt. George Gordon, who kept the city inn, insisted on being paid for drinks and for their refusal to comply with this reasonable demand Dr. Calvin Morrell, James Smith, Thomas Trueman, John Evans, Rice Bullock and Evan Freeman occupied the jail for a short time.

James Ferguson sued John LeCount for a debt of one dollar and a half for beer and cakes. On the trial LeCount spoke disrespectfully to the court and consequently received 25 lashes at the public whipping post.

Mary Thomas, wife of Casper Thomas, was prosecuted as a common scold and on May 2, 1796, having been convicted on testimony of her husband, she received 21 stripes on her bare back and was sent to jail for 30 days.

A discharged soldier, Peter Kerrigan, married Mary Murphy without publishing the banns; thereupon William Maxwell, the owner of the *Spy*, who felt that he was entitled to the advertisement, caused him to be arrested and Peter received 10 stripes on the bare back and stood four hours in the public pillory and went to jail for three months.

In those days the protective tariff was thoroughly enforced and no foreign competition was permitted. James Ferguson, a well known merchant, sold an English-made penknife for which he was obliged to pay a fine of $100. Harvey James ferried a neighbor across the river for a pound of tobacco. As this competed with the regular ferryman, James was arrested for ferrying without license. His tobacco cost him 10 stripes on the back and $20.

The collector called upon Ebenezer Ayres for taxes, whereupon Ayres kicked him out of his shop. This little exploit cost him $100 and a week in jail.

Another well known merchant, Capt. Hugh Moore, of the "Brick House," sold an old flintlock French musket, forgetting its foreign origin. Fined $100. Another veteran, Capt. John Mercer, started a billiard saloon without complying with the law and paid several fines of $25 each before he concluded to give up the business.

Rev. Joab Monters concluded that he was a Savior and so announced himself on the street corners. After being incarcerated in jail, he delivered his addresses from the window each morning at ten o'clock and on the trial offered to prove his divine character by performing miracles. This undoubtedly insane man received 50 lashes. He subsequently traveled throughout the country in the same character and was finally killed, while endeavoring to carry his religious doctrines to the savages.

Wakepah, a big Indian chief from the territory beyond the Big Miami, brought his squaws to town and celebrated with fire water. He started to paint the town red and with his tomahawk and scalping knife in hand announced his determination to eat up anybody who came his way. He sobered up in prison and the promise to reform was impressed upon his mind by 50 lashes and the carrying of ball and chain about his ankles for 30 days.

Abraham Mezmer was so fond of matrimony that he married two women. He got 75 lashes and was confined for 90 days and fed on bread and water only. At the end of his imprisonment some of his second wife's early admirers furnished him with a coat of tar and feathers and rode him out of town on a rail. Both wives married again and their children became prominent citizens.

Among the early trials was that of John Brewster, an ex-soldier of King George IV, who was arrested for using insulting language to the government of the United States. He had been a soldier of England in the effort to subdue the Colonies, but had been taken prisoner and decided to remain in this country. In the course of a hot political discussion he remarked that he desired to see the Colonies, as he called the United States, once more under the dominion of England. He was arrested as a spy and thrown into prison. He was defended by Jacob Burnet, who had come West but a year before (1796), and who based his client's defense on a somewhat daring appeal to the jury. He asked them if they would not be glad to see England under our subjection and as they naturally responded from the box that they would, he asked that people of other countries should have the same liberty. Brewster was acquitted by the jury.

Another trial was that of Mary Kelly, charged with whipping one Katherine Farrell, the newly wedded wife of Michael Farrell. Michael, it seems, had made love to Mary, but on the day fixed for his marriage he had wedded another girl, Kitty McGuire, the most intimate friend of his promised bride. Mary met Kitty at a party but a few days later and thrashed her soundly. She was convicted and punished by receiving 33 lashes on her bare back and was carried from the whipping post in almost a dying condition. She recovered, however, and soothed her grief by marrying one Daniel Cline.

Another trial was that of Capt. George Gordon, the tavern keeper, who insisted upon appropriating for his own use a street which had not been used for some time. Here he planted potatoes, and when a man named Simpson insisted upon driving through the potato patch both on going to town and returning Gordon assaulted him. Simpson caused his arrest and he was convicted and fined and sentenced to imprisonment, but as he was the deputy postmaster and the regular postmaster was said to be in jail for debt the imprisonment part of the sentence was remitted so that he could attend to the duties of his office.

The General Court of the Territory also sat from time to time in Cincinnati and its first "docquet" is of interest. It is as follows:

"DOCQUET."

"of the first general court, of the territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio, held within and for the county of Hamilton, which commenced at Cincinnati on October the fourth, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and of the independence of the United States of America the fifteenth.

"*October* 4, 1790, *eleven o'clock, A. M., Monday.*

"The Honorable Judge Turner, escorted by the sheriff and attended by the clerk and other judicial officers of the said county, present. Court opened agreeable to proclamation at the instance of the honorable the judge, above mentioned, whose commission being openly read, and the necessary proclamations duly made for the judicial and ministerial officers of the county to make their return, the sheriff presented his list of grand-jurors summoned:

"Of Cincinnati—1, Jacob Reeder; 2, James Wallace; 3, James Cunningham; 4, Francis Kennedy; 5, John Cummings; 6, John Vance; 7, John Terry; 8, Seth Cutter; 9, Richard Benham; 10, James Burns; 11, Luther Kitchell; 12, Henry Taylor; 13, Nathan Dunnals; 14, Joseph Cutter; 15, David Logan; 16, Abijah Ward. Of Columbia—17, Benjamin Davis; 18, Elijah Mills; 19, Samuel Newell; 20, William Gerrard; 21, Elijah Stites; 22, James Matthews; 23, John Manning; 24, Nathaniel Stokes.

"Returned to serve, the first sixteen, viz.: 1, Jacob Reeder; 2, James Wallace; 3, James Cunningham; 4, Francis Kennedy; 5, John Cummings; 6, John Vance; 7, John Terry; 8, Seth Cutter; 9, Richard Benham; 10, James Burns; 11, Luther Kitchell; 12, Henry Taylor;

13, Nathan Dunnals; 14, Joseph Cutter; 15, David Logan; 16, Abijah Ward.

"One judge only attending, court, without proceeding to business, was adjourned until eleven o'clock of to-morrow, A. M.

"Tuesday, fifth October, 1790.

"Court opened pursuant to adjournment. Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Absentees (grand-jurors), Francis Kennedy, John Cummings, Luther Kitchell, David Logan.

"Proclamations duly made, court was adjourned till twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

"Wednesday, sixth October, 1790.

"Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Court opened pursuant to adjournment. Absentees of yesterday obtained a remission of their respective fines. Necessary proclamations being made, court was adjourned, ut supra, until twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

"Thursday, seventh October, 1790.

"Court opened agreeable to adjournment. Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Absentees (grand-jurors), Seth Cutter, Richard Benham, Luther Kitchell, Joseph Cutter.

"Court adjourned until twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

"Friday, eighth October, 1790.

"Court opened pursuant to adjournment. Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Joseph McHenry attended to serve on the grand jury. The same jurors absent to-day that were yesterday.

"Court adjourned until twelve o'clock, at noon, to-morrow.

"Saturday, twelve o'clock, ninth October, 1790.

"Court opened agreeable to adjournment. Present, Honorable Judge Turner. Grand jurors absent—John Terry, Nathan Dunnals, likewise the absentees of Thursday.

"Court adjourned until five o'clock of this day, afternoon.

"Eodem Die, five o'clock, afternoon.

"None of the judges present, the sheriff proceeded to adjourn the court without delay.

"No business entered upon at this term by reason of there not being present, of the honorable the judges, a number sufficient to constitute a quorum.

(Signed) "W. McMillan,"

"In behalf of John S. Gano, deputy to Israel Ludlow, *clerk.*"

Another interesting original record reads as follows:

"1792 SUPREME COURT OF THE TERRITORY."

"John C. Symmes, judge. Present, six justices—William Goforth, William Wells, William McMillan, John S. Gano, George Cullum and Aaron Cadwell; Joseph LeSure, clerk pro tem; Robert Bunten, coroner; John Ludlow, sheriff; Isaac Martin, sub-sheriff; Benjamin Orcutt, crier; Robert Wheelan, Samuel Martin, Sylvanus Runnels, constables. The grand jury was called over, David Davis, foreman. The jury retired. Witnesses were called for the United States court business, assaults and habeas corpus. Job, a negro man, vs. John Tanner; also United States vs. James Mays, for the murder of Matthew Sullivan; Same vs. Joseph Paxton as accessory with Mays; Same vs. George Turner, on certiorari; Same vs. Matthew Winton and Matthew Derough, charged with riot. The sheriff called forty-eight names, from which these twelve were chosen to try Mays: Robert Benham, Robert Mitchell, Samuel Dick, Benjamin Jennings, Matthew Winton, Henry Pickle, James Dement, Charles Bruce, William Kelly, Samuel Rolston, James Miller, Steward Wilkins.

"In this case Mr. Dunn was prosecutor, and Messrs. Goudy and Smith were counsel for Mays. The jury out an hour, and came in with a verdict of 'guilty.' The court received the verdict in the house of Isaac Martin."

The crime for which Mays paid the penalty occurred shortly after the military riot in 1792. Mays had been drinking and carousing with an old friend named Sullivan. The bout ended in a quarrel about some trifle and the men came to blows. Sullivan, who was a smaller man than Mays, was getting the better of the affray and friends stepped in and separated them. Mays seemed much incensed at the idea that he had been whipped by a man smaller than himself and threatened in public to kill Sullivan whenever he met him. Shortly afterwards both were present at a party given by Hardin Smith at his log cabin near the corner of Sixth and Main streets. Sullivan offered his hand to Mays with the request that he should overlook the trouble and that their friendly relations should be resumed. Mays responded that he had sworn to kill him and that this was as good a time as any; thereupon he drew a hunting knife which, of course, every settler in those days carried in his belt, and stabbed Sullivan to the heart, bringing about his immediate death. Mays was arrested and put on trial for his life and finally

convicted. The execution was in charge of Sheriff John Ludlow. It took place on the gallows erected on the south side of Fifth street a little east of Walnut. The execution was public, as all such affairs were at that time, and the people gathered from every direction to see it. Excursions were brought into the city and many came as far as fifty miles to be present. Costs were allowed to Ludlow by the commissioners for "gallows, coffin and grave digging, fifteen pounds, eight shillings, and nine pence." This bill was not paid for six years after its rendition.

Another conviction for murder was that of a man named Bradley, for the killing of a man at North Bend. He had already been taken to the gallows (this time at Fifth and Broadway), when he was reprieved.

Jonathan Lyon describes in his reminiscences how, in 1795, he saw four men march out from Fort Washington to be executed; three of them were reprieved, however, while the fourth was hung. Afterwards he saw two more shot on Fifth street near Walnut, where Cavagna's grocery (now Peebles') formerly stood. Six soldiers fired and one of the men fell dead and another squad of six marched up and killed the other.

EARLY LAWYERS.

The lawyers of course formed an important element in the community from the outset. The officers of the Territory were in the main composed of lawyers and the government during the territorial times was practically in charge of the courts.

Judge Burnet in his "Notes" gives us a most interesting account of the practice in the early days. At the time of his arrival there were four counties in the Territory—Washington, Hamilton, St. Clair and Knox, with county seats at Marietta, Cincinnati, Kaskaskia and Vincennes, then called Au Post. In each county there were courts of Common Pleas and General Quarter Sessions of the Peace. The General Court, consisting of three judges appointed by the President, was the highest judicial tribunal in the Territory, and its proceedings were not subject to review. It met at Cincinnati in March, Marietta in October and at Detroit and the Western counties at various times designated by the judges. These seats of justice were separated from each other by extensive tracts of uninhabited wilderness stretching from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles without roads, bridges or ferries. Despite this fact, until the formation of the State government, the various members of the bar of Hamilton County were called upon to practice before tribunals at all these points and for many years Judge Burnet, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and Daniel Symmes never missed a term in either Marietta or Detroit. They rode the circuit in companies of five or six and with packhorses to carry their necessary supplies; although they frequently passed through Indian camps and villages where corn could at times be purchased, they could not rely upon these accommodations. The trips from one county seat to another frequently took from six to eight and sometimes ten days. As they were compelled to swim rivers which were too deep to be forded, an important element in the value of a horse was his ability as a swimmer. In illustration of this, Burnet gives an anecdote of his return from a court at Marietta in the fall of 1801. The rains had been heavy and the streams were unusually high. As he approached White Oak he hesitated, but finally rolling his saddle bags in his cloak and tying this behind him he entered the water and waded to the margin of the creek. Here he calculated the velocity of the current by the driftwood and put his horse's head up stream, aiming to strike a pathway which had been cut through the bluff on the opposite bank. The horse, however, chose to steer for himself, and seeing the landing place at the opposite side made directly for it. As he was a fine swimmer, he struck it at the lower point so as to enable his rider to seize a bush and extricate both himself and the horse from danger. He swam another stream two miles beyond and a few miles still further the east fork of the Miami, at Williamsburg, and on the following day at Batavia and afterwards the Little Miami itself. At another time a party of a half dozen accompanying Judge Symmes to Marietta crossed the Hocking River near where Athens now stands. Here they found a cabin and were told that six or eight miles below there was a path leading from the river direct to Marietta which was a better way than the usual one by the mouth of the river. They reached the path late in the afternoon but as the clouds threatened rain they determined to proceed on their journey. The gathering darkness made it impossible to keep the path and finally a halt was made. They concluded to proceed and one at a time dismounted and took the way on foot relying on the sense of feeling to keep the path. Shortly after midnight

Burnet, who was leading his horse in front and feeling for the path, stepped down a precipice about three feet. His horse being frightened drew back and prevented him from falling. Further investigation showed that a little to the rear the path turned to the left at nearly a right angle and went down the side of the hill some fifty feet or more to a creek which proved to be Wolf's creek. They finally reached Marietta in safety. On the return Burnet investigated the path and saw that within three feet of the point where he had stepped off there was a perpendicular precipice to the bed of the creek from the top of which he could see the tops of the trees waving in the air below him.

The description of the visit by Burnet and his companions to the village of Blue Jacket has already been given. On another occasion, while returning from Detroit they visited this same village and found the whole community, male and female, drunk from drinking a large quantity of whiskey which Blue Jacket had brought from Cincinnati. An old withered squaw, who was very drunk, made herself particularly attentive to St. Clair, whom she knew was a high official of the Territory. She kissed him, exclaiming, "you big man—Governor's son," and then turned to the rest of the party, saying with marked contempt, "you be milish." She then kissed Mr. St. Clair again. Burnet commented on this: "It was certainly one of those rare occasions on which men of sensibility and delicacy feel the advantage of being placed at a low grade, on the scale of dignity."

On another trip to Vincennes, Burnet and young St. Clair descended the river in a Kentucky boat or ark, which they left at the falls of the Ohio. They resumed their journey on horseback and spent the night with a camp of Indians. The following night they were surrounded by panthers. On the next day they came suddenly upon eight or ten buffaloes who were sheltering themselves from a heavy snow storm behind a fallen beech tree. Their camp that night was an old cabin on White River, which was occupied by a large wild cat, who required considerable persuasion to vacate the premises. This was in December and during a season of heavy snow storms. Their usual meal was a frozen chicken with a biscuit and some peach brandy which they carried with them. It was necessary to kindle a fire to thaw out the chicken. At night they scraped away the snow and with their saddle-bags for pillows and coats for blankets they slept on the ground. It was at the conclusion of this trip that Burnet and St. Clair abandoned the idea of engaging in the practice of the law in that county, thinking the profits inadequate to the fatigue and loss of time.

The trips to other sections were not altogether without pleasures, for the Judge states that "during a large portion of the year, they had to endure the fatigues and privations of the wilderness; and as often as they returned from those laborious excursions to their families and comfortable homes, they indulged most freely in the delicacies and luxuries of high living. Scarcely a day passed without a dinner party, given by some one of them, at which the best of wine and of other liquors, and the richest viands furnished by the country, and by commerce, were served up in great profusion, and in fine taste. Genteel strangers who visited the place were generally invited to their houses, and their sumptuous tables; and although at this day, such a practice would be considered a breach of moral duty, as well as of good breeding, they competed with each other for the honor of drinking the most, as well as the best wine, without being intoxicated themselves, and of having at their parties the greatest number of intoxicated guests. This revel was kept up in a greater or less degree, during the season they remained at home, as an offset to the privations and suffering of their excursions into the wilderness.

"At one of those sumptuous dinners, given by Angus McIntosh, the bottom of every wine glass on the table had been broken off, to prevent what were called heel-taps; and during the evening, many toasts were given, which the company were required to drink in bumpers." (Burnet's Notes, p. 285.)

The very first party that landed included in its midst one of the most distinguished lawyers of the early days of the Territory, William McMillan. In fact it is his testimony as to the date of the landing that has finally been accepted as the most authoritative statement on the subject. He has been mentioned so many times in the course of the narrative and in connection with so many phases of life in the settlement that an extended notice would seem unnecessary. Mr. Cist's statement that he was the master spirit of the place in the early days and a man who would have been a distinguished member of society anywhere seems to be borne out by his career. He died at the early age of 44; his untimely death made him the first of that long list of fa-

vorite sons that Cincinnati has never ceased to mourn, especially because they died at an age when so much of usefulness still seemed before them.

McMillan was of Irish parentage, but born in Virginia. He graduated at the old College of William and Mary, but during his early days engaged in farming. He was about 28 years of age when he arrived in the Miami country, but took a prominent position from the outset. As has already been stated, he was the first magistrate chosen by the people before provision had been made by law for official appointments. He was commissioned by St. Clair as the first justice of the General Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace in 1790. He was a member of the first Territorial House of Representatives, was the representative of the Territory in Congress to succeed General Harrison and was finally commissioned the first United States attorney for Ohio. The tributes of his nephew, William M. Corry, and his associate, Judge Burnet, have already been quoted.

His standing in the community was probably better shown by his appointment to the United States attorneyship than by his previous appointments, as party feeling at this time began to creep into the Territory and the contest for such offices was usually a spirited one. Judge Burnet says that "he possessed an intellect of a high order, and had acquired a fund of information, general as well as professional, which qualified him for great usefulness in the early legislation of the Territory. * * * He was the son of a Scotch Presbyterian of the strictest order, who had educated him for the ministry, and who was, of course, greatly disappointed when he discovered that he was unwilling to engage in that profession, and had set his heart on the study and practice of the law. After many serious discussions on the subject, the son, who understood the feelings and prejudices of the father, at length told him that he would comply with his request, but it must be on one condition—that he should be left at perfect liberty to use Watts' version of the Psalms. The old gentleman was very much astonished, and rebuked his son with severity, but never mentioned the subject to him afterwards." (Burnet's Notes, p. 290.)

A letter of St. Clair to Ross in December, 1799, mentions him: "I am personally acquainted with him. He is a man of large application of his strong and not uncultivated mind, and awkward appearance and dress and is an indifferent speaker but has a fair reputation and is in great esteem with the people." That this characterization was not written in an unfriendly spirit is shown by St. Clair's subsequent letter, January 27, 1800, to the President, in which he encloses a written request of the gentlemen of the bar of Hamilton County for the appointment of McMillan to a judgeship:

"I have taken the liberty to inclose to you the written request of the gentlemen of the bar of Hamilton County for the appointment of Mr. McMillan. The object of it I know to be a man of integrity; much esteemed, and of considerable influence. Of his political principles, I have learned that some doubt has been made in Philadelphia, and that the representative has mentioned to some persons here that an explicit declaration that he would support the administration, to be made by him or some person in his behalf that could be depended upon, would be required in order to his being nominated. Although I have ever thought it wrong that offices should be trusted to enemies of the Government, I doubted of Mr. Harrison's authority to say that an express declaration that he would support the administration would be required of any person, and it has not even been hinted to Mr. McMillan. Though he has rather leaned toward democracy, I can say with truth that he has always been moderate, and a single session in the assembly has entirely removed the prejudice he had in favor of a single branch of legislation, which he openly and candidly acknowledges." (St. Clair Papers, Vol. II, p. 488.)

We are told by Judge Burnet that "only four individuals in Cincinnati are now remembered who then (1800) advocated the election of Mr. Jefferson against Mr. Adams. These were Major David Zeigler (Ziegler), William Henry Harrison, William McMillan and John Smith." (Burnet's Notes.)

In his will William McMillan in 1804 left lot 135 to the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge of Masons, of this city. It was considered of so little value as to be allowed by the lodge to be sold for taxes and so left unredeemed for a considerable period of time. This lot, the northeast corner of Third and Walnut streets, is now occupied by the Masonic Temple.

The first lawyer to be admitted to the practice we are told was Thomas Goudy (sometimes spelled Gowdy), who arrived in 1789. He was one of the settlers who formed Ludlow's Station in 1790 and his name has already appeared in a number of anecdotes of the time. In 1793 he married Sarah Wallace, a sister of Col. John S.

Wallace. His name appears very frequently in the columns of the *Centinel,* more so perhaps than that of any other lawyer and he it was whose gorgeous apparel including waistcoats and breeches of many colors and (paist) knee buckles were stolen on November 20, 1793, as we learn from a notice in that paper. His office it will be remembered was on St. Clair square between Seventh and Eighth streets and was the only building for many years between Sixth and Court and Main and John. Near it was the first great fire of the settlement. One of Goudy's children married Alexander C. Clark of Sycamore township near Reading.

One of the trio mentioned by Judge Burnet as riding the circuit with him was Daniel Symmes. He was a son of Timothy Symmes and a brother of John Cleves Symmes. Timothy Symmes had been a judge in New Jersey before he came West and was the pioneer settler at South Bend, where he died in 1797. Daniel Symmes, born in 1772, was a graduate of Princeton. He was for a time clerk of the Territorial Court and after Ohio became a State was Senator from his county and presiding officer of the State Senate. Upon the resignation of Judge Meigs in 1804 he was appointed to succeed the latter on the Supreme bench of the State. At the expiration of his term he was appointed register of the Cincinnati Land Office. This position he held almost to the time of his death, which occurred May 10, 1817. He was one of the early presiding officers of the Cincinnati Council and as such the executive head of the town. He built the well known stone house at the corner of Lawrence and Congress streets which figures on the early maps of the city and which afterwards as the residence of his son, Peyton S. Symmes, was one of the best known in the social life of the community.

Arthur St. Clair, Jr., the third of the trio mentioned by Judge Burnet, was a son of the Governor. He was brought West by his father to take the position of attorney for the Territory and succeeded in gaining a very reputable position at the bar. He was the prosecuting attorney of the county in 1797 and afterwards in 1799 to 1807. At the first election of a delegate to Congress he was the principal candidate against General Harrison by whom he was beaten by but two votes.

Judge Burnet was of course the most prominent lawyer in the community. A history of the early days of Cincinnati without constant reference to him and to Dr. Drake would be like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. An account of his career is almost a repetition of the history of the settlement. He was a native of New Jersey, a son of Dr. William Burnet of Newark who was a member of the Continental Army and surgeon-general. His father was dining with Gen. Benedict Arnold at the time the news was conveyed to the latter of the capture of a spy who turned out to be Andre, and a brother was a member of the court martial that ordered the execution of this unfortunate English officer.

Jacob Burnet was born on February 22, 1770, and educated at Nassau Hall, Princeton. He was admitted to the bar of Ohio in 1796 and located at Cincinnati, in which city until the time of his death he was one of the most prominent residents, not only in his profession but in every phase of the city life. As a member of the Legislative Council he drew most of the important laws of the Territory. He was afterwards a member of the Supreme Court of Ohio but resigned his place to take a seat in the United States Senate to succeed William Henry Harrison. To Burnet is chiefly credited the management which resulted in the election of Harrison to the presidency of the United States and throughout the entire career of the latter he was his closest friend. He was during the years that he continued at the practice the head of the bar and was employed in every case of importance. One of the most notable cases was that of Blennerhasset charged in being involved in the Burr conspiracy. He was Blennerhasset's leading counsel. Judge Burnet's name occurs so frequently in the text that an extended account of his life is unnecessary. Until the time of his death in 1853 no man was more prominent in the community and no house more hospitable than his. His early residence was in the block bounded by Third, Fourth, Race and Vine streets. This he was obliged at the time of the financial troubles of the United States Bank to part with and he then moved his residence to his farm. Here on the northeast corner of Seventh and Elm he erected the house which occupied that spot until it was removed a few years since to make way for the Odd Fellows' Temple. It has been well said that there has never been in Cincinnati any residence within whose walls have been gathered so many illustrious men.

Other lawyers prominent in the early days were Abner M. Dunn, who also was postmaster and at another time register of deeds, Ezra Fitz Freeman, the unfortunate Isaac Darneille, John S. Wills and George W. Burnet, each of whom was at one time or another attorney for

the United States. John S. Wills was a native of Virginia who was admitted to the bar in 1794 and practiced in Cincinnati but for a few years. George W. Burnet was a brother of Judge Burnet who says of him that he was a young man of high promise whose life was terminated by rapid consumption in the summer of 1801. John Blanchard, Francis Taylor and John Pennington Smith were also prominent lawyers of the time. Blanchard it will be remembered was the attorney for Bartle in his controversy with an officer of the garrison. His speech reflected so upon the officer that a sergeant and thirty soldiers were sent to whip Blanchard. The citizens, headed by Col. John Riddle and William McMillan, rallied to the attorney's defense and drove off the soldiery. Smith was one of the attorneys for Mays in his murder trial.

Samuel Findlay, who afterwards became a celebrated lawyer, is mentioned as a member of the bar in the early days and Harrison himself practiced a little bit at the bar. It is to be hoped that none of these lawyers is referred to in the statement of Judge Burnet that when he came to the bar there were nine resident lawyers engaged in the practice, all of whom with the exception of himself and his brother became confirmed sots and descended to premature graves. (Burnet's Notes, p. 37.)

Ford in his history mentions two lawyers named Clark and Glover who made preparations to fight a duel. Fortunately the affair was settled without bloodshed, but not until one of them had pulled off his shoes to fight more conveniently in his stocking feet. (Ford's Cincinnati, p. 312.)

The courts, during the first year of the settlement, were held for a time at the various taverns. We know that Isaac Martin's tavern was not only the seat of Justice McMillan's court, but also of all the courts during the first year or so. Judge Burnet tells us that afterwards a room in the tavern of George Avery near the frog pond at the corner of Fifth and Main had been rented for the accommodations of the court in front of which was a pillory, stock, whipping post and at times the gallows. In February, 1795, the court ordered the erection of a Court House 30 by 40 feet in dimensions, to be all log and frame, two stories high, and to be placed on public land near the intersection of Fifth and Main. This was erected on the west side of Main about twenty feet back from the street. Thomas Goudy and Seth Cutter were appointed commissioners to superintend the building and John Ludlow and Isaac Hamilton were the commissioners who built the jail near by. The old log Court House was replaced, by a contract let in 1801, by one of brick and stone. This erected in 1802 remained the seat of justice until 1814, when it was burned by a company of soldiers who were using it as a barrack.

ARTISTS.

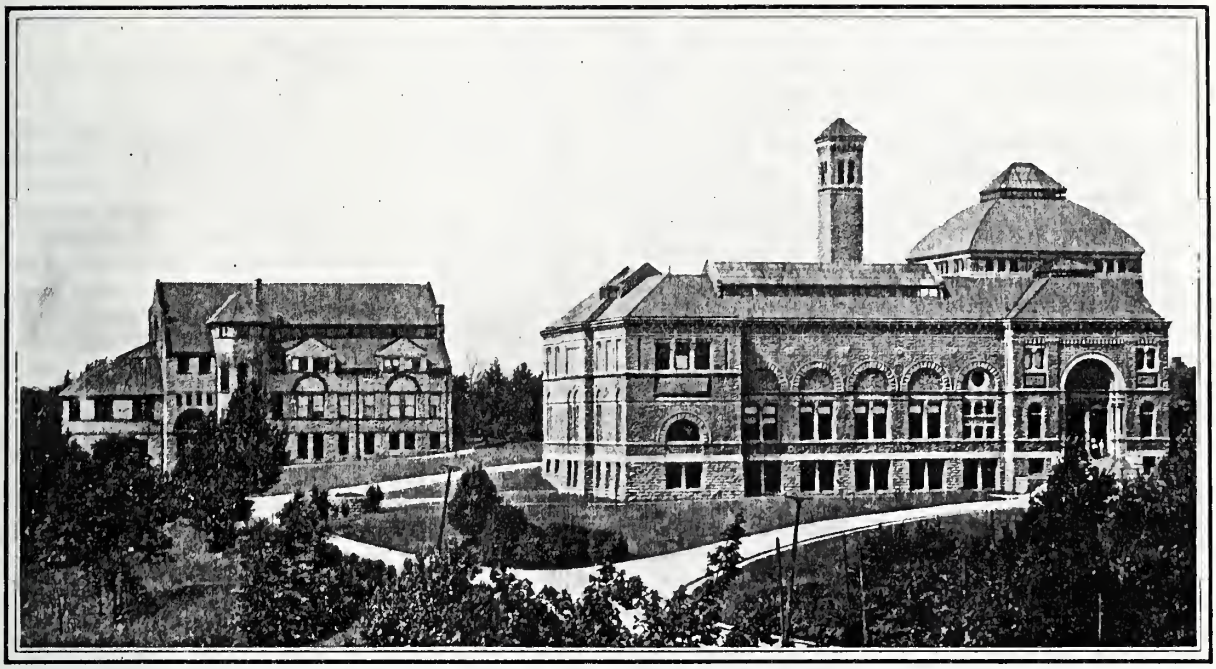
In the line of artistic endeavor the only name of any consequence during the village period is that of George Jacob Beck, a German who was a painter of some ability. He was one of a company of scouts during the Wayne campaign and was at the battle of Fallen Timbers. After the termination of the war, he settled at Cincinnati, where he married the daughter of Menessier. He remained here until 1800, at which time he moved to Lexington, where he died in 1812. His wife returned to the city and opened a school of drawing for young ladies at the corner of Third and Walnut streets, which continued with varying success for a number of years. Beck was particularly successful in the painting of landscapes and many of the scenes of this part of the beautiful Ohio Valley were the subjects of his brush. It has been suggested that he was the artist who decorated General Wilkinson's famous barge.

Another artist who is said to have visited Cincinnati, although he could not have remained here long, was William Edward West, who afterwards became known for his portraits of Irving, Byron, Shelley, Mrs. Hemans and the Countess Guiccioli, executed in Europe, and his figure pieces, the "Pride of the Village," the "Confessional" and "Judith." West was born in Lexington in 1788 and if he came here at all it must have been while he was quite a boy.

The subject of music is of such importance in the history of the city that it is treated in a special chapter by Mr. Glover. Some idea as to the musical ability of the early inhabitants can be gathered from the advertisements quoted elsewhere from the *Centinel*, as well as from the comment on the singing and dancing schools in the earlier part of this chapter.

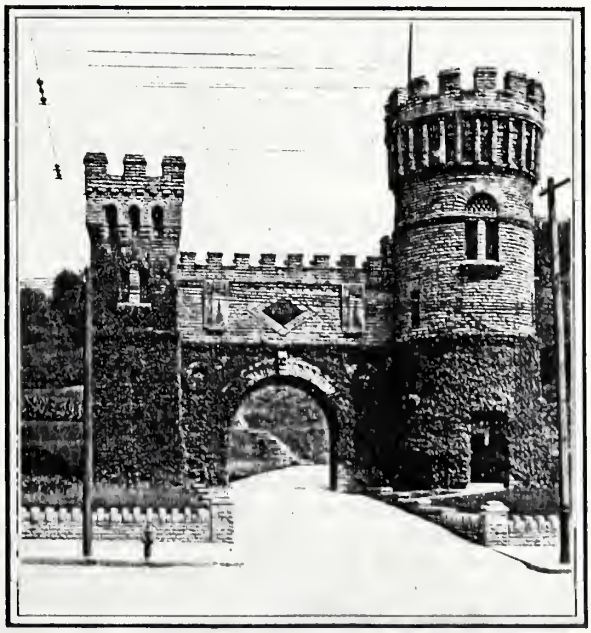
THE POST OFFICE.

The difficulties experienced by the early settlers with regard to the mails are referred to very frequently in the letters of the time. There was no regular mail service so far as the West was concerned, and packets were entrusted to passing travelers of greater or less responsibility. Although a post office had been established in Boston as early as 1639 and letters were



THE ART SCHOOL AND ART MUSEUM.

AT THE "ZOO."—THE CARNIVORA.



ELSINORE ENTRANCE TO EDEN PARK.

delivered in Virginia from plantation to plantation as early as 1757, there was no general system throughout the Colonies until the middle of the 18th century, when Dr. Franklin became the deputy postmaster for the Colonies. He was dismissed by the crown in 1774 because of his sympathy with the colonists and for a time the colonial post office was in confusion. In 1775 he became the first postmaster general. The reorganization of the postal service under the new government was not effected until 1792. At the time Franklin resigned his office in 1776, there were but 75 post offices in the whole United States. It was Franklin's boast that this branch of the service, which had never paid a penny of revenue to the royal coffers under him, yielded more than three times the income of the Irish post office. This was largely due to the high rates which were necessary in view of the great risks. Under the act which established the post office in 1792, the rates varied from six cents for distances of 30 miles or less to 25 cents for distances of 450 miles or over, with like amounts for each enclosure. Newspapers paid a cent for every hundred miles and less and a cent and a half for greater distances. Mails were carried by post-riders in a pair of saddle-bags and long periods of time were occupied in transmission. Post day, the most important day of the week, was the occasion for the assembling of half the village. The package for the whole village was generally made up of a roll of newspapers, two weeks or more old, and a few bundles of drugs for the doctor. Great excitement prevailed if there were letters included in the saddle-bags. The post-boy was himself a sort of a traveling newspaper and in advance of his official burden of papers he detailed the gossip of the towns through which he passed. Although it was a capital offense to rifle the mails, letters and packages were frequently opened. Jonathan Dayton complains in his letter to Symmes of September 8, 1789, of the great expense of the mails. One letter forwarded by Major Willis was thrown into the post office and it cost Dayton six shillings and eightpence in specie.

It can be well understood that a news item which appeared in *The Centinel of the Northwestern Territory* in the issue of June 28, 1794, was the occasion of great excitement. It read as follows: "We learn that there is a Post established from Pittsburgh to this place and that Abner M. Dunn, Esq., is appointed Deputy Post Master General in this place." Two weeks later came the announcement that the post had arrived from Pittsburg and that the post office was kept at the dwelling house of Abner M. Dunn. This was at the corner of what is now Butler and Second streets, beyond Fort Washington in the artificer's yard.

The post was not very regular, however, for on November 15th Mr. Maxwell, the printer, announced that by reason of the uncertainty of the arrival of the mails he had concluded to fill the first page of each week's paper with the laws of the Territory, probably as interesting matter to the readers of those days as the murders, suicides and other tragedies which occupy so much space in our modern newspapers. Not only was the mail infrequent, but the citizens were not always ready to pay for their news, for a little later in March of the following year Mr. Dunn notifies "those who have a right to calculate on receiving letters or papers at his office that in future they must come prepared with ready cash in hand or no letters or papers."

Postmaster Abner Martin Dunn, having served the citizens well and faithfully, departed this life in 1795 and the announcement of his death is contained in the *Centinel* of July 25th of that year. He was buried on the site of the post office.

Mr. Maxwell, who had complained of the infrequency of the mails was given an opportunity to better the service, for on October 26, 1795, appears the announcement that he was appointed postmaster in lieu of Mr. Dunn. "Gentlemen and others wishing to send letters by the post may leave them at the Printing Office where the Post Office is now kept."

During the year following the appointment of Mr. Dunn, M. T. Green of Marietta made a contract by which he contracted to carry the mails between Cincinnati and Pittsburg in a pirogue. He also carried freight and passengers. The service to the interior of the Miami country was by the old-fashioned method, that of a post-boy carrying saddle-bags on horseback. For a time the post-boy was the son-in-law of Mr. Dunn, William Olin. Dunn himself added to his exchequer as postmaster by practicing law. Under Mr. Maxwell the service was considerably extended. John G. McDowell, we learn from a letter printed in the *Centinel* on October 3, 1795, was the contractor from Graham's Station to Cincinnati. Announcement was made that by his contract he was to arrive at Cincinnati on Monday at twelve o'clock noon and that he would not leave until the next morning, "which

is giving a sufficient time for the inhabitants of Cincinnati to answer their letters."

On April 2, 1796, another item with reference to the post office is the notice of the postmaster requesting those indebted to the post office to make immediate payment, and those who expect newspapers by post are requested to call and pay the postage.

Maxwell was succeeded in turn by Daniel Mayo, who however remained in office but a short time. His removal to Newport, Kentucky, necessitated his resignation. That his services were appreciated is shown by the fact that he was appointed postmaster at his new residence, and acted in that capacity until his death. He is said to have been an upright citizen and one highly esteemed in public and private life.

Mayo was succeeded by the man who was known in the early days as the postmaster, Maj. William Ruffin. He was appointed by President Washington in 1796 and served throughout the administrations of Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson and the greater part of that of Madison. He resigned to enter into mercantile business with his son-in-law, Major Oliver. During his term the office was located at his residence, a red two-story frame on the corner of Columbia and Lawrence streets. A corner covered with glass doors furnished a sufficient receptacle for all the mail matter of the day. The postage on a single letter in those days was 25 cents in specie. The mail occupied frequently four weeks in transit from the Eastern States.

THE WATER SUPPLY.

Naturally the problem of water was one of the first the settlers were called upon to solve. The village, being immediately on the bank of the river, was near the source of supply so far as water for purposes other than drinking was concerned. Drinking water, however, was obtained at first from springs in the hillsides, of which there were a number, particularly on the line of the bank about where Third street now runs. This supply was, however, very irregular and much of the water was carried in buckets from the river. One of the largest springs was on the site of the Little Miami freight depot, where was originally a tan-yard. This, known as "Kilgour's Spring," supplied the whole neighborhood. Another large one was at Deacon Wade's tan-yard on Congress street, between Pike and Butler streets. Another was in Deer creek valley at the foot of Harrison street. In Hunt's tan-yard, northeast of Court street, was another. All of these continued to flow up to the "thirties," and some up to the memory of those now living.

In 1791, the eccentric genius, John Robert Shaw, the well digger, was at Fort Washington, "where I dug the first well that ever was in Cincinnati, and by my directions the well in the garrison was finished, besides a number of other wells which I laid off, and which have been finished since my leaving there, which is a clear demonstration of the infallibility of the forked rod. For I do maintain that there is no danger of failing in procuring water, provided a man digs to the depth prescribed by the man who carries the rod, and understands the efficacy of it."

The time referred to is more than two years after the beginning of the settlement, and it seems hard to believe that during this time no one had resorted to the simple device of digging wells, a device with which all the settlers would be familiar.

The water carts of David McCash and his sons have already been referred to. Mr. Cist tells us of the dry summer of 1802, when most of the springs failed. Among the rest was one that supplied Deacon Wade's tan-yard. "Without water the business could not go on—not a dray in the settlement—what was to be done? An inventive genius, James McMahan, came to their relief; with an axe and auger he repaired to the adjoining fields, cut a couple of saplings, pinned cross-pieces, and upon them secured a cask. To this dray by aid of a yoke, or wooden collar, he geared his bull, and with this 'fixin' the water was furnished, and the business of the yard kept in operation."

A former Hessian soldier named Port, who lived in a hut under the bluff at the corner of Third and Main for a time, is said to have carried on the business of supplying the citizens with water. (Recollections of Jonathan Lyon.)

In June, 1801, Messrs. Avery and Fithian advertised in the *Spy* under the head "Living Water,"—"that they have completed their well of excellent water, at a heavy expense, and that four dollars per year will be expected from every person or family using the water." As an explanation of this high charge the information is given "that the well will have to be kept in order and supplied with buckets, rope and windlass, and cleaned out at least once a year." There were other private wells and also public ones supported by assessment. These latter included wells on the north side of Lower Market street, between Main and Sycamore, one on the east

side of Main, and one in front of the Miami Exporting Company's bank.

FIRE PROTECTION.

The matter of protection against fire occupied the serious attention of the villagers. The inadequacy of the water supply and the fact that the buildings in the settlement were all frame and that throughout the clearings were many dry and decaying stumps and logs, combined with the compactness of the settlement, necessitated by the fear of the Indians, made the community particularly susceptible to danger from this source. A good sized fire would have wiped out the settlement. There was reason to believe too that many of the little conflagrations were of incendiary origin. The soldiers were charged with these offenses, whether with justice or not it is hard to tell, but after the garrison had moved across the river the fires decreased very considerably in number. No regular department was in operation during the village life of Cincinnati.

The *Spy* of December 19, 1801, contains a call for a public meeting to take measures towards procuring a fire engine. The engine was not procured at this time, but on July 17, 1802, and later during the year provision was made by ordinance for an organization to fight the fire. "Every freeholder and every person being a householder and paying an annual rental as high as thirty-six dollars must be provided with a black-jack and leather bucket of a capacity of two and one-half gallons and contribute the use of it and his own physical exertions whenever he should hear a cry of fire. Every male between sixteen and fifty years of age had to serve. Such was the first step for fire protection in that Cincinnati that was to produce the first fire engine to be operated by steam—a blessing that the entire world now appreciates." (Henderson's Council, p. 23.)

COMMERCE.

The general character of the business as well as the manufacturing carried on here is indicated by the advertisements published in the chapter of newspaper quotations.

The commerce of the village and the means of communication with other points have been frequently referred to. The arks, keels, flat-boats and barges so familiar to pioneers continued to be the principal method of transportation by river for some time. Martin Baum's firm and others carried on a regular line of barges in the New Orleans trade. The regular packet line to Pittsburg was established, as seen by the advertisement quoted elsewhere, in January, 1794. An important event was the arrival on April 27, 1801, of the brig "St. Clair," in charge of Commander Whipple, bound for the West Indies and the ocean. As he passed the village "the banks were crowded with people all eager to view this pleasing presage of the future greatness of our infant country."

We have also seen the notices for the meetings at Yeatman's Tavern to consider a new method of propelling boats by steam or elastic vapor. It was not, however, until well into the next century that steamboats began to displace the keel-boats and flat-boats and the original business of the community was accommodated in these primitive conveyances.

PRICES OF LAND.

Among the early purchases reported in the gossip of the city was that made in July, 1795, by Robert Benham, who traded an old musket worth less than $10 in the inflated Continental currency for lot 51, 100 by 200 feet, and lots 56 and 57, 200 by 200 feet, at the northeast corner of Front and Sycamore and out-lots 16, 17, and 18 being the ground included between Main and Sycamore and Seventh and Canal.

During the next month Joseph Hahn traded his ax, valued at $1, for a lot, 50 by 200 feet, on Sycamore street, between Second and Third streets. The same time Samuel Dick traded a cow for out-lot 54, being a square bounded by 14th, Jefferson, Canal and Elm streets, and out-lots 58 and 59, bounded by Court, 12th and Canal streets and Central avenue. Two days before this, Dick traded a hat somewhat the worse for wear for lots 130 and 131, 200 feet, at the northeast corner of Second and Walnut streets, lot 151 at the northwest corner of Front and Walnut streets and lot 157 at the northeast corner of Front and Walnut streets.

Thomas Doyle of the garrison in August, 1795, gave a pair of moccasins valued at $2 in Continental scrip for lot 108 at the west side of Main near Third, 100 feet front. In October he traded a neat, second-hand great coat valued at $8 for out-lots 32 and 39 and in-lots 85 and 109. These included the squares between Court, Canal, Walnut and Race streets and the southwest and northeast corners of Third and Main.

In 1795 lots 83 and 84, 200 feet on Main at the southeast corner of Third, sold for $3 in depreciated certificates. Eight dollars in scrip bought the northeast corner of Third street and

Central avenue and three lots on the southeast corner, as well as almost all of the west side of Race from Second to Third. Four dollars in scrip bought 300 feet of this Race street purchase a day later. In the same year Benjamin Van Cleve paid $4 scrip for the southwest corner of Fourth and Sycamore, the northwest corner of Vine and Longworth, and out-lot 56 on Liberty and Elm streets.

In February, 1795, Dr. Allison paid £25 in depreciated scrip for six lots of 60 square yards each, lying just east of Fort Washington and north of Third street. Smith & Findlay, the merchants, moved their store in 1795 from the west side of Broadway to a lot on Front street, where the Bethel was afterwards built, for which lot they paid the high price of $4. The Isaac Bates' farm of 78 acres of land near the House of Refuge was purchased in 1795 for £19, 10 shillings. Lot 54, on the southwest corner of Second and Sycamore, was bought in the same year for nine cattle worth about $2 each. The Ludlows, Benjamin and William, bought a thousand acres of land near the present site of Spring Grove Cemetery for $639. Thomas Goudy, the lawyer, as may be seen from the various notices in the newspapers, became the owner of a great many notes of the earlier pioneers, which unfortunately were considerably below par. One for $21 he traded off for a little strip of ground 100 by 200 feet, on the southeast corner of Front and Elm, and the squares now bounded by Betts, 14th and Canal streets and Central avenue, and by Walnut, Vine, Seventh and Eighth streets and by 12th, 13th, Vine and Main,—four whole squares and a good corner lot. In Columbia the elder Mr. Goforth gave £10 for eight out-lots, each of five acres. S. Freeman gave $40 for a little over 27 acres in Columbia township and a number of out-lots and lots in Cincinnati, among which was the square from Seventh to Eighth and Race to Vine, that from Ninth to Court and Walnut to Vine, that from Fifth to Sixth and John street to Central avenue, that from 13th to 14th and Race to Vine and that between Fifth and Sixth and Plum and Elm. The purchase also included two lots on the west side of Vine between Second and Front and two on the east side of Race between Second and Front, running back to the Vine street lots, one on the north side of Front, between Plum and Western row and the southeast corner of Central avenue and Second street. These are but few of the many absurdly low prices obtained by Symmes for property which has since become worth millions. It must be remembered, however, that although these transactions all bear date of 1795 that probably they had actually taken place at least five years earlier, that is the bargains had been made at the earlier time. Symmes was not able to give deeds of course until he had obtained title from the government. Still, lands did not increase much in price during the first few years of the settlement. As late as 1799 Burnet, in a letter to Boudinot, says that "lands in this purchase have certainly fallen in price at least twenty-five or thirty percent in twelve months and I see no prospect of their taking a sudden rise, but on the contrary I fear that the sale of the public lands above the patent and below the Miami will bring them still lower."

BRIDGES.

In 1798 an attempt was made to connect the shores of Mill creek by a bridge. A subscription paper dated April 10th of that year was drawn up by Judge Symmes and subscriptions to the amount of $433 were obtained "for the express and sole purpose of forming and erecting a bridge over Mill creek at its mouth, either of stone or wood, on pillars or bents, so high as to be level with the top of the adjacent banks, and twelve feet wide, covered with three inch plank, and so strong that waggons with three tons weight may be safely drove over the same, and so durable that the undertaker shall warrant the bridge to continue, and be kept in repair for passing loaded waggons, seven years after the bridge is finished."

Judge Symmes headed the paper with a $100 subscription. Israel Ludlow followed with $70, Thomas Gibson, William H. Harrison, Cornelius R. Sedam $40 each, Joel Williams $30 and J. and Abijah Hunt $20. Among the other subscriptions for smaller amounts appear the names of Smith & Findlay, merchants, Samuel Dick, Andrew Park, Culbertson Park, Stephen Wood, Griffin Yeatman, Benjamin Stites, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., William McMillan, Jacob Burnet, Dr. J. Salmon, Aaron Reeder, George Gordon, Joseph Prince and Thomas Goudy. (Cist's Miscellany, Vol. II, p. 37.)

This bridge we are told was never built, as the amount of subscriptions was not sufficient. A floating bridge, however, was maintained with a ferry alongside which was used when the high waters made the bridge useless. These were in charge of a man named White and he is said to have carried on a profitable business.

There was a bridge across Deer creek, where the ravine in 1800 was not more than 12 feet across and overhung with evergreen and water willows, built of a single string piece from bank to bank with a descent at each end. This was protected at each end from freshets by piling loads of stone on the edges for 30 feet or more each way from the banks.

HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS.

As is natural in a small community, the public celebrations and holidays were participated in by the populace generally. It was to attend one of these celebrations on the Fourth of July in 1792 that Oliver M. Spencer came from Columbia to Cincinnati at the time he was captured by the Indians. Two years later the day was celebrated by a salute from Fort Washington, at that time in command of Captain Pierce, and a dinner at Maj. George Gordon's tavern in the frame house of Ludlow. In the following year there was another dinner at the same place at which 13 regular toasts were drank by the participants; in Columbia the celebration was equally elaborate and the number of toasts were 15. Two years later the dinner was at Yeatman's Tavern at the sign of the "Square and Compass." In 1798, in addition to the other regular exercises, there was a militia muster in charge of Lieut.-Col. Daniel Symmes. The following year there was a procession in which the military in the fort took part. Afterwards there was a dinner at Yeatman's and an address by Governor St. Clair. By 1800 the celebrations became more partisan in their character and the Republicans dined at Major Ziegler's, next door to Yeatman's. There was also a dinner at Frazier's in Columbia, where there were 16 toasts. In the following year the celebrations were more numerous. Governor St. Clair took part in a dinner at Yeatman's Tavern. Sixteen rounds were fired by the Cincinnati Light Infantry. Another party, presided over by Judge Symmes, picnicked on the Rock at Republican Springs in the East End. Major Goforth presided over the celebration in Columbia. (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. IV, p. 6.)

SOCIETY.

Dr. Drake speaks as follows of the society of the early days: "Now, the state of society in our olden time was very different from the present. In many respects the contrast between the two is scarcely less than the contrast of the primitive and the present scenery. From the beginning, the military element was predominant, and up to the end of the first era, its influence was still perceptible, not in the generation of ferocious passions and dueling practices, but in fostering indolence, apathy and a love of pleasure. High aims and great enterprises, with intense efforts for their accomplishment, did not belong to those times, even in the older settled portions of the Union, and if they sprang up, as indeed they did, in the minds of some of our pioneers, they had to contend against many adverse and discouraging circumstances. The army, at this time so emulous of civil society, in propriety and purity of manners, was then much further behind a far worse condition of general society. Drinking to intoxication, public balls, theatrical amusements, horse-racing, billiards, and various games of chance, prevailed to a degree exceedingly unfavorable to habits of study or business. Cards, the most dangerous of all family amusements, were a part of the means of wasting time, in the majority of the houses of the village; and the whisky bottle was a symbol of hospitality in the whole. Every body drank, but every body was not a drunkard; nor must it be supposed that there was no minority of industrious, sober-minded and pious persons, who sought by example, as well as precept, to rectify the morals of the majority. Yet even these were temperate drinkers; and when they dispatched a messenger for the family physician, would examine the bottle, and if by chance they found it empty, would start another to the distillery or nearest tavern. In his morning and his evening rounds the doctor was expected to drink wherever he stopped, and would even give offense by refusing, unless he never drank at all. Public lectures, now so common and instructive or amusing, on almost every branch of human knowledge, were then unthought of; and I can not recollect any associations for mutual improvement, except that primitive, old-fashioned organization, which I really think has done much good in the world—the Young Men's Debating Society. Of those who belonged to ours, a large number have since become respectable and useful men, while three have earned a national reputation—John McLean, of the Supreme Court of the United States, Joseph G. Totten, Chief Engineer, and Thomas S. Jesup, Quarter Master General of our army." (Drake's Discourses, p. 49.) The debating society was, however, of later date.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PIONEER NEWSPAPERS (1790–1802).

NEWS ITEMS AND ADVERTISEMENTS.

THE CENTINEL OF THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY—FREEMAN'S JOURNAL—THE WESTERN SPY AND HAMILTON GAZETTE.

THE CENTINEL OF THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY.

The first newspaper published in Cincinnati was entitled *The Centinel of the North-western Territory*. It was published by William Maxwell at the corner of Front and Sycamore streets, beginning with the number of November 9, 1793. The motto of this paper was "Open to all parties—but influenced by none," a noble sentiment representing the vain aspirations of many editors. It consisted at first of four pages of eight and one-half inches by ten and one-half inches. In July of 1794 the size of the pages increased to about eight and one-fourth inches by fourteen inches and in September, 1795, the pages were again increased in length to about nine and one-half inches by fifteen inches. During the period of the first size referred to, each page contained three columns, while the later papers contained four columns to a page. The price per annum of the paper was two hundred and fifty cents, or seven cents for a single copy. This paper was continued for a period of about two and one-half years. In the summer of 1796 the proprietorship changed and thereafter the paper appeared under the name of *Freeman's Journal*, under which it was continued until November, 1800.

The library of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati contains almost a complete set, 118 numbers, of this earliest publication, probably the only set in existence.

The paper is made up of communications on subjects of local interest, foreign intelligence, in which the news from France receives the most consideration, letters from various parts of the East concerning American affairs and usually one or two items under the head of Cincinnati. The most interesting part of the paper is of course the advertisements which give many sidelights upon the life of the inhabitants of those early days. They abound with rewards for the return of lost or stolen property, for the sale of lots and land and also of merchandise and runaway slaves. Among the most frequent advertisements are those of rewards offered for deserters from the army and of husbands whose wives have proved faithless to them and who therefore warn the public that they will no longer be responsible for their debts. Another common form of advertisement is to the effect that the subscriber will not pay some note or obligation which he has signed and therefore warns any person from purchasing the same. A recital of some of these advertisements will give an excellent view of the conditions of the time.

The conditions of life were shown by the statement of the printer: "This country is in its infancy, and the inhabitants are daily exposed to an enemy who, not content with taking away the lives of men in the field; have swept

away whole families, and burnt their habitations. We are well aware that the want of a regular and certain trade down the Mississippi deprives this country, in a great measure, of money at the present time. These are discouragements, nevertheless I am led to believe the people of this country are disposed to promote science, and have the fullest assurance that the *Press* from its known utility will receive proper encouragement."

An early discussion was with reference to the law of the Territory requiring merchants and tavern people to take out a license. This seems to have been a very important matter and brought forth several learned disquisitions signed according to the fashion of the time by such classical names as "Plebius" and "Manlius." We learn on November 23rd, that on the 20th the house of the lawyer Thomas Goudy was broken into and that the thief seemed particularly interested in the matter of clothing for he took "one waistcoat and breeches, black silk; one buff casimer waistcoat, one black florentine do. one purple and white striped do. one pair yellow breeches, ribbed worsted; one pair paist knee-buckles, with a small range of purple stones set inside the white do.; nine ruffled shirts; one marked W. F. the rest marked T. G. 5 neck cloths, 3 pair silk stockings, 2 pair silk and cotton striped do. one pair cotton do. 2 pair shoes, one red cotton handkerchief, with white spots interspersed." For the discovery of the thief of this gorgeous raiment Goudy offers the sum of eight dollars reward and a generous reward for the property if returned to him.

The same number contains an offer of two dollars reward for the return of a coat lost between Griffin's Station and Fort Washington and several small articles enclosed therein; to wit: One shirt, one pair of small clothes, one muslin neckcloth and sundry papers.

John Ludlow offers four dollars reward for the thief and two dollars for "a Dark Bay horse, fourteen hands and a half high, in middling order, with a square docked tail, trots and canters, about 14 years old," which horse was stolen in Cincinnati and is supposed to have been taken to Kentucky.

From an advertisement of Jacob Myers we learn that two Ohio packet boats were in the service from Cincinnati to Pittsburg, performing a round trip in four weeks. "The proprietor of these boats having maturely considered the many inconveniences and dangers incident to the common method hitherto adopted of navigating the Ohio, and being influenced by a love of philantrophy (sic), and desire of being serviceable to the public, has taken great pains to render the accommodations on board the boats as agreeable and convenient as they could possibly be made.

"No danger need be apprehended from the enemy, as every person on board will be under cover, made proof against rifle or musquet balls, and convenient port holes for firing out of. Each of the boats are armed with six pieces carrying a pound ball; also a number of good muskets and amply supplied with plenty of ammunition, strongly manned with choice hands, and the masters of approved knowledge.

"A separate cabbin from that designed for the men, is partitioned of in each boat for accommodating ladies on their passage. Conveniences are constructed on board each boat, so as to render landing unnecessary, as it might, at times, be attended with danger. * * *

"Persons desirous of working their passage, will be admitted on finding themselves, subject, however, to the same order and directions from the master of the boats, as the rest of the working hands of the boats crew."

Mr. Myers also suggests that an "Office of Insurance will be kept at Cincinnati, Limestone and Pittsburgh, where persons desirous of having their property insured may apply."

A notice of November 30, 1793, that a "malignent disorder that has long so raged in Philadelphia is entirely ceased" is followed by the statement of the death of the son of Colonel Strong at Cincinnati "with the natural small-pox, which now prevails with great virulence in this place."

A discussion on the origin of love is followed by a column of rewards of twenty dollars per man, offered by Capt. Edw. Butler, commanding the fourth sub-legion, for deserters eight in number. The deserters are described in considerable detail; as of Patrick O'Hara, obviously an Irishman, it is said that "if villainy could be called an accomplishment, he is accomplished in a high degree. * * * A mason by trade, a thief and drunkard," while John Johnson is to be identified by the fact that he has "remarkable large feet and thick lips." The rewards were to be paid in Spanish mill dollars.

Levi Woodward advertised that on November 11th between Seth Cutler's tavern, and Samuel Thompson's house, he had "found a pair of Deer Skin Sattle Bags, one Shirt, and one pair of Trousers made of Homespun linen, which the owner can have by proving Property, and paying Charges."

Darius C. Orcutt had a tract of land for sale on the Licking River for which he would take corn, whiskey, flour, neet cattle, horses, pork, beef or cash in payment.

Thomas Gibson announced on November 29th his arrival at his store, the "North-East corner from John Ludlow's, Esq., with a very large Assortment of Dry Goods, Madeira, Sherry, Lisbon, and Teneriff Wines, Spirits, Brandy, Loaf and Brown Sugars, Pepper, Alspice and other Groceries. All which he will dispose of on Reasonable Terms."

On the same day is published a notice requesting merchants and tavern people who hold licenses to meet at the house of John Grier, "to consult about matters concerning themselves only."

Job Gard evidently lost his parchment pocketbook on the 11th of October, a little above the North Bend on the river, or on shore at the North Bend. This contained nothing but a number of valuable papers of no use to any person but the owner. He offered four dollars reward for its return.

John Armstrong of Columbia on November 14th "calls on all those who have not settled their accounts, contracted before the first day of the present month, to make immediate payment; corn, beef, pork, butter, cheese, potatoes, furr and skins will be taken at his store at the market price." He makes a special note of the fact that he has a quantity of turnips for sale.

Gano & Company of Columbia on November 20th announce that "all persons indebted to the Subscriber for last years Contracts or Sales, are for the last time requested to make Payment, as no longer time can be given." Country produce of all kinds was evidently as acceptable as cash.

On December 4th, A. Hunt & Company advertise for a quantity of "Corn-fed Pork" for which they offer cash. In a note is stated the fact that "a Journeyman Tanner will meet with encouragement by applying to A. H."

Levi Munsell offers at public sale on December 9th, at his house "in lots of about Ten Gallons, a few Barrels of Spirits, cordials," etc.

Daniel Duffey "finding it necessary to have all his accompts fully settled, requests all to whom he is indebted, to bring in their accompts for payment: Those who have accompts before the first of Nov. last unpaid, and cannot make it convenient to discharge the same, will please to call at the Store, and give their obligations, as all accompts antecedent to that period will be closed."

From the issue of December 7th, from which these last notices were taken, it is learned the subscriptions were received in Columbia, by John Armstrong, Esq.; at North Bend by Aaron Cadwell, Esq.; at Colerain by Capt. John Dunlop, and in New-Port, by Capt. John Bartle.

John Dunlop offers donation out-lots of ten acres each to so many of the first settlers at a new station on the Great Miami River, three miles above Colerain. On December 14th is recorded the return of Mr. Wells and a friendly Indian from the "Ogglase" with two Indian squaws as prisoners.

John Ludlow on December 18th advertises "Good Encouragement will be given to a Number of *Settlers* at Mount Pleasant, two miles from Ludlow's Station, on the Main Road to Fort Hamilton."

C. Avery (December 21st) calls on those who are indebted to him to pay their accounts, "otherwise, he will be under the necessity of taking measures which will be disagreeable to him and more so to those, who do not comply with this friendly notice."

John Dealy advertises for journeymen coopers.

Obediah Scott offers to "winter horses or horned cattle of which good care will be taken, but not answerable for accidents."

On December 28th is announced the arrival of Captain Faulkner from headquarters with the information that two spies who had gone out with Mr. Wells had "penetrated so near one of the Ogglaze towns, as to have a view of it, but being discovered, were pursued so close that they were obliged to take shelter in a swamp where they continued for several days: They at length left the swamp, but from the weather being cloudy, they mistook their course, and came within view of the Miami villages, where they saw a large body of Indians encamped under cover of tents, supposed to be about nine hundred: They immediately returned, and after surmounting many dangers and obstructions, arrived at head quarters on the 12th inst, almost perished from the want of sustenance, and the inclemency of the weather."

We are likewise informed that a detachment has been ordered out to the old battle-ground, to erect a garrison (Fort Recovery).

The same number of December 28, 1793, contains Governor St. Clair's proclamation insisting upon neutrality toward Spain and forbidding the inhabitants to join in the attempt against the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi.

On January 4, 1794, is announced the erection

of several blockhouses on the old battle-ground, in which two companies were left under the command of Major Burbeck. On this same day William Kelly publishes "his first and last notice" to all persons indebted to him to come and settle as he is "determined to give no longer indulgence."

James Forguson (Ferguson) offers his dwelling house and part of the lot whereon he lives for sale and calls upon the persons indebted to him to make settlement with him as he is determined to leave this place on the 15th inst.

Mathew Winton offers eight dollars reward for the thief and a stolen horse "five years old, a long switched tail, shood all round, has a scum over part of the off eye, paces, trots and handgallops well."

William Tait offers "a neat and general assortment of *Dry Goods* and *Groceries,* far superior in quality to any yet opened in this place," in a small frame house on the southeast corner of Sycamore and Second streets.

On January 18, 1794, appears "TO BE LET THE *large frame House, lately occupied by William M'Millen, and where the Printing-office is now kept.*"

John Galbraith, being about to leave this country, asks those who are indebted to make payment to him "as it will be a great advantage to him, and perhaps no loss to them."

John Dunlop notifies those holding donation lots in the town of Colerain that they must comply with the terms of settlement by the first day of May next or look upon their lots as forfeited.

On January 25, 1794, are published the "proposals" of George R. Clark, Esq., "Major-General in the armies of *France,* and Commander-in-Chief of the *French revolutionary Legions* on the Mississippi River. For raising Volunteers for the reduction of the Spanish posts on the Mississippi, for opening the trade of said river, and giving freedom to its inhabitants &c." In these proposals, land from one to three thousand acres is offered to those joining the expedition. This notice is printed upon the same page and preceding Governor St. Clair's neutrality proclamation.

In this same number William M'Millan "having removed to the country, gives notice to those whom it may concern, that his office of Judge of the common pleas, will hereafter be kept at the mansion house of Isaac Martin in Cincinnati, where due attendance will be given each Wednesday and Saturday in every week." The "country" is the present site of Avondale.

On February 15th appears a notice signed John Mills, major in the second sub-legion, inspector and adjutant-general to the army, that "as the army at present on the frontiers will undoubtedly, be inclined to purchase many of the articles of country produce, and will pay a generous price in cash—The Citizens of this place, of Columbia, and of the adjacent country, may find it to their advantage to convey to any of the military posts, any species of provisions, or other country produce (whiskey excepted) for which they will have a ready sale and prompt payments. The greatest encouragement will be given, and an assurance of protection from insult or injury."

In the same number appears the notice that "David Zeigler (Ziegler) has lately arrived from Philadelphia with a valuable and choice assortment of West Indian & dry goods, which are now exposed for sale at the store lately occupied by Robert Tait, deceased. Corn will be taken equal to cash."

Joseph Prince also repeatedly advertises, cash given for furs at his shop "where may be had genuine good Hats."

February 22, 1794, Mr. Findley, merchant, just arrived from Pittsburg, tells of being attacked by the Indians above the mouth of the Scioto. A statement is also made that the time for the Indians to come in and treat had elapsed and that there was no probability of their coming.

William Wilson announces his arrival "with a fresh and general assortment of DRY GOODS and GROCERIES, which he is now opening at his store, kept by Mr. James Silver, in Front Street, next door to where Henry Reed deceased, formerly kept." He will receive as well as cash "Deer skins, Bear skins, and furs."

Disappointment seems to have soured the disposition of Daniel Duffey for he advertises: "Having notified the persons indebted to the concern of Mr. Atcheson, in the store I superintend, at Cincinnati, that obligations were expected for the balance due—— I find the people pay no attention to any thing offered through the medium of a *News-paper.* However I hope that all our customers will individually consider this as a notice directed to each of them; as their giving their obligations will prove honesty on their part; so it will also give confidence to their humble servant, to credit them in future."

Samuel Black did not trust to the newspaper,

but announces that he has put his claims in the hands of Thomas Goudy, attorney-at-law.

A. Hunt repeats his advertisement for "an active lad between 14 and 18 years of age, who can come well recommended as an Apprentice to the tanning & Currying Business." "An active lad" was also desired as an apprentice to the printing business.

The following week, in the issue of March 1st, G. Turner advertises: "WANTED—The ensuing spring, *four or five Buffalo Calves* of each sex."

A large portion of each number of the paper is given to news from France. As an indication of the interest in things French, on March 1st there is printed a table which will enable readers "to decipher the French dates for a twelvemonth to come."

John Meeker of Columbia, in the issue of March 8th, authorizes the following: "Notice, To all whom it may concern, Not to credit my wife Elizabeth Meeker, on my account as she has absconded from my bed and board with out any Provocation; therefore I am determined not to pay any debts of her contracting, from this date."

In this number also is the news of an attack by Indians about nine miles on this side of Fort Hamilton "upon two wagons owned by Mr. Scott Traverse, the one loaded with merchandize belonging to Messrs. Smith & Findley, of this place, the other with Quarter-Master's stores. * * * * * The waggoners were both killed, the teams captured, the waggons set on fire, and together with their cargoes intirely consumed. Mr. Traverse appears to have been most inhumanly butchered."

On March 10th "Mr. Flin and Mrs. Prier, were coming along General Harmar's old trace, on their way from White's Station to this place. * * * Was met by two Indians and chased a considerable distance, but escaped without damage.

"There has also been a number of horses stolen out of this town, in the corse of the present week." The stealing of horses seems to have been of common occurrence for every number contains notice offering rewards for the return of stock of this character.

On March 22nd is recorded the death of Ballard Smith, "Major in the fourth sub-legion of the Legion of the United States." The reporter is extremely conservative in his statement about the deceased officer. He says: "His remains were viewed with the regret of all who knew him. They knew his foibles: they knew his virtues. As a soldier, his courage was unquestionable; as a man, his conduct was such (allowing for the frailities of human nature) as placed him on a respectable scale in society.

"His corpse was attended to the grave by the commissioned officers, and a detachment of soldiers of the garrison of Fort Washington. These were accompanied by the ladies of the officers, the chief magistrate at present in the Territory, and the most respectable citizens. During the procession, minute guns were fired from the Fort. In short, the whole was conducted with that solemnity and decorum which stamp merit on the object that were designed to honour."

Information is given of the discovery by Mr. Litle, a surveyor on the Little Miami, of a large encampment of Indians. Litle and his party returned to Columbia without being discovered by the enemy and on Monday, March 17th, a party consisting of forty men, commanded by Captain Flinn, set out in pursuit of the savages. On the 19th two men were fired upon by Indians within four miles of Columbia, one of whom was mortally wounded.

John Ludlow, the sheriff, on March 21st issued a proclamation adjourning the court until the second Tuesday in April next at which time the justices of the peace, the coroner and constables with their rolls, records, inquisitions and other remembrances and all persons who will prosecute against the prisoners are directed to appear.

Thirty dollars reward is offered for an Isaac Kelsey "by profession a Savage having resided with them twelve years; * * * who deserted off his post on the night of the 15th inst." He is described as "about thirty years of age, dark complexion, short black hair, black eyes, snaggle teeth, six feet six or seven inches high, and of slender make, moves very awkwardly."

John Dunlop offers "good encouragement to a Black-Smith" at Colerain. William Bryant on March 22nd offers ten dollars reward in the following terms: "Ran away from the subscriber on the 21st of February last, living in Kentucky in Lincoln county, a Negroe man by the name of Sam, about 23 years old, and about five feet six inches high, and well made to that hight, and has a very large beard for a Negroe of that age, and a very large mouth. Had on when he went away, country made gray clothing. Any person securing the said Negroe so that I get him again, shall receive the above reward."

In the issue of April 5th the editor apologizes

for not having issued the paper the week before. His excuse was sickness. The same issue contains a letter from Judge Turner to Captain Kibby of Columbia congratulating him on pursuing and killing two savages who had committed depredations on the inhabitants at Columbia. The fact that the inhabitants at Columbia had offered rewards for Indian scalps is commented on with favor in another letter.

A. Andrews complains that "some evil minded person, or persons, have thought proper to mark a heifer, my property" and offers a reward for the detection of the persons who committed "this daring and flagrent act."

John Miller "wishes to inform the public that he has engaged in the business of butchery in the Town of Cincinnati."

The opening of the General Court before Hon. George Turner is reported: "The procession from the Judge's Chambers to the public ground, was in the following order:

"Constables with Battoons.
"Shiriff and Coroner with white Wonds.
"Gaoler.
"The Honorable Judge.
"Clerk with a green bag.
"Judges of the Common Pleas.
"Justices of the Peace.
"Attornies, Messengers, &c."

A letter written from Marietta to Maj. David Ziegler is quoted in which the statement is made that the "British Minister had required the United States, either to take arms for, or against the French nation, as they would not allow the Americans to be any longer neutral, and in consequence of that or other reasons, Congress has ordered fifteen thousand men to be immediately raised.—All the topic here is a British war—and the numerous captures of American vessels by the British, are corroborated by the Philadelphia newspapers, strongly evince the necessaty of some decisive measures to prevent the insults of the haughty Albions, on the one hand, and the horred yell and barbarity of the savages on the other."

In another letter the statement is made that "A number of the members of the House (at the Capital) speak of the situation of our army wretched—That the Senate in general are opposed to A. W. (Anthony Wayne) and it was the opinion of all the eastern members that a reduction to two regiments was the only measure to be adopted, and to depend upon the militia for further support."

John Armstrong of Columbia states that "ENCOURAGEMENT Will be given to any number of families who wish to form a settlement on that fertile TRACT of LAND, bounded by the Great Miami, on which Fort Hamilton stands and including the large Prairie."

The charge of George Turner to the grand jury delivered on April 8th is published in the issue of April 19th. It discusses liberty and morality in general but says little that could be of any assistance to the grand jurors in their deliberations. At this session which broke up on the 17th the following sentences were imposed:

"*James Dorsey*, a free negro, convicted of larceny—to be whipped through the principal streets of this city, with one and thirty stripes on the bare back; and during the punishment to wear fastened to his hat a paper with these words in large letters, 'AN INCORRIGIBLE OFFENDER.'—Then to find assurity for his good behaviour for 6 months, pay costs of prosecution, and stand convicted til sentence be performed.

"*Mingo* (supposed to be a runaway negro) convicted of larceny,—to be whipped before the Jail Door with 29 stripes on the bare back.

"*Thomas Cochran*, innkeeper, was found guilty of suffering gaming in his house, contrary to a Territorial statute—and adjudged to pay a fine of 100 dollars to the use of the Territory, to lose his license, and pay costs of prosecution.

"The several Sentences have since been carried into execution.

"On the 16th the High Sheriff of Hamilton, the Coroner and the Gentlemen of the Bar, gave an elegant entertainment to his Honour, at the house of George Gordon, esq and to which the Gentlemen who composed the Grand Jury were likewise invited. The day was spent with perfect harmony and decorum."

R. M'Clure advertises "THE SUBSCRIBER, Has excellent Bitters for sail, made agreeable to the London dispensatory, and are equal, if not superior to any made by Stoughton."

In the following week a correction is made to the effect that on the 10th instant the grand jury gave an entertainment which had not been mentioned in the notices just quoted. The statement is made as to the entertainment at the house of George Gordon and "many patriotic and republican toasts were drank."

Four horses were stolen by the Indians at Columbia and Captain Kibby set out in pursuit of them.

Peter Welsh, hairdresser and perfumer, advertises for an "Apprentice to the Hairdressing bus-

iness," desiring an active lad between 13 and 14 years of age "who can come well recommended for his activity and manners."

(Dr.) John Hole on May 3rd announces his determination to give no longer indulgence to his creditors.

In the number of May 3rd is reported the proceedings of the general court-martial whereof Captain Ford was president and Captains Porter, Cook, Creton, Thompson and Lieutenants Ingersall and Massey were members and Ensign Charles Hyde, judge advocate. The court was called to try Adam Caldwell, a settler of this place, who was charged "for having made an attempt to depreciate the current bills of the Bank of the United States, in declaring to a private soldier of the Legion, who offered him one of the said bills of three dollars, that he would not give him in hard money for it, half the amount thereof—Intending thereby to destroy the confidence of the soldier in the said bills of the Bank of the United States which conduct ultimately tends to excite and cause mutiny in the Legion."

Captain Miller swore as a witness to the transaction which happened in Mr. Munsell's store. Mr. Caldwell had stated to a soldier that he would not give two dollars in silver for the bill whereupon Captain Miller accosted him and "he turned to me smiling in the presents of the soldier, that he would not give half the amount of any bill; I then told him he ought to be hanged and went out of the door, the soldier went out also without trading with him."

With the usual disregard of the rules of evidence that prevails in courts martial, testimony was offered to show that on other occasions the accused had received bills at their face value, but the court found him guilty and he was sentenced to leave the cantonment and never to return in the capacity of a trader.

The usual attacks of Indians are reported. On April 25th four men coming from Hamilton were attacked by savages about 18 miles from Cincinnati. One of the men was killed, another mortally wounded; three teams going to White's Station were in view of the attack but made their escape.

That the Americans were blessed with that confidence in their superiority over all other nations that is a national characteristic at all times is shown by a letter to an officer in the "Legion" published May 10th in which the statement is made, referring to the fear of a British war, that "our country is unvulnerable, and we have little to lose; whilst our inveterate and persecuting foe, will hazard her West India, and other American possessions; domestic commotion, and a revolution. No nation can retard the rising importance of our country, but Britain, and our aggrandizement must keep pace with her depression."

George Turner complains of the loss "between Town and the Fort, a thin flat box containing two Paintings in oil, both Landscapes."

A week later the attack upon the command of Major Winston en route from Fort Washington to headquarters is recorded. This same issue contains the notice printed elsewhere offering rewards for Indian scalps.

John and Charles Wilkins and Company "having declined business at this place," ask for a settlement of accounts.

As usual, on May 24th more Indian outrages are reported. Two Indians stole a horse from Columbia and were pursued by a small party from Nelson's Station. The Indians were overtaken and one of them killed. He was immediately scalped and the party claimed a reward of $136 offered by the public notice already referred to.

A familiar name, Zebulon Pike, is attached to a proclamation offering $50 reward for the arrest of a deserter who "appears to strangers to be a man of morality, and not habitual to the vices of hard drinking, swearing, &c. he is very industrious and a great impostor, is capable of every imaginable dissimulation."

Robert Mitchel and John M'Cloud informed the public that "they purpose carrying on the rope making business in all its various branches."

George G. Taylor advertised for a runaway negro named Aaron.

Quite a pretty little controversy was aroused by the letter referred to as written from Marietta in which General Wayne was commented upon. It is apparent from the tone of the correspondence that partisan politics cut as much figure in the criticism of army and officers in the early days as at present.

Peter Davis on June 14th advertised: "NOTICE, Is hereby given to all whom it may concern, that Elizabeth Davis (my wife), absented from my bed, and has since taken up with another man. This is therefore to forewarn all persons to trust her any thing on my account, as I will pay no debts of her contracting."

Mr. Davis seems to have been in earnest about this matter as he repeated the advertisement in several issues of the paper.

In the issue of June 21, 1794, appears the account of an attack by Indians upon Major Stites and Nathaniel Reeder of Columbia while on their way to Cincinnati; the latter was slightly wounded. The same evening a Mr. Jones was taken prisoner but fortunately made his escape during the night.

An announcement is made of a public auction at the house of Samuel Freeman and there "will be sold * * * (for cash only) the following articles, viz: Rose Blankets, No. 1 and No. 2, Indian ditto, No. 1 Forrest Cloth. Printed Cottons, Barrowthrees, Blue Strouding, No. 104 Brown Halfthicks Gray Coating Silk and Twist, Coloured Thread, Coat Buttons, Vest ditto, Crosscut Files, Handsaw ditto, Looking Glasses, Ribbons and Gold Cord, Table Spoons, Tea ditto, Shot and Lead Sattin and Hats." There were also offered the following books: Carr's "Sermons," 2 vols.; "Paradise Lost;" "Modern Chivalry" by H. H. Brackenridge, 2 vols.; the "Sexator or Parliamentory Chronicle," Seneca's "Morals," Rollins' "Belles Letters," "Prince of Abissinia" (sic) and the "Idler," by Dr. Johnson.

On June 28th appeared a news item to the effect that "we learn that here is a Post established from Pittsburgh to this place, and that Abner M. Dunn Esq. is appointed Deputy Post-Master-General in this place."

A. Hunt & Company offer "FOR SALE, A house and lot on the hill. The house has two very convenient rooms down stairs." "On the hill" of course means above Third street.

The paper is increased in size with issue No. 35, July 12, 1794.

The anniversary of Independence Day was celebrated "with becoming glee, by a joyous band of free hearts and willing spirits, from the Army and the City.

"At noon a federal salute, from Fort Washington, now commanded by Captain John Pierce of the artillery.

"At 4 o'clock the company sat down, if not to Eastern luxuries, to a handsome and plentiful dinner, well served by Mr. Gordon.—The juicy high flavored venison of the forest, and the delicious turtle of the Ohio, was not absent on this occasion.

"Well seasoned mirth, and paternal harmony beguiled the passing day, and the company retired at 8 o'clock, having drank the following toasts and sentiments, under the discharge of cannon."

Some of the toasts were as follows:

4. "The Sans Cullottes of France and cause of Liberty, triumphant."

6. "General Wayne and the Legion."

7. "Heads of Departments, may they feed well, physick well, pay well, cloath well and carry well."

8. "War with Britain or speedy concession."

9. "Volunteers of Kentucky, two thousand of them on the northern bank of the Ohio."

10. "The memory of Major *M'Machan,* and his gallant brethren in arms, who fell on the 30th ultimo, overpowered by a host of savages, and may the name of Hartshorn of Craig, and of Torry, never be forgotton."

11. "Arthur St. Clair, Governor of this Territory, may his ways be strewed with flowers."

14. "May we never want courage when put to a shift."

15. "A mixture of Lake water with Kentucky whiskey, for the use of the Legion."

The same number announces that the post had arrived from Pittsburg and that the post office was kept at the dwelling house of Abner M. Dunn, Esq.

James Wilkinson announces that "the friendship which I bore him when alive, and the respect in which I hold his memory, induced me to administer upon the estate of Mr. Francis Solander, deceased" and therefore the General asks all persons indebted to the estate to please make settlement. Solander was a French emigrant who had died suddenly but a short time before at Fort Hamilton. He seems to have been a man of very fine education and of many accomplishments and was regarded with great respect by his acquaintances.

Thomas Thursbey, late of the United States Legion, announces his removal to North Bend where he proposes to carry on the "Tayloring" business and solicits custom.

On July 19th John Houston offers twenty dollars reward for the recovery of his black leather pocket book lost in Cincinnati or the river adjacent thereto which contained about the sum of $150 in bank notes and also a note of hand on Simon Kenton.

Winthrop Sargent on July 24th announces for the benefit of magistrates and others that the printed list of the laws of the Territory passed at the last session are ready for delivery.

By a proclamation of July 21, 1794, Winthrop Sargent, acting as Governor, set apart the 14th of August as a day for fasting, humiliation and prayer.

The public are cautioned to beware of counter-

feit bills and an elaborate description of the counterfeits are given.

(Dr.) R. M'Clure on August 16th calls upon those indebted to him to settle "that he may as soon as possible, be enabled to send for a fresh supply of medicines, without which he cannot do justice to his patients. The great difficulty of getting medicines to this place, so remote from where a general assortment can be procured, must appear obvious to very person of common understanding. He therefore hopes this notification will be attended to with punctuality."

Dr. M'Clure also adds: "ALL Persons who have received phials from me, which are not in immediate use, are requested to return them to me immediately, and any person who brings spare phials, which did not belong to me should be paid their value in cash."

Samuel Robinson on August 23rd advertises: "FOR SALE A valuable track of land, containing 300 acres, lying on Harmers trace, within four miles of his place.

"Also a half lot in the town, with a small cabin on it, next door to Colonel Gibson's, and a four acre out lot with a good crop of corn."

The proclamation of Winthrop Sargent, the commandant of the militia, directing the carrying of arms when going to church printed in a preceding chapter, is published in the issue of the *Centinel* on August 30, 1794.

A very elaborate correspondence with regard to Capt. John Armstrong of Columbia who had resigned the previous year from the army was printed in the issue of August 30th.

From a letter of Winthrop Sargent, published September 6, 1794, it is learned that the old Indian grave was opened at Cincinnati on August 30th previous. Mr. Sargent asks for various articles in the hands of individuals which had been taken from the grave and also for other scientific information. He encloses a letter announcing the formation of an historical society in the city of Boston which society is desirous of collecting certain information. A detailed list of the articles on which information is desired is printed in full. The answers if any were made would be of inestimable value to-day.

James Robison "begs leave to, forewarn all persons from taking an assignment on a note of hand that he give to Abraham Garrison for nine pounds, payable on demand. As he is determined not to pay it, until compelled by law."

William Reed publishes his wife, announcing his determination not to pay her debts.

James Kavenagh informs the public "that he purposes carrying on the black and white smith business, horse shoeing, and farrieing, in its different branches, bell making."

For some unexplained reason Anthony Symth, who had been advertising for some time as he was executor of Maj. Ballard Symth, gives notice that he declines transacting any further business for the estate.

On September 13th is published the proclamation referred to elsewhere of Winthrop Sargent, acting Governor, in which he recited the attack by a party of lawless men on a number of Choctaw Indians who had returned from Wayne's army. He recited the proceedings of the day and of the night following at which times persons referred to paraded the streets in hostile array. He announced his unalterable determination to correct the past and prevent all future aggressions. He attributed the outrages to the violation of the statutes against selling intoxicating liquors and called upon the proper officials to bring to justice the offenders and to cause the proper legal descriptions and distinctions to be affixed at those places authorized to vend the ardent spirits.

John S. Gano and William Stanley announce the formation of a new firm at Columbia on September 17, 1794, where they will give credit for two or three months, and will extend indulgence until crops are gathered, at which time corn will be received in place of cash.

John Brown advertises September 27th: "To the Public, At the sign of his Excellency George Washington Esq. horses will be taken in keeping, and due attendance will be given by the public's most humble servent."

On the same date W. Maxwell requests all that have not paid the first part of their subscription to the *Centinel* to make payment that he may be enabled to lay in a supply of paper for the ensuing winter.

Daniel Symmes, sheriff, announces to the public on September 27th that he has committed to jail William Courtnay, a laborer, an escaped prisoner from Mason County, Kentucky and a slave named Ned of the same county and notifies the sheriff that he may have Courtnay and slave upon paying the legal fees but in the following week's issue Mr. Symmes appears with an advertisement of $30 reward. From this it is learned that Courtnay and the negro man named Ned and another prisoner broke jail on Tuesday night, the 30th of September, stole a canoe and went down the Ohio. One of the prisoners is described as a small man who was almost naked

when he made his escape "but by the great propensity he has to steal he will soon be clothed. He is noted as having been convicted and whipped for breaking and robbing a store in this town."

As usual, advertisements for stolen horses are intermingled with the ordinary trade advertisements and the offers of rewards for deserters.

The death of Robert Elliott which is described elsewhere in this work is announced with poignant regret in the issue of October 11, 1794.

The issue of October 18th contains a proclamation of the commander-in-chief congratulating the army on their brilliant success in the action of August 20th, "against the whole combined force of the hostile savages, aided by a body of the militia of Detroit, and countenanced by the British post and garrison close in their rear; beyond which the fugatives fled with disorder, precipitation and dismay, leaving their packs, provisions, and plunder, at their encampment in the rear of that post."

It is apparent from the list of letters remaining in the post office on the last day of September, 1794, that many prominent citizens were careless about their mail. Among the names are those of Seth Carhart, William Harrison, Lieut. Calvin Morrell, Levi Munsell, Robert Purdy, ensign, Capt. D. E. Turner, Samuel Willard, Benjamin Whiteman and Lieut. Husband Young.

The discharge of the Kentucky volunteers under the command of Major-General Scott, crossing the Ohio on their way home is noted as of the 22nd and 23rd of October.

In the same paper Robert Kean forewarns "all persons from taking an assignment on a note of hand that I gave to Benjamin Brown, for twenty dollars, in payment for a horse—and as the horse has been proven to be the public property, I am determined not to pay the note."

William Reed on September 5th forbids all persons to trust his wife as he is determined to pay no debts of her contracting.

Evidently Lieut. Young Husband, who is undoubtedly the Husband Young whose letter was uncalled for, had but little use for the letter as his death on the 16th of October took place at Fort Jefferson. "His *extreme honest candour* relished not with all; but made him be loved by many—he had many *virtues!* If he possessed foibles, spare them ye creticks, he lies in a wilderness where but few but the real soldier will find it convenient to visit his grave."

In the number of October 18th is published the charge to the grand jury delivered by Hon. Rufus Putnam. Judge Putnam dwells generally upon the powers of the grand jury and applauds the independence of character which permitted one such jury to present the judges of the General Court for not holding their sessions in the county of St. Clair and states while he despises the anonymous scribbler who libeled the Ordinance for the government of the Territory, and in a billingsgate dialect abused the principal officers of it, he glories in the unprejudiced inquiry of a grand jury into and representation to proper authority of any grievance the people labor under. The matters in detail were left to Mr. Freeman, attorney of the United States, to present to the people.

This charge seems to have excited the animosity of one citizen who under the name of "Philo Vitruvius," writing from the council chamber on October 23rd, says that "the judge in his judicial capacity, exhibited to the public, all of the splenitic invective, which the rancorous mind of narrowness, founded for the instrument of public calamity, and supported by a power directly contrary to the will of the people, could possibly suggest!" The charge he thought was "formed chiefly by plagiarism exhibited in incoherent manner and was a long jargon of nonsense in which his honor's ignorance was conspicuous." This letter is a fair specimen of the sweet temper of the debates of those days.

General Wayne's letter of August 28th, announcing to the Secretary of War his victory of the 20th, is published in full on November 8th. Accompanying this letter is the correspondence between Wayne and Major Campbell commanding the British post on the banks of the Miami with the statement: "Had Mr. Campbell carried his threats into execution it is more than probable he would have experienced a storm."

On November 15th the printer announces that from the uncertainty of the arrival of the post and by the request of a number of subscribers of the *Centinel* he is induced to fill the first or part of the first page of each week's paper with the laws of the Territory, "which we hope will be agreeable and useful to the citizens of this Territory." As a result, the paper resembles a "Congressional Record" of the time when some strenuous Senator is trying to thwart a vote. The first law of course is that regulating the militia and the second is that establishing the General Courts of Quarter Sessions of the Peace.

Under date of Cincinnati, November 15th, appears the following interesting news item which no doubt was well understood by all the readers:

"He whom the Cap fits may wear it."

"AN INUENDO."

"An ill natured Grogorian more famed for his impudence and loquacity, than politeness or mental acquirements, in a nocturnal ramble swaggered into a room occupied by a select company, and without ceremony or introduction, insulted them with his (as he termed them) political observations; which give occasion for him in a proper manner to be shewn the door. Away went Momus grumbling, and muttering revenge; and having procured a knife and brace of pistols, the first offensive, the latter defensive weapons, posted himself at a back door leading into the above mentioned apartment; after being there a few minutes he discovered in an adjacent garden, a statue resembling Cato, in the attitude which that Philosopher and Patriot is figured when uttering his soliloquy on the immortality of the soul, which he believing to be a real person who might be the means of his being detected, should he persist in the prosecution of his intended enterprise, crept in rear of the statue, and aimed a deadly blow; but at the same time observing he was discovered by some of the family vociferated, 'damn my soul, but the first is this, you have insulted me without provocation, and by God I'll have satisfaction in a honorable way, &c., &c.' The servants who had been witnesses to this romantic scene of chivalry made report to the master and beged leave to chestise the insolent intruder. 'Do not mind him,' replied the master, 'before Cato flinches he will find himself foibled.'

"A NEIGHBOUR."

Robert Benham advertises eight dollars reward for a negro man named Will who ran away from him on the Ohio three miles above the mouth of Licking River.

Several notices appear of the finding of rifle guns which can be had by proving ownership and paying charges.

On November 18th Oliver Spencer, judge of Probate of Columbia, notifies persons who have taken upon themselves the administering of the estates of the deceased, to render accounts of the settlement of the estates.

The paper at this time is full of proclamations, letters, poems and news items referring to the insurrection in Western Pennsylvania which seems to have excited even the Northwest Territory so far remote from the scene of the contest.

On November 29th is announced the arrival of Capt. Israel Ludlow who informs the editor that his excellency, Arthur St. Clair, may be hourly expected.

Winthrop Sargent, acting Governor, publishes the appointments of Timothy Symmes and Stephen Wood as justices of the peace and Aaron Cadwell, commissioner for granting licenses vice William McMillan and John S. Gano resigned. Isaac Darneille is appointed attorney for the United States, Hamilton County, vice Israel F. Freeman, resigned.

A number of changes are recorded in the militia including such names as William Rittenhouse, Robert Whealing (Wheelan), Garret Vannice, Celadon Symmes, Samuel Seward, James Lyon, Uzuel Bates, Samuel Dick, Darius C. Orcutt, John Schooly, John Riddle, Seth Cutter, James Cox, John Brown, John Bowman.

This number contains an indignant letter from "Dorastus" upon the custom of adding the title "esquire" to the names of the President, Governors, judges, legislators, magistrates and attorneys. "Dorastus" thinks it as proper to annex that of duke, baron, marquis, earl or knight to their respective offices; for the English dictionary explains the meaning of the term as "*armour bearer of a knight;* a title of dignity, & next in degree below a knight." "When France once so deluded in superstition is eradicating from that nation, those titles and orders of men calculated only to inslave mankind, Shall not this great American nation; (whose fame for liberty and equeal freedom, is resounded from east to west, & from north to south—that has caused tyrants to shudder on their thrones—at whom the powers of Europe trembles) endevour to eject all such needless distinction from this happy land?"

To enforce his point "Dorastus" concludes with a high sounding poem in honor of manly worth.

On December 6th the death of two men at the hands of Indians within four miles of Columbia and the wounding of another man within one and a half miles of this place are given as "convineing proofs that those yellow savages are not likely to come to a treaty."

To vary the monotony of the territorial laws, the printer begins the publication of official documents and State papers.

On December 13th appears the following item: "The Printing Office is removed from where it was formerly kept, to the house lately occupied by Capt. Levi Woodward, on the top of the second bank."

Stephen Reeder on December 20, 1794, offers "For Sale—The house formerly occupied by the

subscriber, situate on Sycamore street, between third and fourth streets. It is a neat log house and very eligant situated, standing high and dry, with a commodious kitchen adjoining thereto. For terms apply to Mr. James Ferguson in Cincinnati, or to the subscriber, at his farm."

Thomas Gibson "offers for sale Elegant Epaulettes for the gentlemen of the army."

A very interesting advertisement is the following in the same issue:

"The Subscriber, Begs leave to inform the public, that he intends to open shool (sic) on Monday the 22d of this inst. in the house lately occupied by David Williams, nearly opposite James Forguson's store, where he proposes to educate youth in the following sciences and mathematical branches, viz: reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, trigonometry, mensuration of superficials and solids, dialing, gauging surveying, navigation, elements of geometry, and algebra.

"The parents and friends of all such as are committed to his trust, may depend on his utmost care and best endeavours to form their tender minds to a love of learning and virtue; He likewise will employ every opportunity in grounding his pupels in the practical parts of the above.

"STUART RICHEY."

"CINCINNATI, December 19, 1794."

This issue contains also a communication to the editor from Winthrop Sargent, enclosing a letter written by him notifying the public that he will prevent the surveying of lands within the unextinguished claims of the Indians.

The arrival of Governor St. Clair at Marietta makes it possible to announce his resumption of the administration of his government within the Territory.

Four Indian chiefs are reported as having come to Greenville for the purpose of treating.

This issue is printed on very coarse gray paper which is explained by the editor as follows: "Being disappointed in getting of paper according to expectation, has obliged us to Print on so bad quality.

"We hope our subscribers will consider the great inconvenience that we labour under in procuring paper at so far a distance from where it is manufactured."

The scarcity of paper was evidently not relieved for some weeks, for the next few issues are printed on a very small page.

The issue of December 27th contains the following:

"Mr. Maxwell,

"Be pleased to give the following a place in your paper—Dec. 24th, 1794:

"The Secretary of this Territory announces the arrival of his Excelleney Governour St. Clair at Marietta, in the county of Washington; authentic information of *which* and his resuming his official duties was not received, until the last evening—therefore your publication upon this subject in the paper of last Saturday was premature—In all your communications Mr. Maxwell, where the interests of the Territory may be affected, greatest precision is essential, to the faithful discharge of your duties to the public as well as to the reputation of the press.

"WINTHROP SARGENT."

This announcement of the printer seems to have stirred up considerable feeling, for Mr. Sargent's letter is immediately followed by another which is unsigned, complaining that the publication of a proclamation by the Secretary followed immediately by the announcement that Governor St. Clair "*was then* in the administration of *his* government within the Territory," virtually charged the Secretary with violating one or more of the penal statutes and obliquely dashed at the Governor himself, because he had not given official communication to his representative. The indignant correspondent also complains that Mr. Maxwell's informant, a Mr. Ormsby, denied that he had given any such information so that as "the governour's public conduct is so generally marked with propriety, THAT DECEPTION grows in our view to an arrant falsehood, *apparently* calculated for very nefarious purposes." Mr. Maxwell prints the letter with the comment that "why Governour St. Clair's being within the Territory and in the administration of his government should excite surprise is in itself truely surprising. Why this should be an oblique dash on the Governour is a matter of astonishment." He refers to the news that the Governor was at Marietta and intended to reside there during the winter, "which was a pleasure to every good citizen of the county which could only have been heightened by his having chosen his residence within the county of Hamilton. Whether the Secretary had official notice of this and how far official notice was necessary let politicians determine."

On January 3, 1795, is noted the arrival of "John Cleves Symmes, Esq one of the territorial judges, with his Lady and daughter."

The unfortunate announcement of the arrival of the Governor will not down "A Citizen" who complains of the ambiguous and unintelligible anonymous publication, of the week previous, which it is suggested was dictated by the "Honourable Secretary" himself. Mr. Maxwell's designs in giving the public the information were approved of. "The Governour's arrival without doubt gives the most pleasant sensations to every breast that is friendly to the prosperity of this country, and that feels an interest in the happiness of its citizens. I can with assurance assert that none feel unhappy at the Governour's administration in person, but those who are enemies to our rising consequence, and would feel pleasure in cutting of from the general mass of the community, the avenues leading to wealth and happiness."

Aaron Cadwell one of the commissioners for granting licenses issues a proclamation warning citizens against opening stores, taverns and houses for retailing and vending and opposing for sale dry goods and groceries without being duly authorized therefor.

That the Governor is at last in the Territory is made apparent from a proclamation forwarded by Sargent to the printer issued by the Governor, convening the Legislature at the city of Marietta on March 10th next ensuing.

John Lee of Woodford County, Kentucky, advertises for his mulatto slave John who was attired in "a dark snuff coloured coat with long skirts, and mettle buttons, linen overalls and shoes boots."

On January 10, 1795, it is announced that there are 20 Indian chiefs and five squaws come to Fort Wayne in order to hold a treaty.

Judge Symmes announces from North Bend that deeds will very soon be given to owners of sections and fractions of land which have been paid for and notifies all claimants of forfeitures that they must "fence and clear in a proper manner, & plant with corn and duly cultivate two acres of land on a forfeiture in the course of the next season."

The arrival of a French trader at Fort Wayne with 25 horse loads of goods from Detroit in order to trade with the army is announced on January 17th.

T. Goudy, the attorney, publishes a lengthy notice requiring debtors in the number of his clients to settle their accounts. He takes occasion to inform his friends that some malicious insinuations that he has taken pleasure in arresting officers of the United States Legion were not well founded as "no person would have taken more trouble to answer the purpose without even appeal to law than he has done." In all cases he had previously sent a note to the officers but his friendly notice was treated with disgust and contempt. "This has induced him to believe that all officers are not men of honour and that men of prostituted principles, do sometimes obtain a place in the army, who are a disgrace to that honourable profession."

On January 12th Judge Symmes publishes a notice to all persons having claims to lots in North Bend to present their claims before May first to receive their deeds.

Elijah Craig, Jr., announces for the benefit of the "gentlemen, merchants and emigrants of Kentucky, that he will be at the mouth of Kentucky River on the first day of February next with his sufficient number of boats to transport all goods &c. which they may think proper to intrust him with up the river." His charges were,—to Frankfort 50 cents per hundred, to Slukes' warehouse 75 cents, to Warwock 100 cents, and to Dyck's River 125 cents.

The controversy with relation to the arrival of the Governor in the Territory evidently reached Greenville for a volunteer writes from that place to the issue of January 24th that he conceives it to be the duty of the printer to announce the arrival of the territorial officers and other court men intelligibly. The correspondent was one of that class who hailed with satisfaction the Governor's return and who believed him to be a good and great man. He had been long enough in the Territory to learn that the "envenomed shafts of slander have been leveled at governours and judges and that but few officers herein have escaped the lash of the unbridled tongue of the calumniator."

Timothy Scannell announces the opening of a cooper shop at the Stone Landing.

In the following issue appears the information that the Indians had brought into Greenville a woman, whom they had taken prisoner out of Kentucky about 18 months before. A treaty was to be held on June 10th at Greenville.

One begins to suspect the printer of writing up both sides of a controversy to fill the paper, for this paper contains another communication from "A Friend To Truth," discussing the Governor's arrival and the Secretary's alleged usurpation of authority in issuing a proclamation while the Governor was within the Territory.

The matter of the organization of the Territory is discussed at length, in a three-column ar-

ticle by our friend "Dorastus," who believes that the people have the right to self government whether they are six hundred or sixty thousand in number.

A. Hunt & Company offer three dollars per cord in cash for good oak bark fit for tanning delivered at their tan-yard in Cincinnati.

In a note, "those persons that subscribed for the Confession of Faith and the new addition of Docter Watts' Psalms, and have not received them, are requested to call immediately and take them up agreeable to contract, no longer time will be given as eighteen months has already elapsed since that ought to have taken place."

Isaac Mills on February 7th reported from the mouth of the Great Miami that the Indians had killed two men, Benjamin Cox and Thomas Walter, about a mile and a half below that place.

"By Particular Desire" a notice is inserted February 7th, requesting all good citizens to assemble at the house of Charles Avery for the purpose of forming a petition to send to the Legislature in order to obtain redress of the many inconveniences, resulting from some of the then existing laws of the Territory.

The following notice needs no comment: "I do hereby acknowledge that the report which was propagated by me, of and concerning Mr. John Baine, concerning a watch, was false.—— Given under my hand this 4th day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

his
JEREMIAH † SALIVAN."
mark

"*Witnesses,* J. WHISLER, JAMES COX, I. DARNEILLE."

On the same day there appears in the advertising column an "Inventory taken by Nathaniel Stokes and David E. Wade of sundry articles found under the root of a tree." This inventory included coats, vests, "cazimer" and nankeen breeches, nankeen linen and woolen overalls, shirts, stockings, "cravatt," handkerchief "and sundry other articles too tedious to mention." The owner by paying charges is notified that he can have the goods.

Josiah Mott announces that he has been appointed administrator of the estate of Henry Moore "packhorseman."

James Silver for Wilson announces that he has removed his store to his new house on the bank next door to where he formerly kept.

The identity of "A Friend To Truth" who wrote the letter last referred to, concerning the discussion about the Governor's arrival, is disclosed; in an issue of February 14th under the heading "Self-defence" appears the following communication:

"Mr. Maxwell,

"The learned writer in your paper signing himself a friend to that truth of which he is devoid, has so pointedly bespatered me with sarcasms for the commission of some inadvertency in an unguarded hour when his H———r was drunk, and politeness to him, had led me to depart a little from sobriety, that I can not easily forgive, but feel a strong desire to communicate to him personally, the falsehood of his publication; I owe to myself to be decent, and shall therefore only further observe, that as I am not the auther of the piece signed Volunteer, his H——r must be a l——r.

ADVICE TO MR.

Diminitive, paltry, petty *Quibler,*
Advocate to meanness, dirty scribler;
Reasons what canst' thou urge, all this winter
Nonsence so much to write? To plague the Printer?
I prithee now, thy foolish tricks give o'er,
Each piece of thine shows the blockhead more;
Let *law* thy study be, 'twill gain thee pelf,
Let S——— write his *pasquinades* himself.

TOBY.

Even in these degenerate days when the writing of acrostics has become an unknown science, it is possible to discover that the attorney for the United States is the gentleman who aroused such ire.

The interest in the petition to the Legislature is shown by the fact that simultaneous meetings were called at Captain Kibby's, Columbia; at Francis Dunlevy's, Frazie's Station over the Little Miami; at Robert Wheelan's, North Bend; and at Charles Avery's at Cincinnati. This is in the issue of February 14th.

James Forguson (Ferguson) "now making ready to start to the old settlement" desires payment from those who stand indebted to him.

In the issue of February 28th appears the following: "Sunday last being the universary of the President's birth, the same was respectfully noticed at this place in the evening, by an eligant allumination of the barracks and flag staff of Fort Washington; the house of the Honorable the Secretary of the Territory and that of Messrs. Elliot and Williams, late contractors for the army."

P. Jones for John and Charles Wilkins at Fort Washington advertises for a quantity of hard soap which is desired at once.

The proclamation of General Wayne warning

the citizens from the Indian country referred to in the preceding chapter is printed in the issue of March 7, 1795.

This same issue contains the charge of Judge William Goforth to the grand jury.

James O'Hara, quartermaster-general of the army of the United States at Fort Washington, publishes rates of freight for owners of private boats carrying public property up the Miami River. Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton for every barrel of flour, $1.10; for every barrel of whiskey, $1.33 1/3; for every bushel of corn, $0.26 2/3; and for all other property for every hundred pounds, $0.50. From Fort Hamilton to the mouth of Still Water or to Loramie's Store the rates of freight for the same service were $2.20, $2.66 2/3, $0.50 and $1.10, respectively. From Fort Washington to the mouth of Still Water or to Loramie's Store the rates were $3.30, $4.00, $0.83 1/3 and $1.60, respectively. Corn was purchased and received at the Still Water landing at $1.10 per bushel. The cargoes were at the risk of the owners of the vessels except the dangers of the Indians.

Daniel Symmes, the sheriff, announces that the jail was broken into the night of the 2nd of March and five prisoners therein confined made their escape. The white men were confined for debt and the negro as a runaway. The prisoners who escaped stole a "flatt" from Mr. Kennedy and went down the Ohio.

This issue as all others contains several notices of rewards offered by Capt. John Pierce, commandant at Fort Washington, for the apprehension of deserters.

On March 14th the killing by the Indians of a man in the village of North Bend is reported. Eight horses were stolen and Lieut. Celadon Symmes with a party of 27 men pursued the raiders about 60 miles and retook the horses but the Indians made their escape.

"Vitruvius" returns to the fray on March 28th with a complaint that the people have no share in their government and that the so-called Legislature which had been convened to make laws has no authority to make them. He fears that "we shall be imposed upon, by our farcical *aristocracy*, as well as by our miserable *whiskey drinkers*."

E. Sproat, inspector of Survey No. 2, Ohio District, gives notice of an office of inspection in Cincinnati for the purpose of collecting the duties on wines, stills, etc., and for the issuing of licenses for the retailing of said articles.

William Goforth, one of the United States justices of the peace, issues a startling notice headed "STOP THE MURDERER!" The notice recites the arrest of one Rheuben Whetston, yeoman, charged with the murder of his wife and his escape under cover of the night. His appearance is described but it is impossible to describe his apparel as "his clothes were found cast off, as is supposed, to fit himself for the flight."

One "Conrad," a correspondent, addresses Mr. "Vitruvius" whom he regards as the same person as "Philo Vitruvius" and "Dorastus." He is given advice as to his conduct: "Whilst you are flattering a judge of the Supreme Court for a diploma; do not censure his observations to a grand jury, when he is left the county; as this is cowardice. Nor say to the executive positively that any person is the author of your political tracts but yourself; for the purpose of getting a commission, which no person but you alone would receive.

"Do not associate with any woman of bad fame; especially in open court.

"Do not attempt to try any person on a criminal prosecution twice for the same offence.

"And lastly as you are only a bird of passage, and your wings nearly worn with clerical and political fatigue; mind your conscience, your wife and your lately adopted profession."

A familiar name is noted in an advertisement of James Taylor who offers "three thousand acres of military land on Clough creek, a branch of the Little Miami and near its junction with the Ohio." Clough creek * * * affords good mill seats which runs through the land.

A. M. Dunn the postmaster notifies "those who have a right to calculate on receiving letters or papers at his office, that in future they must come prepared with ready change, cash in hand or no letters or papers."

George Gordon, the collector of the United States for the county of Hamilton, offers for sale on the same day April 2, 1795, two boats together with their cargoes containing about 16 gallons of whiskey which had been forfeited for non-payment of duties.

The issue of April 11th contains the resignation of Isaac Darneille of the commission of attorney to the United States addressed to the Secretary of the Territory.

The ground given is the fact that "the small pittance on conviction of respondants being an inadequate compensation for the duties of that office." Other considerations are hinted at but not mentioned.

Jacob Lowe announces in the same issue that

he has obtained permission to erect and establish a ferry at Cincinnati to cross the Ohio and that he will be happy to accommodate the public "at his Inn at the sign of General WAYNE."

Zekiel Fuller on April 18th forewarns the public against trusting his wife Elizabeth who has "absented from my bed without any provication, and has since taken up with another man."

On April 25th the editor announces "that the emigration to this Territory is daily encreasing; during the present week, there has a considerable number of flatbottom boats arrived at this place loaded with families for the purpose of settling this country."

Aaron Cadwell, commissioner, warns the public that the report that the license law has been repealed is erroneous.

Commissioners Thomas Goudy and Seth Cutter give notice "that a Court-house for the county of Hamilton, will be built and compleated in the present year, forty feet front and thirty back, two stories high, the materials will be Stone, Brick or Wood. Any gentlemen macanicks, or others who wish to undertake the said building of either of the above materials may apply to the subscribers," etc.

David Ziegler announces he has just arrived from Philadelphia with a large assortment of dry goods and groceries.

In the issue of May 9th William Kelly offers for sale or let "the new and well finished frame house, known by the name of Kelly's Tavern, situate on Front Street in Cincinnati."

Charles Vattier warns the public against taking an assignment on a bill of sale for lot 7 in the town given by Thomas Irvin to William Moore, assigned to Vattier and lodged by him with John Bartle, "who now without any manner of claim, refuses giving up said bill of sale."

Anthony Furney forewarns all persons against trusting his wife Elizabeth.

On May 16th the arrival of the Governor on the preceding Monday at Cincinnati is announced with pleasure and with the following comment: "Happy period.—At which tyranny and despotism, *must* once more lay down the *arm* of cruelty and oppresion.—Let the patriotic lovers of *rational* liberty again rejoice."

The arrival of Judge Turner is also noted as taking place a few minutes before the paper went to press.

On the previous Sunday the Indians stole nine horses from Ludlow's Station and were pursued but without success.

W. Maxwell offers on May 23rd one dime reward for taking up a runaway about 19 years of age named Benjamin Stokes, an apprentice to the printing business, whom he denominates as a notorious villain.

In the issue of June 13th John Reily as purchaser gives notice to Israel Ludlow, Samuel Freeman and Joel Williams, proprietors of the lands of the town of Cincinnati, of a sheriff's sale of lot 120, late the property of Capt. William Faulkner, and warns the proprietors from issuing any deed for said lot to Faulkner or his assigns.

This issue also contains the Governor's proclamation relating to the murder of two Indians in St. Clair County, commanding all officers to make diligent inquiry for the perpetrators of the murder.

Charles Jaudin warns the public not to trust his wife Elizabeth.

The substance of the Governor's observations made to the Legislature which had convened at Cincinnati on the 26th of May is given also in this number.

In the issue of June 27th the editor apologizes for the non-appearance of the paper the preceding week but promises to his readers the Governor's speech to the Legislature and the answers of the judges.

In this issue Messrs. Ludlow, Freeman and Williams, proprietors of the town, give notice to all persons holding lots to come forward with their claims and receive their deeds.

Fourth of July was celebrated this year by a salute from the cannon in the early morning and again at one o'clock and by a repast at Gordon's Hotel. "The day was spent with great harmony, and wine received an additional zest from the following toasts, which were answered by salutes from the cannon." The toasts were the usual ones,—the people, the President, the Governor, the Territory, the Legion, the Territorial fair, the French nation, agriculture, commerce, honesty not for its own sake but "because 'tis the best policy," etc. After each toast a number of guns were fired varying from three to thirteen.

Robert Armstrong forewarns the public against his wife Elizabeth "as she has proved false to my bed and board."

The celebration of the Fourth at Columbia is reported on July 18th. There the "respectable inhabitants" united in a social band to enjoy an elegant repast and after dinner drank 15 toasts accompanied by the discharge of small arms.

In the same issue is contributed a list of other toasts, expressive of the liberal, independent

sense of a respectable class of citizens of the United States. They are written in quite violent language and are intended to reflect the so-called republican sentiments of that part of the community opposed to the dominant powers in the Territory.

On July 25th W. Maxwell, being appointed by the Legislature to print for them 200 copies of their laws, invites proposals of printing by subscription the laws of the Territory to be adopted in the present session of the Legislature. It was his desire to print 1,000 copies so that the remaining 800 could be disposed of at a moderate price of 19 cents for every 50 pages to subscribers and to non-subscribers 30 cents.

The news from Greenville gave reason to believe that the peace with the savages would finally take place although it could hardly be expected to be a durable one. The summer is recorded as hotter than any known before in the country; the thermometer rose frequently to 95½ in the shade and reached to a point as high as 98. This was in the upper town and it was supposed that in the lower the record was two degrees higher.

The death of the postmaster, Abner Martin Dunn, attorney-at-law, is reported in this issue as well as that of the clerk of the Legislature, Armistead Churchill.

The well known names of Abijah and Jesse Hunt appear in a notice of dissolution of the partnership of A. Hunt & Company, together with the announcement of the opening of the store of J. & A. Hunt.

The Jay treaty is printed in the issues of August 1st, 8th and 15th.

An interesting item is that of August 15th, reciting that at a court of Oyer and Terminer held in Lexington on Monday the 27th of July, 1795, "Hugh Ross being arraigned at the bar for felony was found guilty, claimed benefit of clergy and was burnt in the hand."

Archibald M'Donald offers a reward of $5 for a woman by the name of Rhodah M'Donald, about 39 years of age, five feet four inches high who ran away and took with her a male child about 18 months old.

R. Hall of Little Miamia (sic) advertises the taking up by him of a negro man by the name of George who can be had by the owner upon paying charges.

On August 22nd begins the publication of the proceedings of the Legislature of the preceding May. The first business reported was the receipt of a petition of Joel Williams for permission to erect and hold a public ferry from his landing in Cincinnati to the opposite shore of the Ohio. The second was a petition of Rebecca Kennedy of the same character. Among other petitions was one for divorce prayed for by William Lemond.

On September 5th I. Darneille advertises "I shall be necessarily absent until next term (November) at which time my clients may rely on my return and attention to their business, (accident excepted)."

James Gillespy informs the public that "he has just erected a brew-house on Dear creek in the vicinity of Cincinnati, where he means to carry on the malting and brewing business, at an extensive rate."

"The Subscribers for the Bridge to be built over Deer Creek, are requested to meet at Mr. John Brown's Tavern, on Saturday evening the 5th of September, for satisfaction to themselves, and the public welfare."

Thomas Doyle offers for sale lot 109 on which is erected a dwelling house and barn together with lot 108 adjoining. He also offers the lot next to Mr. Garrison on Main street, upon which is erected a log building, also out-lot 32 being now in corn and out-lot 31 being in pasture. These out-lots were at Court and Vine.

Samuel Freeman is somewhat indignant about his creditors and gives notice to them to come and make immediate payment—*"or they may expect etc.!!!"* This notice is printed upside down in one issue and in the following issue at right angles to the usual lines of the page.

Thomas Williams announces that he carries on the *"Parchment making Business"* and that a "Breeches Maker" will meet with encouragement by applying to him.

Abraham Garrison advertises for sale on September 5th his good log building together with an elegant peach orchard and two lots situated at the foot of the second bank enclosed with a good fence and timothy therein.

Another jail delivery took place on the 26th of August at which six prisoners escaped.

Henry Pickel informs the public on September 19th that he carries all passengers with horses from this side of the Ohio to the side where he lives free. The point of this notice can be gathered from an advertisement some time previous that Pickel had constructed a road from his ferry to Bank Lick four and one half miles long. It is presumed what Pickel lost in ferrying people for nothing he made up in tolls.

The interest in France and French affairs is

shown by the fact that not only does the paper print each week news from France in the shape of a complete journal of the proceedings of the national convention but on September 26th begins the publication of a plan of constitution of the French Republic.

Another jail delivery is recorded on September 16th by which a soldier confined on suspicion of felony made his escape.

Israel Ludlow announces in the issue of September 26th: "A Party will set out the middle of next month for Pittsburgh, by the way of Chelacothe, on Little Miami, cross Scioto at Darbey's Town, Muskingum, at the mouth of White Woman's creek, or Fort Lawrence. The distance of that rout is computed at, about three hundred miles, and from the best information, a road level and pleasant to Pittsburgh, may be had, which will greatly facilitate our intercourse by land to the atlantic states.

"A considerable number will start at that time for Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, among whom will be several well acquainted with the rout."

James Kavenagh offers $20 reward for the recovery of his "Morocco Pocketbook" which he lost on September 9th between the store of Messrs. A. and J. Hunt and his own house and which contained bank bills to the amount of $95 and certain papers, including a note of hand upon John Ryland to the amount of £56 payable in horses and cows. He hopes that "if it has fallen into the hands of an honest man he will give it up; but if it has fallen into the hands of a different person, they will give up the papers, (as they are of no use to any person but the owner) if not the other articles."

The rates of advertising are given as one dollar per square for the first three weeks and one fourth of a dollar for each continuance after, the cash to be paid at the time the advertisement is handed to the press.

Evidently the Indians were not the only marauders for on October 3rd is the report that a Mr. Litle who was on his way from Greenville to Cincinnati and about three miles on this side of Fort Hamilton, was robbed by two white men of $625 in bank bills and $1 in silver.

John Humes announces on October 10th that he carries on "Spinning Wheel & Windsor Chair making," on Sycamore street next door to Aaron Cadwell.

On October 17th is published "A Hint.—Just opening at Col. Gibson's Yellow Store on the river bank, an assortment of Good Goods," etc.

In the issue of October 31st appears the following notice dated Cincinnati, October 29, 1795:

"The Subscriber has opened a house of entertainment, in that large and commodious house, lately occupied by Mr. Mathew Winton. From the situation of said place, and his having excellent stabbling, together with a stock of the best liquors, he hopes to engage the patronage of his acquaintance and of the public in general—And pledges himself that the utmost regularity and good usage shall be observed in said tavern.

"GRIFFIN YEATMAN."

On November 7th the editor congratulates the Governor upon his return from visiting the Western country. He states "we also should be happy, to announce the return of the Honourable Judge SYMMES, who went in company with the Governour from this place; but has not yet returned."

In the issue of November 14th and some issues thereafter John S. Gano shows a knowledge of advertising worthy of modern days. He gives notice of the loss of his gold watch, chain, seal, and key which are described and offers $10 reward for their return "which is sufficient for an honest man, and I expect a rogue will not deliver them if any larger sum was offered." This notice is printed across the margin of the entire page so as to be very conspicuous.

Judge Turner announces in the issue of November 14th his intention of shortly leaving the Territory and offers his property for sale, including "his valuable collection of books, generally the works of eminent authors in law, history, philosophy, chemistry, Architecture, mechanics, &c.," and also his household furniture, his building lot in Cincinnati on the eastern side of Fort Washington and "an Iron Borer, for examining the earth 61 feet deep," etc.

This issue closed the second volume of the *Centinel* and the editor returns his thanks for the encouragement he has received which in so young a country far exceeded his expectation. He announces that he has established a general correspondence with the chief of the printers throughout the Union by which he receives their papers by an established post every Monday.

On November 21st—"It is with no small satisfaction we announce the return of the Hon. John C. Symmes, of the county of Hamilton on Tuesday last."

"I. Felty announces as found on the fourteenth instant in Cincinnati, where the same was secretly deposited, a considerable sum of money."

John Prince informs the public that he intends carrying on the auctioneering business in the house formerly occupied by James Caldwell in Main street two doors above Major Doyle's.

The late drought which prevented the paper mill in Kentucky from operating reduced the *Centinel* for several issues in November, 1795, to a very small size which made it necessary to omit some of the advertisements regularly published.

Stuart Richey announced once more the opening of his school on the 16th of December, to which not more than 30 scholars would be admitted.

The news from Pittsburg at this time was to the effect "that the emigrants to this country this fall surpasses that of any other season—and we are informed, that the banks of the Monongahela, from M'Kee's Port to Redstone, are lined with people intending for the settlement on the Ohio and Kentucky." (December 5.)

The lawyer T. Goudy announces for sale "that eligible situation adjoining to the town lotts of Cincinnati on which the Subscriber lives, on which there is erected a commodious Dwelling House with fire rooms, and one cold do there is an excellent well of water, with a small orchard, consisting of apple, peach, nectirine, English plumb, and cherry trees, adjacent to the said dwelling house, with about thirty two acres of excellent land all under good fence, thirty of which is under wheat and rye, and two acres under grass."

A curious notice is that of Jacob Reeder and Jedidiah Tingle to Israel Ludlow "to appear at his Dwelling House in Cincinnati, on the nineteenth day of December in order to receive pay for a tract of land," etc.

Thomas Barroussel on December 12th announces the opening of a "New French Store of Dry Goods and Groceries" in the front room of James Hill's house on Sycamore street.

Benjamin Griffith took occasion on December 19th to inform the public that he lives in the house lately occupied by Lawyer Dunn at the upper landing in Cincinnati where he practices "Surveying, writing of Deeds, Conveyances, Mortgages, Wills, Articles, Bonds, Bills, Notes" and other instruments of writing. He had a quantity of parchment of the best quality manufactured in Philadelphia.

Judge Symmes advertises for a lost bay mare in the issue of December 5th.

Two items of interest are published December 26th, one to the effect that there were a considerable number of counterfeit $30 bank notes in circulation. Another is the announcement that the ball which was to be held at Dr. Allison's on the 25th inst., "being unavoidably postponed on account of the badness of the weather—The attendance of the Ladies and Gentlemen (in possession of Tickets) is requested on Tuesday evening next."

The issue of January 2, 1796, introduces an advertisement offering "Medicine at the Medical Store of Hatch and Barns, A Universal assortment of Patent and other Medicines suited to the disorders incident to this climate, viz. Bateman's drops, Godfrey's cordial, essence of Pepermint, British oil, Doct. Steers Chymical Opodellock, Anderson's and Hooper's pills, oil of Penneroyal, Gum Camphire, Peruvian bark, Sal-nitre, salts and a variety of Gums Paints and Varnishes for Mechanical use, and many other articles too numerous to mention." With such an assortment to choose from many sufferers must have been able to find a remedy.

James Glenn offers for sale at a bargain "one-quarter of that eligable situation, the corner of Second and Sycamore streets, on which is a cabbin and excellent stable."

A significant notice is that signed "A Kentuckian" in the issue of the following week: "A correspondent wishes the citizens of the North-Western Territory, to desist from the horrid practice of staining the Kentucky bank of the Ohio, with human gore, by dueling; as it is an open violation of the Commonwealth."

John Dunlop, surveyor, on January 14th gives notice to those who have engaged with Capt. Israel Ludlow and associates to make settlement in the town of Dayton, that he would attend on the 25th instant to lay off the in and out-lots.

Daniel Symmes, the sheriff, is again called upon to advertise on January 23rd the jail delivery by which five prisoners escaped.

The announcement is made on January 30th that notwithstanding the late frost of the past few nights the navigation of the Ohio had not been in the least intercepted.

There is evidently not to be a monopoly in medicines for Daniel Bryan announces on the 13th the receipt of an assortment of "MEDICINES" which he offers for sale at the house of Griffin Yeatman.

The number of February 20, 1796, contains a lengthy account of a meeting held at Columbia on January 25th for the purpose of examining the Ordinance of Congress of the government of

the Northwest Territory. Judge Goforth was in the chair and was appointed with William Brown, Daniel Lambert, Joseph Reeder and Capt. Ephraim Kibby as a committee for examining the Ordinance and inquiring into the grievances of the citizens. This committee reported on February 1st, at four P. M. at the house of William Stanley where Rev. John Smith, afterwards Senator from Ohio, resided.

The committee reported that having considered the Ordinance they came to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the Territory were deprived of the rights of free men in that they were governed by governors who were independent of the people and by laws which they had no part in making and without the benefit of a high court of chancery so essentially necessary to the interests of the state of the Union "especially when it is considered that the first judge of the Supreme Court, is perhaps, the greatest land jobber on the face of the earth, and must eventually either mediately, or immediately feel himself interested in many, if not most of the legal decisions respecting lands laying between the Miami rivers." They regarded themselves as entitled to statehood as soon as the population should reach thirty thousand even if Congress should divide the Territory into two districts. They complained of the practice of one judge sitting as the court when the Ordinance provided for two to form a court. The committee also found that by reason of the "frequent and long absence of the executive and high judicial officers of the Territory—by the infrequency of their sitting in their legislative capacities and the chasms in the proceedings of the Supreme or General Court—the people have languished for want of legislation."

The citizens had been made accountable to laws which had not been promulgated and to officers whose commissions depended upon the will of the executive. The citizens had also been insulted and Governor St. Clair looked upon them in the same manner that the British commissioners when they came to collect the duties upon tea looked upon the Americans.

In speaking of the citizens he avoided the appellation of inhabitants or citizens and with great art and in a diminutive way made use of the term *settlers*. "Where in the name of all the old Whigs, does his Excellency expect to get the judicial officers from, does he wish to draft them from the British lines?—Or does he mean to use his influence with Congress and have them imported from Scotland?"

The report was adopted and it was resolved that the citizens should continue their usual respectful demeanor to the officers of government without troubling Congress as they conceived that it would be but a few months before they could choose their own Legislature and officers.

Naturally this meeting raised a storm of discussion and in the following number began the letters to the editor. The first one warned the Columbia cobblers to stick to their lasts and ridiculed the gathering of priests, philosophers, bards and shoemakers who were vociferating against the Ordinance, Judge Symmes and the governors. This was followed in the subsequent number by a counter letter and so the war waged merrily.

On February 26th it is reported that the gaol of the county was set on fire; the incendiaries were supposed to be six debtors who were confined in the upper apartment and who conveyed fire to the roof. The wind was high and the building was in a few hours consumed in ashes as the town was not in possession of any fire engines "a machine so necessary in such calamitous situations." Happily the wind abated and seasonable showers of rain fell which prevented the conflagration from spreading and doing any further damages to the town. During the bustle one of the prisoners escaped.

The announcement of the publication of two books of great rarity at present is contained in the issue of March 12th. "The Laws of the Territory" the first book published in the Territory was offered to subscribers for the sum of 86 cents and a true copy of Judge Symmes' "Pamphlet" on the first settlement of this country is announced as in press; its price was one-fourth of a dollar.

John Prince, the auctioneer, announces the addition of the drawing of legal documents to his business as well as the removal of his auction room to Sycamore street at the corner of Third street opposite the printing office.

On March 26th are reported the proceedings of the trials held before the General Court. One man was found guilty of stealing a horse from the Indians and sentenced to pay a fine of one dollar and to receive 39 lashes on the bare back, to be inflicted on the public streets of the town and to wear during the punishment a paper affixed to his hat with the words thereon "I STOLE A

HORSE FROM INDIANS." The latter part of the sentence was inflicted the same day at twelve o'clock. The court also granted two divorces.

The publisher prints a very urgent demand for the payment of their accounts by advertisers, not more than one-half of whom paid upon handing in their advertisements.

James Kavenagh, whose name has appeared so frequently, announces his intention of leaving the Territory and asks the payment of accounts due him and offers his new frame house situated on Fourth street between Main and Sycamore streets for sale and warns the public against giving credit to any part of his family.

On April 2nd the finding of an indictment against "Isaac Darneille late of this place, Attorney at Law for Malfeasance," and the issue of a capias to the sheriff of St. Clair County are reported.

The postmaster requests those indebted to the post office to make immediate payment and those who expect newspapers by post are requested to call and pay the postage.

John Holland offers for sale April 9th "a house and lot, in town of Cincinnati, bounded on the east by the mouth of Deer creek, on the south by the River Ohio, on the west by a lot formerly the property of Abner Dunn, esq on the north, by a lot belonging to Edward Day.

David Ziegler announces a fresh supply of dry goods "among which are beautiful Vest Patterns, *Pour de Roi, Pour Princes, & Pour Siegneur* and for Republican Gentlemen; the latter are superior executed to the first." He also offers stationery "Books almost of every Religious Principle. * * * Those who come first, will first be served, as none will remain after they are sold."

A notice in the issue of April 16, 1796, announces the marriage on Sunday evening last of "Daniel Symmes, Esq *to the most Amiable* Miss ELIZABETH OLIVER, *both of this Town.*"

John Holland was evidently provident in his ideas of advertising. On the 14th of May, 1796, he warns the public against his wife Katharine, who has left his bed and board without any just cause of complaint and proceeds further to state that any person desirous of having work done in "Stone, Masonry, Bricklaying or Plastering may depend upon their work being performed in a neat Workmanlike manner."

The number of May 21st reports the action of the committee of claims in the Federal House of Representatives allowing "William Sargent, Secretary of the North-west Territory" $875 compensation for his additional service as Governor. At the same time two petitions enclosed in a letter from the Governor of the Territory were presented by the Speaker as "that territory had at present no Representative in the house." One of the petitions referred to lots of land which the petitioners had promised and the other "prayed for permission to import slaves, into that country from other States, so as not to encrease the number." The petitions were referred to different committees.

The issue of June 4th announces the arrival of the Secretary at Cincinnati.

"The Editor hopes that, those of his Subscribers who have been punctual in paying up their Subscription, will excuse the size of this day's Paper—To those who have not, he would wish to observe, that it must be obvious to them, that it is impossible to lay in a Stock of Paper without money."

Freeman's Journal.

But few copies of *Freeman's Journal* are preserved. It was a four-page journal, at first 9 by 15 inches and afterwards about 9¼ by 16 inches. Its motto was "free but not licentious." Its price remained the same as that of the *Centinel*, 250 cents, although a single issue was six and one-fourth cents.

In the issue of October 27, 1798, is announced the return of Governor St. Clair from the tour up the river where he had laid off a new county, to which he had given the name of Ross, of which Chillicothe was the county town. The other news items of local nature were the marriage of Isaac Vawse to Betsy Broadrick and the finding in the Ohio River of the body of Daniel Bunnel of Columbia. Mr. Bunnel was descending the river in a skiff in which he had some whiskey *"of which, probably he drank too freely, and being alone fell a victim to his own indiscretion."*

Among the advertisements is the announcement of the new work entitled "Cannibal's Progress; or the Dreadful Horrors of French Invasion, as displayed by Republican Officers and Soldiers, in their *Perfidy, Rapacity, Ferociousness* and *Brutality*, exercised towards the innocent inhabitants of Germany."

James Smith, sheriff, advertises for sale some seven lots, taken in execution in the suit

of William Maxwell, and divers horses, cows and other articles.

Joel Williams complains that Rufus Elliot had sold to him a note of John Ludlow for $80 but had "clandestinely absented himself and fraudently carried off the said note."

Col. John S. Gano the commandant of the first battalion of militia gives notice to the officers commanding the companies to march their respective companies to the public ground in Cincinnati, on Tuesday, the 30th inst., so as to form battalion for exercise, by eleven o'clock A. M.; a troop of horses was included. Gano also offers for sale a house and lot pleasantly situated on the bank of Deer creek, Cincinnati.

The issue of October 1, 1799, contains the speech of Governor St. Clair to the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives on September 25, 1799. The local news announces the arrival in Detroit of Mr. Sibley, member of the House of Representatives of this Territory. The editor, Edmund Freeman, notifies those who are indebted for subscriptions to make payment. "The following produce delivered at this office will be taken, viz: Wheet per bushel, five shillings, Buck-Wheet, three shillings sixpence, Rye two shillings sixpence, Corn two shillings, Oats one shilling tenpence, Potatoes one shilling tenpence, Turnips ninepence, Flour Per Hundred wt. fifty shillings, Cornfed Pork per hundred weight sixteen shillings." Those wishing to discontinue their subscription, are told that cash is the only produce that will be received from them.

The office of publication of *Freeman's Journal* was removed from Cincinnati to Chillicothe about the beginning of the year 1800 where Freeman established the *Chillicothe Gazette.*

The Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette

Began publication in the spring of 1799. It was edited by Joseph Carpenter who came to Cincinnati from Massachusetts. He became a prominent citizen and an active soldier, serving in the War of 1812 under the immediate command of General Harrison. He died in the service as a result of exposure and was buried in Cincinnati with military honors being followed to his grave by a great gathering of citizens.

The *Spy* was the last of the papers published in Cincinnati prior to its incorporation as a village.

An early announcement of May 17, 1799, of one of the most prominent of the early citizens, Griffin Yeatman, from whom the Cove was named and who kept the tavern, is as follows: "*Observe this notice.* I have experienced the many expenses attending my *pump,* and any FAMILY wishing to receive the benefits thereof for the future, may get the same by sending me twenty-five cents each Monday morning." This records the establishment of the first permanent water works in Cincinnati.

The same issue contains a notice of the establishment of the post office at "Chelicotha."

The issue of May 13, 1799, publishes a battalion order of Daniel Symmes, lieutenant-adjutant of militia, exhorting the officers to exercise and teach the men the necessary manoeuvres. "And it is hoped that the delay of the battalion muster may produce a good effect; that is, that the industrious farmers may have time to put in their summer crops, and the industrious officers, at their company parades, may improve their men in exercising them, so that they may be distinguished when the battalion is formed, which will be on the *Fourth of July* next."

At a little later time comes the announcement that the battalion paraded accordingly. "Two or three companies on foot were in uniform, and a troop of horse, about thirty in number, *mostly* so also; the whole being reviewed by his Excellency William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Territory (*pro tempore*)."

Mr. Cist refers to the advertisement of Robert Park who offers hats for cash or country produce and who wants to buy furs, at the corner of Main and Second, as that of the first hatter. This statement is an error as will be seen by the advertisement six years before of Joseph Prince who offered "genuine good hats."

Another record in temperature is recorded on June 25th: "We have, within these few days, experienced a greater degree of heat than was ever known in the country. On Thursday, the 20th, the mercury rose to 103 in the shade, four degrees higher than was ever known before; Friday, 21st, 100; Saturday, 22nd, 96; Sunday, 23rd, 100; Monday, 24th, 101."

An item of July 23rd shows the privations to which the early settlers were subjected: "Captain E. Kibby who sometime since undertook to cut a road from Post Vincennes to this place, returned on Monday reduced to a perfect skeleton—he had cut the road 70 miles, when by some means he was separated from his men; after hunting several days for them without success, he steered his course this way. He has under-

gone great hardships, and was obliged to subsist on roots, &c., which he picked up in the woods. Thus far report."

The same paper contains a curious advertisement of a character not altogether unusual at that time:

"Finding that the Impeachment I have laid in against Benjamin Walker cannot be substantiated with sufficient proof, I do for the future clear and acquit him therefrom; and likewise in the case of Slander, I do consider him clear of either murder or felony in any sense or meaning whatever.

"EPHRAIM MORRISON."

"Nov. 28, 1798."

A week later appears the obituary of Rev. Peter Wilson. In recording this, Mr. Cist is again in error as he calls Rev. Mr. Wilson the first clergyman who had settled here, entirely overlooking Rev. James Kemper who arrived in Cincinnati, October 17, 1791, and remained here until October 7, 1796.

An interesting recipe for making beer is contained in the same number. It is here given in full in order that any person desirous of experimenting with it may have the opportunity:

"A Recipe to make beer from the shells of green peas. Pour six gallons of water on a bushel of peashells, and boil the whole until the shells are insipid to the taste. Pour off the water, which will be very sweet, into a clean tub or keg, and add a pint yeast and two ounces ground ginger. Fermentation will soon take place and the beer be fit for use.

"Beer obtained in this manner is very clear, has a fine amber color, is pungent to the taste and bears a fine bead when poured into a tumbler: is superior to molasses beer and not inferior to mead.

"One bushel of the shells will make several dozen bottles of beer. The beer should be put in strong bottles and the corks secured by wire. If the cellar is not cool the bottles will burst with an explosion, as the author of this communication has experienced.

"The beer distilled yields a spirit of the taste and color of whiskey."

This paper as well as its predecessors contains many advertisements asking debtors to settle. There is not much variety in these notices but one of C. Avery, concluding a series of requests, is published on September 27, 1799, in little different terms as it offers a special inducement to debtors: "*My generous friends,*—It may seem like an absurdity to give you another call, to assist me to perform my journey to the Atlantic States. One moment's reflection to men of sense as I know you all are, will be sufficient to shew you that it is out of my power to bring out *my family* to this place *without a considerable* sum of MONEY, &c.

"GENTLEMEN, you are to say whether I shall go to the Atlantic States or not. I flatter myself that there is not one man among you but what will *exert every nerve* to accomplish my wishes this time. Your distressed friend and very humble servant."

In the *Spy* of September 17, 1799, "Murray Cockran begs leave to inform the public, that he has opened genteel Private Lodgings at the house of Major Doyle, at the foot of the second bank on Main street in Cincinnati, leading from Col. Gibson's to Col. Gano's; the house is comfortable, and pleasantly situate, and will be kept in the most decent and reasonable manner."

Another dun of unusual character is sent out from Hamilton County Prison, October 29, 1799, in the following language: "Those indebted to Dr. Homes are desired to remit him the sums due—he being confined to jail deprives him of the pleasure of calling personally on his friends —they will therefore particularly oblige their unfortunate friend, by complying with this request without loss of time."

On September 10th of this year appears a name that became well known in early Cincinnati history. "Francis Menessier begs leave to inform the public that he has opened a coffee-house at Cincinnati, at the foot of the hill on Main street, where he proposes to retail different kinds of liquors, and all kinds of pastry, &c. He will punctually attend the coffee-house, which will be open from 2 o'clock until 9 P. M. His sign is PEGASUS the *bad poet,* fallen to the ground. Also teaches the French language. School to begin on Monday the 23d inst., at his house; teaching every evening, Saturdays and Sundays excepted."

Samuel Stitt in his "Recollections" tells us that this property at the foot of the hill is the lot on the southwest corner of Main and Third streets and 100 feet on Main and 200 on Third street where the trust company's bank afterwards stood. It was bought in 1796 by Menessier, who came from Gallipolis, for an old saddle worth ten or fifteen dollars. (Cincinnati in 1859, p. 147.)

The comment of Mr. Cist upon this sale as well as upon the purchase by Hezekiah Flint at

about the same time of a lot of similar dimensions on Walnut below Fourth for $150 is interesting as showing the topography of the early days of the city. He speaks of the Main street property in 1796 as "overhung by the abrupt front of the hill, which injured present improvement in that region of the city, and induced the population to spread over the second table, even at a greater distance from the Public Landing and business streets of the city." (Cincinnati in 1841, p. 165.)

On October 21, 1799, James White advertises a day and night school. Evening school, two dollars per quarter, the scholars finding fire-wood and candles.

A little later Menessier's coffee-house evidently took fire, for on November 18, 1799, we find that he publishes a card of thanks referring to "the fact that none but republicans and Americans could have done so much to save his property: and, to testify his gratitude, stands ready, at any future period, to sacrifice his time, his fortune, and his life, in the cause of humanity."

Some of the advertisements are embellished with rude cuts which can be only understood by reference to the text. In the issue of December 9, 1799, Peyton Short and William H. Harrison advertise for an experienced superintendent and laborers to cultivate the open lands at the mouth of the Big Miami. "It will be a matter of no consideration whether the aforesaid Superintendant has a family or not, but the laboring hands must come unincumbered with their families if any they should have."

Another advertisement tells that "Doctors Sellman & Hall Inform the public that they have entered into partnership, in the line of their profession," and ask their debtors to make payment. "Corn, Rye, Oats or cornfed Pork, will be received in payment at market price."

R. Haughton "having taught with great reputation in different parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, last winter and spring, and whose letters of introduction to this place and Lexington, are most respectable, begs leave to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of CINCINNATI and its vicinity, that if honored with their patronage, he intends opening a school here as soon as a sufficient number (sixteen or more scholars) shall subscribe.

"He teaches particularly, the Minuet Cotillion, Cotillion, French and English Sets, in all their various and ornamental branches—Exclusive of which, he teaches the most fashionable Country Dances and the City Cotillion, taught in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.—His terms are three dollars entrance, and five at the expiration of their quarter.

"N. B. Mr. Haughton also teaches some favorite Scottish Reels."

The dancing school was to commence every morning at ten o'clock and in the evening from seven to nine he taught gentlemen who could not attend in the day.

The issue of January 7, 1800, announces as follows:

"SETH CUTTER"

"Tavernkeeper"

"Through the channel of the SPY begs leave to inform the friend and the public, that he has returned to his house on Main street, where every nerve shall be exerted to accommodate and give satisfaction to all who may please to honor him with their custom.

"CINCINNATI, January 7, 1800."

The following is an advertisement asking for recruits: "ATTENTION—*Come unto me all ye who labor, and I will give you rest.* A RECRUITING RENDEZVOUS is established at FORT WASHINGTON, under the direction of Captain Vance, where all those who are ambitious to serve their country in the HONORABLE CHARACTER of SOLDIERS, may have an opportunity of being gratified, provided they bring with them *good characters as citizens*, and SOUND CONSTITUTIONS, unimpaired by *vicious habits.*

"An abundant supply of WHISKEY, FOOD and CLOTHING, of the *best* quality—TWELVE DOLLARS BOUNTY, and from FIVE to TEN DOLLARS per month—*comfortable quarters*, and a life of ease, certainly ought not to be sneezed at.

"FORT WASHINGTON, January 10, 1800.

"N. B. Punishment is to be expected where vicious conduct may render that disagreeable measure necessary."

An item significant of the habits of the day long before gambling on elections had been dignified by the newspapers appeared in the issue of April 9, 1800: "Notice! Refrain from gambling! The vice and immorality bill goes in force on the first of May next!"

On June 25th is published the following: "A child of James Walker, born blind and only five years old, is visited by crowds of people for his great sagacity and foresight. He foretold

the yellow fever in New York and Philadelphia last season, and also the present scarcity of bread in Europe. He says that before the year 1808, the jacobins are to swarm into our country, to overthrow the present government and to put to death the clergy and the religious of both sexes; that having effected this revolution they will then fall out for the supremacy, and finally destroy each other with the sword; after which the present government will be restored and the country flourish for one hundred years."

On July 16, 1800, is recorded the finding of a blacksmith's anvil "which was taken up floating on the Ohio on Saturday last!"

At the same time those desiring to join a volunteer light infantry company are requested to meet at Mr. Yeatman's tavern.

A notice of December 27th is as follows: "Those gentlemen and ladies who feel disposed to patronize a SINGING SCHOOL, will please to convene at the Court house, to-morrow evening, at candle light. As it is proposed to have singing, they will please bring their books with them."

John Smith of Columbia seems to have suffered much from attacks as indicated by the following notice, which appeared February 11th: "To *all it may concern*. Be it remembered that I, Richard Downes, having reported that John Smith, of Columbia, did, in the course of last summer, pass a number of bank notes, with an intention of deception and fraud. These are to certify, that as I never heard any thing alleged to the disadvantage of Mr. Smith's character, by others, in the above affair, and as I never knew any thing myself of it, or discovered any thing in the conduct of Mr. Smith to justify the calumny—that slanderous report is unfounded and unjust, and which I foolishly published at the instance of one of Mr. Smith's inveterate enemies, as I am willing to declare on oath whenever I am called on. Witness my hand, this first day of February, 1801."

A very remarkable advertisement appears at a little later time:

"PUBLIC UTILITY. A COMPANY of persons having, at considerable expense of time and trouble, recently invented a machine capable of propelling a boat against stream with considerable velocity, by the power of steam or *elastic vapor*, and entertaining the opinion, that if reduced to practice, great advantage must flow from it to the country, as it will afford a regular and easy conveyance, for property down the various navigable rivers, and a safe and speedy return, either in specie, or the produce of the country below; take the liberty of soliciting the aid of the public, the better to enable them to carry into effect an invention which promises to be of so general utility.

"Nor is the invention confined to boats alone; it is equally applicable to mills, and other mechanical works. It is the wish of many of the respectable inhabitants of the county, that those persons who feel a disposition to patronize the above undertaking, will please to meet on Friday evening, the 26th inst., at Mr. Yeatman's in this place, at 6 o'clock, P. M. They will then have an opportunity to judge of the propriety of the undertaking, and to offer to it that aid which it may be found to merit."

This same subject is referred to in an advertisement at a little later time as follows:

"TO THE PUBLIC. We, the subscribers, Samuel Heighway and John Pool, at the request of a number of gentlemen, who have expressed a wish for the bringing into effect *a mechanical project, constructed for the propelling of boats against the stream of rivers, tides and currents, by the power of* STEAM, or ELASTIC VAPOR, of which we are proprietors, propose bringing it into immediate use, by the aid of voluntary subscriptions, from those public spirited persons who may feel disposed to patronize so important a discovery. From every probable calculation, the commodities of trade may be conveyed to and from any place of inland situation, at one third of the expense which the same service can possibly be done for, by the tedious method at present pursued. The excellency of the construction is such that it will very little incommode the stowage of the vessel, as it will not occupy more than one-tenth part thereof, and may be purchased by traders in general, at the moderate sum of about seven hundred dollars. It is equally applicable to mills in dry seasons, when the water is insufficient, by supplying it. Anticipating the many advantages which the Western country will derive from the discovery, if reduced to practice, it is particularly recommended by several gentlemen, as above, to the attention of the public, to give it that sanction and support which they think it merits."

At a meeting of Republicans held on March 20th at Mr. Menessier's hotel to celebrate the election of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, Citizen John Cleves Symmes presided. One of the toasts was the following: "The late Mr. Wash-

ington. May his memory and time prove coeval. (*The company wept and wiped their eyes.*) Air, *dead march.*"

The passing of the first sea vessel on April 27, 1801, is recorded as follows: "Anchored off this place on Monday afternoon, the brig St. Clair, commodore Whipple commander, of one hundred tons burthen. She was built at Marietta, and is allowed by good judges to be well built, and a handsome vessel. She is completely rigged and ready for sea—her cargo is the produce of the country—she is bound for some of the West Indian islands.

"On her arrival the banks were crowded with people, all eager to view this pleasing presage of the future greatness of our infant country. This is the first vessel which has descended the Ohio equipped for sea."

A curious complaint is made by a correspondent on May 20th, about women bringing their children to church and not carrying them out when they cry. "Nothing, is more disagreeable, to either speaker or hearer, than the bawling of children; but some persons will hear the sermon, even though it should be at the expense of every other person present. It would be well, also, if persons were to leave off *hammering on frying-pans,* during divine service."

The Fourth of July was celebrated this year by one party at Yeatman's and another at a spring on the bank of the Ohio just above Deer creek bridge. A broad rock served as a table. Citizen John Cleves Symmes acted as president and Citizen Dr. William Goforth, as vice-president of the day. The meetings have all been referred to in an earlier chapter.

A town meeting was called September 30th, "to take into consideration the propriety of having the town incorporated, at Mr. Yeatman's tavern, this evening."

A new kind of dun was in the following language: "To *subscribers.*—Wanted immediately, A QUANTITY OF CASH, for which receipts will be given, and credits entered at the highest price. Enquire of Carpenter & Findlay, Spy office. October 10, 1801."

On September 23rd, Levi McLean once more "advertises his singing school, one dollar for thirteen nights, or two dollars per quarter; subscribers to find their own wood and candles."

On December 19th, the Cincinnati Theatre which had been announced in the issue of September 30, 1801, published an appeal to subscribers to advance the sum of 25 cents on each ticket, and offers to sell single tickets for that night only for 50 cents each.

The same number contains a call for a public meeting to take measures for procuring a fire engine. This was in consequence of the many fires which were thought to be of incendiary origin.

The first library, an account of which is given elsewhere, is noted on March 6, 1802. Louis Kerr acted as the librarian.

The death of Martha Washington, April 26, 1802, was the subject of a half column of the *Spy* printed in mourning on May 22, 1802.

Andrew. Jackson offers $50 reward for his negro slave George who had escaped from his plantation on the Cumberland River.

The opening of a school for young ladies is announced as follows: "Mrs. Williams begs leave to inform the inhabitants of Cincinnati, that she intends opening a school in the house of Mr. Newman, saddler, for young ladies, on the following terms: reading, 250 cents; reading and sewing, $3; reading, sewing, and writing, 350 cents per quarter."

Andrew Brannon having published that the partnership existing between him and his wife Alice had been dissolved by mutual consent and warning the public not to trust her receives a reply in the next issue as follows:

"*The other side of the story.*—Whereas, Andrew Brannon has advertised the public not to credit me on his account, it becomes my duty to state, that I have never yet stood in need of his credit. When I married him, it was in hopes of a home for my old age, which is fast approaching; but how have I been disappointed! He has lived off my means, refused to contribute to my expenses, and treated me with great unkindness. I leave this fellow to his own reflections, confident, if he is not lost to every sense of feeling, they will be a sufficient punishment for his conduct to me.

"ALICE GLEN."

Another item of the paper gives the description of a peach tree in the garden of Col. John Armstrong of Columbia, which bore fruit nearly as big as a half bushel and which weighed from 20 to 25 pounds. It is evident from this that there has been a deterioration of the peach trees in the neighborhood in the past century.

Notice is given to the public that "Martin Baum & Company declined business in Cincinnati on the 6th day of October last."

On September 18, 1801, are announced the Cincinnati races where "will be run for on the

first Tuesday of October next, over a handsome course near this place, a purse of one hundred dollars." It is also stated that a purse of $50 would be run for on the next day and on Thursday there would be a sweepstake.

An idea of the prices of food products at the beginning of the century can be obtained from the advertising columns and market reports which appear from time to time.

On August 27, 1800, William and M. Jones announce that "as flower is getting very cheap, they have enlarged their loaf to four pounds, which is sold at one-eighth of a dollar per loaf, or flour pound for pound, payable every three months." In October we are informed that Imperial or Gunpowder tea was $3 per pound, Hyson, $2.25, Hyson-skin, $1.50, and Bohea, $1; loaf sugar, 44 cents, pepper, 75 and allspice, 50. The Natchez and New Orleans markets controlled the prices of many articles. In December at Natchez, cotton was $22 to $24 per cwt.; tobacco, $3 to $4 per cwt.; castings, 10 cents per lb., and bar iron, 10 to 12½ cents; bacon, 10 to 11 cents per lb.; pork $12 to $14 per bbl.; flour, $12; whiskey, 62 cents per gallon; lime, 50 cents per bushel; unshelled corn, 50 cents per bushel.

In September of the following year we learn that salt was worth $2 per bushel; saltpetre, 37½ cents per lb.; powder, 75 cents; lard, 12½; and tar, 50 cents per gallon. Natchez prices of about the same time gave cotton at $21; salt pork, $13 per bbl.; flour, $8; whiskey, 75 cents per gallon; corn, $1 per bushel; lime, 75 cents; bacon, 12½ cents per lb; and nails, 25 cents, castings, 12 cents, and bar iron 14½ cents per lb.

New Orleans prices in January, 1802, gave sugar at 7 to 8 cents per lb.; indigo, $1.75 per lb.; flour, $4; fine blue, black, brown and mixed cloths, $1.50 to $2 per yard.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE TOWN OF CINCINNATI (1802-1819.)—I.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.

Cincinnati in 1802—The Town in 1804—Mansfield—Hildreth—Ashe—Schultz—Cuming—Cutler's Picture, "Cincinnati in 1809"—L'Hommedieu—Drake's "Notices Concerning Cincinnati"—Melish—Cincinnati in 1812—Streets in 1814—Drake's "Cincinnati in 1815"—Flint—Thomas—Cincinnati in 1817—Birkbeck—Palmer—Reminiscences of "Old Man."

The first period of Cincinnati's history as a municipal corporation is that from 1802 to 1819. During this period of time the settlement rejoiced in the dignity of a town. The township organization was continued for the purposes usually incident to such a political subdivision but all administrative authority over the town was taken from the township officials and from the courts. At this time the history of Cincinnati as a self-governing community may be said to begin.

CINCINNATI IN 1802.

The town was incorporated by the act of January 1, 1802, and corporate power was vested in a president, recorder and seven trustees who formed the Select Council. By the act itself David Ziegler was appointed the first president and Jacob Burnet the recorder. Ziegler's appointment was ratified by the people and he served the full term.

It is very fortunate that we have a sketch of the town made in the first year of its corporate existence which gives some idea as to its physical appearance. This sketch gives a view of the settlement extending from the residence of the postmaster, William Ruffin, at the foot of Lawrence street to a point about opposite the end of Vine street, which was then not cut through to the river. Immediately west of Major Ruffin's residence was the large enclosure known as the artificers' yard which must have been about on the eastern boundary of the present Public Landing. Back of Ruffin's house are shown the houses of Judge Daniel Symmes (mayor, 1808-09), Mr. Prince (mayor, 1804) and Mr. Wade. They are on the bluff above the pond just back of the artificers' yard. The house at the northwest corner of Front and Broadway was that of Charles Vattier where the first store was kept by Captain Bartle. Next west came the houses of James Smith, first sheriff, Gen. James Findlay (mayor, 1805-06 and 1810-11), Dr. Selman and Connor's store, afterwards Mr. Greene's dwelling, the residence and store of David Ziegler (mayor 1803-04) and adjoining it on the northeast corner of Front and Sycamore was Griffin Yeatman's tavern on lot 27. In a room of this tavern already described by Judge Burnet was later an exhibition of wax figures. At the time of Burr's visit to Cincinnati, there were figures of Burr and Hamilton in the duel scene. In front of the large indentation known as Yeatman's Cove, the landing place of the first settlers, was moored the market house. According to Ludlow's plat, this cove ran almost entirely

across the landing. In the cove itself and at the head of it was a little hut built by a quiet, resolute young fellow named Smith who afterwards married a Miss Folger. (Reminiscences of Jonathan Lyon.)

The first house at the northwest corner of Front and Sycamore was Martin Baum's and a little west came that of Samuel Stitt; here a year later was the Miami Exporting Company's bank building. Then came a double house occupied on the east by Rev. John W. Browne and on the west by Jesse Hunt's store and then, adjoining, Jesse Hunt's residence. On the northeast corner of Front and Main was Colonel Gibson's large house, subsequently used by Major Stanley's store and on the Public Landing south was the store of Weaver, in the little structure built by Williams on the landing and after used as the Town House for the meetings of the Select Council. Between it and the river is one and at the cove the other of the two great sycamores. The latter tree gave its name to the street at whose foot it stood. On the bank of the river south of Water street was Riddle's blacksmith shop. On the north side of Water near Main was a large barn and stable owned by Joel Williams and just west on the same street was Joel Williams' tavern, where the Democrats then called the "Sons of Saint Tammany" held their annual festival on May Day. On the northwest corner of Front and Main called Kidd's Corner was Israel Ludlow's house, the first frame; then came the houses of Dr. Stall and Dr. Ramsey and then the Green Tree Hotel with the figures "1796" on the side; with the green tree which gave it its name in front. On the northeast corner of Front and Walnut was the house of Mr. Dick and on the northwest corner, that of Samuel Best, the watchmaker. West on Front was the Avery house and still farther the Anderson house. A little up on Main street on the upper level just over the top of the Green Tree Hotel is shown the first Presbyterian Church at the corner of Fourth and Main streets. Fort Washington is placed altogether too far back from the river and as a result the picturesque appearance of which so many writers speak is entirely lost. It should stand just over the residences of Vattier and Smith, directly on the bank beyond the frog pond shown in the picture, almost directly west of the houses of Symmes, Prince and Wade. Dr. Allison's residence was on the site now occupied by the Foster home on Ludlow street and in all probability, if the fort had been placed in its proper position in the picture, would have been invisible from the point of view from which the picture is taken.

The Court House with the market place in front and the jail and village school house can by a considerable stretch of the imagination be selected from the little structures in the background placed without much regard to the street lines. Menessier's vineyard, however, is omitted as is also the market house built over the cove. In the extreme background at the right is shown a little house just beyond the fort which is probably intended for Sargent's residence. The woods, however, are all too far back and the houses which were in the main built of logs have too modern an appearance. The second bank is not indicated with sufficient distinctness west of Vine street. This bank extended west to Elm where one ridge turned almost due west and the other southwest. On the north side of Third running west of Plum, the original bank can still be seen.

The lack of any knowledge of perspective on the part of the artist detracts somewhat from the accuracy of the picture. Of course, as Mr. Ford well says, there are not enough buildings to accommodate the nine hundred inhabitants (more or less) in the town at that time but the general effect of the picture showing the different levels of the city and the hills in the background is very striking.

An effort has been made to correct the inaccuracies of the picture in a painting recently made for this work by the artist, Rudolph Tschudi. This painting, the property of James Wilson Bullock, has been reproduced for the benefit of the readers of this work. It has been submitted to Robert Ralston Jones for criticism and suggestion as to its accuracy and it is confidently believed that the picture not only has an artistic merit above that usually found in works of this character but that it is as accurate a representation of Cincinnati as it appeared from the river in the year 1802 as it is possible to present at this late date. That there were other houses in the village than those shown on the picture goes without saying and their exact location can of course never be known. The houses that are depicted, however, certainly were in the approximate positions shown and the general appearance of the landscape is thought to be reproduced with fidelity to the descriptions handed down to us. In fact it is probable that although the settlement, which began to increase considerably after 1805, possessed many more houses than those shown and extend-

ed much more to the west and a little more to the north, the general appearance of the river front was not very much changed for quite a number of years after the date assigned to Mr. Tschudi's picture.

The descriptions given by the early residents and by visitors agree in the main with each other. They are of interest to-day as throwing light upon the gradual development of the town.

THE TOWN IN 1804.

In an address delivered in the council chamber in honor of the 87th anniversary of the Marietta settlement day, which was celebrated April 7, 1875, A. H. Dunlevy, a pioneer by birth, having been born in Columbia, December 21, 1793, gave his impressions of Cincinnati at the time he first saw it in 1804 at which time he came with his father, the late President Judge Francis Dunlevy (Dunlavy), to make a visit. He said: "Cincinnati was then a very small place. The hotel where I put up was near the northeast corner of Main and Fifth streets and was kept by one James Conn or rather by his wife who was the most efficient of the family. Here for some years, I was accustomed to stop during the sittings of the court, and here I always met, with others, those judges of the Court of Common Pleas not residing in the city. Among these early judges, besides my father, then the presiding judge, were Luke Foster, James Silvers, I think, and Dr. Stephen Wood. Judge Goforth also was on the bench, but lived in the city. Here too I frequently met Judge John Cleves Symmes. In the early part of court he was always thronged with purchasers of his lands, and I have seen him, while supping his tea, of which he was excessively fond. writing deeds or contracts and talking with his friends and those who had business with him all at the same time.

"From the customers of this hotel, I think it was considered the best then in Cincinnati. But at this time the forest trees stood on the south, east, and north of this hotel property. Directly south, across Fifth street, Tom Dugan, an old bachelor who left a large property in Cincinnati, had a rough-iron store; and there were very few buildings of any size south along Main street, until the corner of Main and Fourth, where, on the north side, James Ferguson had the best store, I think, then in Cincinnati. The only access to the Ohio where wagons could descend was at the foot of Main street; and this consisted simply of a wide road cut diagonally down the steep bank of the river. In high water there was no other levee than this road. In low water, however, there was a wide beach; but this could only be reached by this road. It may be there was a similar approach to the river at the foot of Broadway; but if so, I did not see it. All north of Fifth street, with the exception of one or two houses, was in woods or inclosed lots, without other improvements. In coming to Cincinnati from Lebanon, miles of the route were in the woods, out of sight of any improvements; and from Cumminsville, then only a tavern, kept by one Cummins (John, I think), there were but two residences on the road until you came near to Conn's hotel. One of these was the residence of Mr. Cary—I think father of General Samuel Cary, of Hamilton County, so well known." (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. IV, p. 30.)

According to another reminiscential account of the town in 1805, the population, which was about 950 at this time, occupied 172 buildings; four of these were of stone, six were of brick, 109 of frame and 53 were log cabins. The stone buildings were those of Jesse Hunt on Second near Eastern row, Judge Aaron Goforth on Walnut below Fourth, Andrew Lemon on Water street and Joel Williams, also on Water street. Those of brick were the Miami Exporting Company's bank building on Front near Main, Judge Burnet's residence on Vine and Third (the site of the present Burnet House), the building of Elmore Williams on Fifth and Main and Nimmo's on Main near Fourth and two others whose names are not preserved. Not long after this the office of *Liberty Hall* and its editor, Rev. John W. Browne, was built at the east end of the lower market house. (John D. Caldwell in Cincinnati Pioneer, No. IV, p. 7.)

MANSFIELD.

E. D. Mansfield, whose name is inseparably connected with the history of the city and whose life of Dr. Drake and "Personal Memories" are among the most valuable treasures of Cincinnati literature, arrived in Cincinnati with his father Jared Mansfield, who had just been appointed surveyor-general, in October, 1805. He was a very small boy and his trip from Marietta and first view of Cincinnati which was the first town he had seen except Marietta were very vividly impressed upon his mind and constituted the first of his memories. His family came down on an ark, an oblong flat-bottomed boat, made of boards,

with a small cabin at one end fitted up for his mother.

Of Cincinnati he says it was "one of the dirtiest little villages you ever saw. Of course I was not driven around that immense town to see its splendors but the principal street or settlement was Front street and that I saw. The chief houses at that time were on Front street from Broadway to Sycamore; they were two-story frame houses, painted white. One was that of General Findlay, receiver of the Land Office * * * * and subsequently member of Congress from the Cincinnati district. The Findlays were all of a popular caste of character. They were sanguine, pleasant, genial men. Belonging to the Democratic party, at a time when that party was dominant in nearly all the States, they were readily promoted to political honors. James Findlay may be properly characterized as a gentleman—not so common a character as some persons suppose. He was easy in manner, kind-hearted, genial, fond of good living, and a very upright man." (Personal Memories, p. 19.)

A traveler, Josiah Espy, who passed through the town at this time (September 4, 1805), speaks of Cincinnati as a remarkably sprightly, thriving town of about two hundred dwelling houses,—many of these elegant brick buildings.

HILDRETH.

Curiously enough, Mr. Mansfield's account of his trip does not agree with that of S. P. Hildreth, who describes the voyage of a little 70-ton schooner called the "Nonpareil," which left Marietta April 21st, and contained among other passengers General Mansfield and his family. According to Mr. Hildreth, new settlements and improvements were springing up along the bank between Marietta and Cincinnati every few miles, there being no less than 10 towns, some of considerable importance, in this distance, 160 miles. The voyage took 17 days and they landed on the 8th of May.

"The enlivening notes of the fife and drum at reveille were no longer heard, and the loud booming of the morning gun, as it rolled its echoes along the hills and the winding shores of the river, had ceased to awaken the inhabitants from their slumbers. Cincinnati had been from its foundation until within a short period the headquarters of the different armies engaged in the Indian wars; and the continual arrival and departure of the troops, the landing of boats and detachments of packhorses with provisions, had given to this little village all the life and activity of a large city. Peace was now restored; and the enlivening hum of commerce was beginning to be heard on the landings, while the bustle and hurry of hundreds of immigrants thronged the streets as they took their departure for the rich valleys of the Miamis, the intended home of many a weary pilgrim from the Atlantic States. The log houses were beginning to disappear—brick and frame buildings were supplying their places. Large warehouses had arisen near the water for the storing of groceries and merchandise, brought up in barges and keel-boats from the far distant city of New Orleans." (American Pioneer, Vol. I, p. 98.)

ASHE.

Another view of the town is given by the Englishman, Thomas Ashe, elsewhere referred to, who visited it in the following year, 1806. He chose during a part of his travels to act the part of a Frenchman under the name of D'Arville and he assumed the character of a learned man of science. He evolved the theory that the earthworks in Cincinnati were the ruins of an ancient city and, as has already been stated, swindled Dr. Goforth out of his collection of relics. In his account of his travels published after his return to Europe he describes Cincinnati as follows:

"The town consists of about three hundred houses, frame and log, built on two plains, the higher and the lower, each of which commands a fine view of the opposite shore, the mouth of Licking, the town of Newport, and the Ohio waters for a considerable way both up and down. The public buildings consist of a court house, prison, and two places of worship; and two printing-presses are established, which issue papers once a week. Cincinnati is also the line of communication with the chain of forts extended from Fort Washington to the westward, and is the principal town in what is called Symmes' Purchase. The garrison end of the town is now in a state of ruin. A land office for the sale of Congress lands at two dollars per acre is held in the town, and made no less than seventeen thousand contracts the last year with persons both from Europe and all parts of the United States. So very great and extensive is the character of the portion of the State of which this town is the fort and capital, that it absorbs the whole reputation of the country, deprives it of its topographical name, and is dis-

tinguished by that of the 'Miamis.' In Holland, Germany, Ireland, and the remote parts of America, persons intending to emigrate declare that they will go to the 'Miamis.' * * *

"The commerce at present is conducted by the keepers of about thirty stores. * * * The merchants, however, make an exorbitant profit. Those of four years' standing, who came with goods obtained at Philadelphia and Baltimore on credit, have paid their debts, and now live at their ease. * * *

"In general the people of Cincinnati make a favorable impression; they are orderly, decent, sociable, liberal, and unassuming; and were I compelled to live in the Western country, I would give their town a decided preference. There are among the citizens several gentlemen of integrity, intelligence, and worth." (Travels in America in 1806, p. 201.)

The ladies he found possessed of comeliness, distinction and taste, of tall, slender and graceful figures, with much animation and expression.

Among the gentlemen who particularly won his praise were Generals Findlay and Gano, Messrs. Dugan and Moore and his dupe, Dr. Goforth. The amusement of the time consisted he says of balls and amateur plays "the former of which going to literary and humane purposes disposes me to think them both entertaining and good."

The most interesting feature of this account is the mention of the garrison at the end of the town; the troops had been moved across the river a couple of years before, although it was not until 1808 that the fort was entirely dismantled. The removal of the soldiers was obviously an important event in the life of the settlement.

Dr. Hildreth in the quotation already cited refers to the importance of the headquarters to the city and the fact that the notes of the fife and drum and the booming of the morning gun were no longer heard. The agitation over the Burr conspiracy, however, must have given again a military appearance to the city for a short time for Mrs. Ludlow in her "Journal" records under date of September 28, 1806, that in consequence of the fear of Burr's schemes, cannon had been "planted on the bank and a sentinel stationed on the watch. The light horse commanded by Captain Ferguson have gallantly offered their services, and Captain Carpenter's company of infantry are on the alert. Cincinnati has quite the appearance of a garrisoned town. A tremendous cannonading was heard yesterday, and all thought Burr and his armament had arrived; but it was only a salute to a fleet of flat-boats containing military stores for the different stations on the river." (Garrard's Memoir of Charlotte Chambers, p. 63.)

SCHULTZ.

In 1807 a German tourist named Schultz made a trip through the Western and Southwestern country. He subsequently published an account of his travels. At Cincinnati he found three hundred houses several of which were "very genteel buildings; it has a bank, market-house, printing-office, and a number of stores well stocked with every kind of merchandise in demand in this country. The markets are well furnished both as to abundance and variety." Flour was but $3.50 to $4.00 a barrel and the country around produced all the necessities of life with but very little labor. He speaks of Fort Washington as still being at the upper end of the town although useless at the time by reason of the increased population of the country. (Travels Through Ohio, Vol. I, p. 181.)

CUMING.

In the following year F. Cuming of Philadelphia visited the settlement. The houses he found were many of them all brick and all in general well built and well painted with that air of neatness so conspicuous in Connecticut and New Jersey. Some of the new brick houses were of three stories with flat roofs and one of four stories was then building. He particularly mentions the handsome brick house beautifully situated just outside the west end of the town belonging to Jacob Burnet, "an eminent lawyer." Of the old fort he observed no remains. His visit was in May and the sale had taken place a couple of months before and evidently the work of demolition had been complete.

CUTLER'S PICTURE, "CINCINNATI IN 1809."

In the well known picture called "Cincinnati in 1809" is found the earliest contemporary representation of the town—At the extreme right beyond the space which had been occupied by the military reservation was the post office kept by Major Ruffin. On the northwest corner of Broadway and Front was a small building, one of the oldest in the city, erected by Captain Bartle and finished and occupied by Charles Vattier. Next to it was a three-story house

known as Smith's Tavern, the headquarters of General Harrison in the War of 1812 and the residence of his family during his absence with the army. At the corner of Sycamore and Front streets was Yeatman's Tavern. In the stone stable in the rear of this were held the amateur dramatic performances in which took part Ethan Allen Brown, afterwards Governor of the State, General Findlay and Mr. Sill, both members of Congress, Mr. Totten, afterwards general in the engineers' department, Mr. Rollings and Mr. Wade, attorneys, Colonel Cutler, Capt. John Mansfield and Nicholas Longworth. The proceeds of this performance were intended to be given for the foundation of a public library but they were eventually devoted to the erection of a market house Lower Market street. On Front street a little west of Sycamore was a three-story building occupied by the Miami Exporting Company.

The original picture made by Lieut. Jervis Cutler, who is said to have been stationed for a time at Newport Barracks, is contained in "A Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory and Louisiana, etc., by a late officer of the United States Army" published in Boston, 1812. This curious view of Cincinnati in 1809 is designated by Mr. Thompson in his bibliography as the first engraved. Practically the same view is reprinted in "Shaffer's Business Directory for 1840," where it is entitled "Cincinnati in 1809 from a picture in possession of D. A. Shaffer drawn by Capt. E. Cutler." The view known as Cincinnati in 1810 is apparently taken from a section of this picture. This is the one usually printed. John D. Caldwell republished a portion of it in the "Cincinnati Pioneer" for September, 1873, which includes only so much of the river bank as that portion occupied by the Public Landing extending from Broadway to Main. It shows the Court House at Fifth and Main in the background. The picture reproduced in this volume is from the Cutler plate.

L'HOMMEDIEU.

We have several descriptions of the city as it appeared in 1810. S. S. L'Hommedieu, president of the Pioneer Association, in his inaugural address April 7, 1874, describes it as it appeared at the time of his arrival in that year. In the summer of 1810 three families, the Fosdicks, Rogers and L'Hommedieus, left Sag Harbor on Long Island for the West. They sailed by boat to New York City without encountering anything in particular except the falling overboard of two of the party, one of whom was Samuel Fosdick. From Philadelphia they traveled in the old style Conestoga wagons until they reached Pittsburg, from which point they came to Cincinnati on keel-boats. Cincinnati was reached October 21st, after a journey of 63 days from New York.

"Cincinnati was then a village, containing about two thousand people. The houses were mostly frame or log cabins, located generally on the lower level, below what is now Third street. The principal street was Main, and was pretty well built upon as high as Sixth or Seventh street, the latter being the northern boundary of the village. It had its Presbyterian meeting house, a frame building on the square between Fourth and Fifth, Main and Walnut streets; its graveyard, Court House, jail, and public whipping-post, all on the same square. Upon this same ground between the Court House and meeting house, bands of friendly Indians would occasionally have war-dances, much to the amusement of the villagers; after which the hat would be handed around for the benefit, it may be, of the pappooses.

"And here I may mention the fact that the pews and pulpit sounding-board of that same old pioneer meeting house, built in the years 1792-93, whose pulpit was, in 1810, occupied by that able, fine-looking, hospitable, brave old Kentucky preacher Dr. Joshua L. Wilson, are still in use in a small German Lutheran Church, on the river road, within the present corporate limits of our city.

"The village also had its stone Methodist meeting house, built in 1805-06, situated on East Fifth street, a little west of Eastern row, then the eastern boundary of the village, now Broadway. It also had its post office, on the corner of Lawrence and Front streets, and its Davis Embree brewery, on the river bank, below Race street." (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 11.)

President L'Hommedieu in his address to the Pioneer Association April 7, 1874, suggested a few contrasts between the Cincinnati of 1810 and the time of his speaking. In 1810 the latest news from Europe was from sixty to ninety days old. In 1870 the news published in the *London Times* at six in the morning could be read in the Cincinnati dailies at the same hour of the day. At an earlier date a journey from New York to Cincinnati by a vessel to Philadelphia, Conestoga wagon to Pittsburg and a keel-boat down the Ohio took 60 days while in

1870 it could be made in less than 30 hours. The time of course has been still more shortened in the last few years. The trip to New Orleans by barge, keel-boat or broadhorn and return on horseback through the Indian country in 1810 occupied from three to four months. In 1870 by steamboat the trip required 15 days and four days by railroad. A trip to Columbus in 1810 occupied six to eight days according to the season and depth of mud as against three hours at present, while that to Dayton took from two to four days. In 1810 the streets during a large portion of the year were covered with dust about six inches deep and at other times much deeper so that there were but two or three points at which Main street could be crossed by foot passengers. In 1870, says Mr. L'Hommedieu, the foot passenger could cross at any point without soiling his stockings "if he wear boots or high shoes." In 1810 preachers gave sermons from one and a half hours to two hours long and sometimes took an intermission for fifteen minutes and then went on with their discourses. In modern times over half an hour in delivery is not generally acceptable. Fashionable parties at the earlier dates were given in the afternoon from five to nine o'clock; at present between ten in the evening and two in the morning. In 1810, says Mr. L'Hommedieu, public officers, contractors, councilmen, aldermen, Congressmen and Senators were generally honest while in 1870, says he, "for contrast see the newspapers of all parties all over the country." A rather pessimistic comparison. (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 22.)

DRAKE'S "NOTICES CONCERNING CINCINNATI."

By far the most complete description of the city at this time however is the contemporaneous one made by Dr. Daniel Drake in "Notices Concerning Cincinnati," the first book published concerning the city. Much of this description has already been given in another chapter.

"About two-thirds of the houses are in the 'Bottom,' the rest on the 'Hill.' It is in squares of 396 feet. The streets, except Broadway (which is 100) are sixty-six feet wide. They intersect each other at right angles, and the meridional lines vary 17 deg. W. from N. This cannot be considered so favorable to ventilation as an eastern variation, for our prevalent winds are in a line running from S. W. to N. E. None of the streets are paved. Alleys are not numerous. There is no permanent common, except an inconsiderable one between Front street and the river (the Public Landing). Along some of our sidewalks trees are planted, but they are not sufficiently numerous. The absurd clamor against the caterpillar of the Lombardy poplar, caused many trees of that species to be cut down; and at present the white flowering locust very justly attracts most attention; it should be cultivated still more generally.

"The number of dwelling houses is about 360. They are chiefly built of brick and wood; a few are of stone. Scarcely any are so constructed as to afford habitations for families beneath the surface of the ground; and not many are built with porches.

"The town contains two cemeteries. One is for the interment of the deceased of all denominations. It lies between Fourth and Fifth streets, nearly in the center of the Hill population. It has been a common receptacle for the town, for strangers and for the troops in Fort Washington previous to the erasement of that garrison since the first settlement here. Its area is something less than half a square. The other place of sepulture is designed for the use of the Methodist society. It was established about five years ago, in the N. E. quarter of the town, on the Hill.

"There are eight brick yards. They lie in the western part of the Bottom, near the second bank, which is the lowest portion of the site of the town. They abound in pools, the water of which has been drained from almost every part of the town.

"The shambles of our butchers are fixed on the bank of Deer creek, to the N. and N. E. of the town. The tanneries are in the same direction.

"The population of Cincinnati and its suburbs is 2,320 souls, of which number 1,227 are males, 1,013 females and eighty are negroes. The number of children under sixteen years is 1,051. The number of persons over forty-five years is 184. The number who have attained to the scriptural limit of human life, three score and ten, is not known; but as men who have passed sixty years of age do not often emigrate to new and distant countries, instances of great longevity are not to be expected here. Indeed, from the recent settlement of this place, few or none of its adult inhabitants are its natives. They have emigrated from every State in the Union, and from most of the countries in the west of Europe, more especially Ireland, England, Germany and Scotland. The American emigrants have been supplied principally by the States north of Virginia.

"A population derived from such distant sources, and so recently brought together, must necessarily exhibit much physical as well as moral diversity. The climate and soil have not yet introduced a uniform constitution of body; nor customs, manner and laws a uniform moral character. The inhabitants are generally laborious. By far the greatest number are mechanics. The rest are chiefly merchants, professional men and teachers. Wealth is distributed more after the manner of the Northern, than Southern States; and few, or none, are so independent as to live without engaging in some kind of business.

"A great portion of the inhabitants are temperate. There are not a few, however, who daily, but quietly, become intoxicated, and no very inconsiderable number have been known to fall victims to that habit. Whisky is in universal, but not exclusive, use, among the intemperate; beer and cider are generally drunk by those of more sobriety. Well water is generally drunk in the summer, and used otherwise by a few throughout the year. But the water of the river, drawn up in barrels, is employed for all domestic purposes by far the greatest number, and is drunk throughout half the year by at least half the inhabitants.

"The use of tobacco among the male sex is much too general. It is not confined to those who might derive benefit or comfort from it, but extends, with the usual number of exceptions, to all ages, from ten years old, upwards.

"The diet of the inhabitants is similar to that of the people of other Middle and Eastern States. Green tea and coffee are in general and extensive use. Fresh meats are eaten in great quantities. Beef, more especially in the summer and autumn, is used to the exclusion of most other meats, in a great many families. The market is well supplied with culinary vegetables. Fermented wheat bread is in very general use. It is commonly eaten fresh, but hot bread is much seldomer served up here, than in the Southern States. Indian corn bread is by no means uncommon. Rye is almost unknown as an article of food. Fish are not a principal article of diet, though the river affords many.

"The dress of our inhabitants is similar to that of the other inhabitants of the Middle States. The females injure their health by dressing too thin, and both sexes by not accommodating the quantity of clothing to the changes of the weather. The amusement of balls and other evening parties, so defective to female health in all parts of the United States, are engaged in here, but not to remarkable excess.

"No natural or artificial mineral waters are used here in the summer, nor are there any artificial baths. Bathing in the river is practiced by some, but is less regular and general than it ought to be." (Notices Concerning Cincinnati: By Daniel Drake, Cincinnati: Printed for the Author, At the Press of John W. Browne & Co., 1810; p. 29—This is the rarest book relating to Cincinnati. Mr. Thompson in his "Bibliography of Ohio" says that he can trace the existence of but three copies. There are several copies in the different local libraries.)

MELISH.

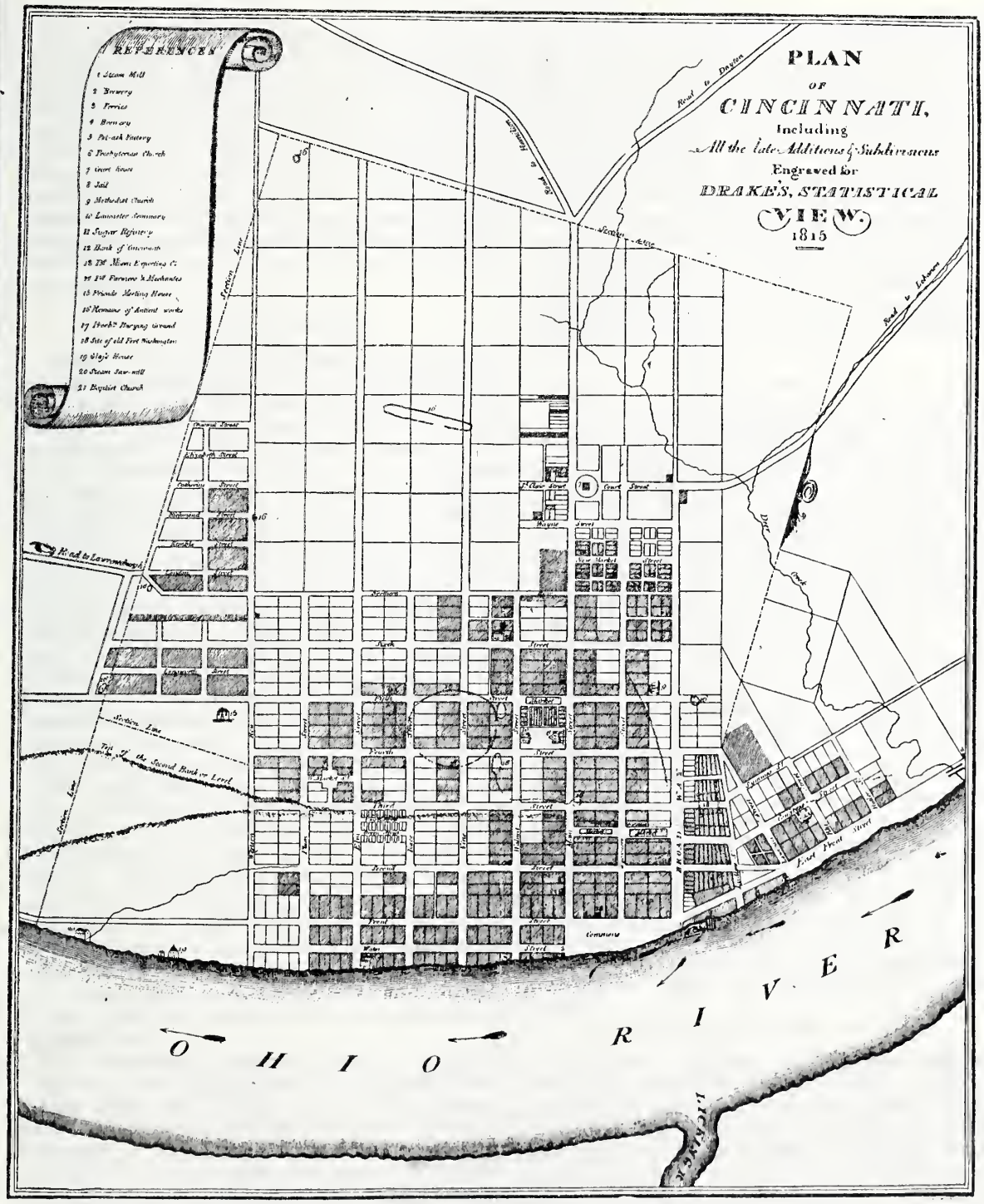
John Melish, an Englishman, visited Cincinnati in 1811 and subsequently published two volumes about his travels. He speaks of Cincinnati and its manufactures as follows:

"This is, next to Pittsburgh, the greatest place for manufactures and mechanical operations on the river, and the professions exercised are nearly as numerous as at Pittsburgh. There are masons and stonecutters, brick-makers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, coppersmiths, tinsmiths, silversmiths, gunsmiths, clock and watchmakers, tanners, saddlers, boot and shoemakers, glovers and breeches-makers, cotton-spinners, weavers, dyers, taylors, printers, bookbinders, rope-makers, comb-makers, painters, pot and pearl ashmakers.

"These branches are mostly all increasing, and afford good wages to the journeymen. Carpenters and cabinet-makers have one dollar per day and their board, masons have two dollars per one thousand for laying bricks and their board; when they board themselves they have about four dollars per one thousand. Other classes have from one to one dollar twenty-five cents per day, according to the nature of the work.

"Wool and cotton carding and spinning can be increased to a great extent; and a well organized manufactory of glass bottles would succeed. Porter brewing could be augmented, but it would first be necessary to have bottles, as the people here prefer malt liquors in the bottled state. A manufactory of wool hats would probably succeed, and that of stockings would do remarkably well, provided frame smith work were established along with it—not else. As the people are becoming wealthy and polished in their manners, probably a manufactory of piano-fortes would do upon a small scale.

"There are ample materials for manufactures. Cotton is brought from Cumberland River, for

 PLAN
OF
CINCINNATI,
Including
All the late Additions & Subdivisions
Engraved for
DRAKE'S, STATISTICAL
VIEW.
1815
REFERENCES
1 Steam Mill
2 Brewery
3 Ferries
4 Brewery
5 Pot-ash Factory
6 Presbyterian Church
7 Court House
8 Jail
9 Methodist Church
10 Lancaster Seminary
11 Sugar Refinery
12 Bank of Cincinnati
13 Miami Exporting Co
14 Farmers & Mechanics
15 Friends Meeting House
16 Remains of Antient works
17 Presbn Burying Ground
18 Site of old Fort Washington
19 Clay's House
20 Steam Saw-mill
21 Baptist Church
Road to Dayton
Road to Hamilton
Road to Lebanon
Road to Lawrenceburgh
Section Line
Top of the Second Bank or Level
Court Street
St. Clair Street
Wayne Street
New Market Street
Seventh
Sixth
Fifth Street
Fourth Street
Third Street
Second Street
Front Street
Water Street
East Front Street
Deer Creek
Broad Way
Main
Walnut
Vine
Race
Elm
Plum
Western Row
Market
Commons
OHIO RIVER
LICKING

from two to three cents. Wool is becoming plenty in the country and now sells at fifty cents per pound, and all the materials for glass-making are abundant; coal has not been found in the immediate neighborhood, but can be laid down here at a pretty reasonable rate; and it is probable the enterprising citizens will soon introduce the steam engine in manufactures. Wood is brought to the town at a very low rate. There is a very considerable trade between New Orleans and this place, and several barges were in the river when we visited it. One had recently sailed upwards over the falls."

CINCINNATI IN 1812.

Cutler's "Topographical Description," already referred to, contains an account of Cincinnati in 1812 taken from the "Ohio Navigator."—"Cincinnati is handsomely situated on a first and second bank of the Ohio, opposite Licking River. It is a flourishing town, has a rich, level, and well settled country around it. It contains about four hundred dwellings, an elegant court house, jail, three market houses, a land office for the sale of Congress lands, two printing offices, issuing weekly Gazettes, thirty mercantile stores, and the various branches of mechanism are carried on with spirit. Industry of every kind being duly encouraged by the citizens, Cincinnati is likely to become a considerable manufacturing place. * * * It has a bank issuing notes under the authority of the State, called the Miami Exporting Company. The healthiness and salubrity of the climate; the levelness and luxuriance of the soil; the purity and excellence of the waters, added to the blessings attendant on the judicious administration of mild and equitable laws; the great security in the land titles; all seem to centre in a favorable point of expectation,—that Cincinnati and the country around it must one day become rich and very populous, equal perhaps, if not superior to any other place of an interior in the United States. The site of Fort Washington is near the centre of the town. It was a principal frontier post; it is now laid out in town lots.

"A considerable trade is carried on between Cincinnati and New Orleans in keel-boats, which return laden with foreign goods. The passage of a boat of forty tons down to New Orleans is computed at about twenty-five, and its return to Cincinnati at about sixty-five days." (Cutler's Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, p. 43; quoting from Cramer's Navigator, edition of 1808, p. 65.)

Mansfield, speaking of 1812, says that there was little of Cincinnati west of Main street at that time. Just before he left the city during that year, he was at Dr. Drake's house on Sycamore just below Fourth where he witnessed the great tornado. It was impressed upon his mind at that time that there were no houses above Fourth street, east of Sycamore, except the Sargent house in the center of the square bounded by Fourth and Broadway. Looking southeast he could see as far as Front and Lawrence with here and there a house intervening. The Bottom below Third and above Front was even then wet and swampy and in winter was frozen over and furnished skating for the boys. (Mansfield's Memories, p. 153.)

STREETS IN 1814.

By ordinance of February 12, 1814, the Council made provision to remedy the confusion and difficulty which had already arisen from the fact that the streets and alleys of the town were called by different names. It gave to the streets in the part laid out by Israel Ludlow the following names: Beginning with the river, Water, Front, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh, and to those runing north and south in the Ludlow tract, beginning with Eastern row (which was changed to Broadway), Sycamore, Main, Walnut, Vine, Race, Elm, Plumb and Western row. In the tract laid out by the government of the United States, the streets beginning with the river were to be called East Front street, Second street, Congress street, Third street, School alley and Fourth street and the eastern boundary of the tract, Ludlow street. In that part of the town immediately west of Deer creek laid out by Symmes, the streets beginning with the river were called East Front street, Congress street and Symmes street. The streets on the east were named Butler street, next west Pike and next Lawrence. This ordinance giving all the names of the streets then in the town is pertinent here as showing what was regarded as its extreme limits.

DRAKE'S "CINCINNATI IN 1815."

The most important work printed concerning the early period of the city's history appeared in the year 1816. It is the book entitled "Natural and Statistical View or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country by Daniel Drake." It is commonly referred to as "Cincinnati in 1815" or "Picture of Cincinnati." The book is made up of seven chapters and an appendix. It contains two maps, one of which, the plan of

Cincinnati, is the first engraved map of the city that we have. The other map is a map of the Miami country extending northward and westward to the Indian boundary and eastward into the Virginia Military Reservation, including parts of Adams, Highland and Fayette counties.

The city as indicated on the plan was made up of section 17, the fractional section 18 and a small part of fractional section 12 which had been laid out by Symmes in 1790. There was not a street west of the west section line of the original location. That line, it will be remembered, ran due north to a point on the river about half way between Smith and Mill streets near where the gas works are now located and crossed Fifth street just east of Mound or Western row (now Central avenue) about two hundred yards west of the present line of Liberty street. Fifth street seemed to extend west beyond the city limits. Northern row (the present Seventh street) at a point where is now the head of Smith street turned sharply to the northwest and joined London street (the present Eighth street), which continued westward as the road to Lawrenceburg. North of London street was Kemble, extending from Western row to the west corporation line about two blocks, then Richmond, Catherine, Elizabeth and Chestnut streets. Plum, Race and Walnut streets extended no farther north than Seventh street and Sycamore street no farther north than the line of the present canal. Broadway extended beyond the north corporation line into the road to Hamilton. Elm street and Western row extended to the north corporation line,—the present Liberty street. Court street west of Main to a point where now is Walnut street was called St. Clair street. Ninth street which extended from the present line of Walnut to Broadway was called Wayne street and the eastern end of Eighth street extending from Main to Broadway was known as New Market street. East of Broadway, Fifth street continued one block; Fourth and Third streets the same distance. Second street continued two blocks until it joined East Front street at the foot of Lawrence. Lawrence and Ludlow were located as at present. East Third street was known as Symmes street and East Pearl as Congress street. Pike and Butler streets ran to Symmes street, the present line of Third street; Butler was the extreme eastern street indicated on the map.

The references marked on the map included the following buildings. The steam mill was on the river bank between Broadway and Ludlow just east of the Broadway Ferries. This mill was "erected in the years 1812-13 and 14 under the direction of William Green an ingenious mason and stone cutter on a plan furnished by George Evans one of the proprietors. It is built on the river beach upon a bed of horizontal lime stone rocks and in high floods is for its whole length exposed to the current. The foundation is 62 by 87 feet and 10 feet thick. Its height is 110 feet, and the number of stories nine, including two above the eaves. To the height of 40 feet, the wall is battered, or drawn in; above, it is perpendicular. The cornice is of brick, and the roof of wood, in the common style. It has 24 doors and 90 windows. The lime stone with which it was built were quarried at various places in the bed of the river, and measure in the wall 6,620 perches. Besides this, it swallowed up 90,000 brick, 14,800 bushels of lime, and 81,200 cubic feet of timber. Its weight is estimated at 15,655 tons. Through the building there is a wall dividing each story into two unequal apartments—the one designed for manufacturing flour; the other for receiving wool and cotton machinery, a flax seed oil mill, fulling mill, and several other machines.

"It is equally creditable to the prudence of the superintendent and the temperance of the laborers, that during the erection of this house, not one serious accident occurred." (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 137.)

This building the most "capacious, elevated and permanent building" is further described in the Directory of 1819 as containing "four pair of six feet millstones and machinery for carding, fulling and dressing cloth—all driven by a steam engine of 70 horsepower. It is capable of manufacturing annually 1,200 barrels of flour, besides carding and dressing cloth to the amount of three or four thousand dollars. It employs in the whole about twenty hands and consumes yearly about 12,000 bushels of mineral coal." (Directory of 1819, p. 36.)

The sad story of this structure is told in the Directory of 1825: "This once noble and sublime piece of architecture is now a pile of ruins, the combustible part of which was consumed by fire on the third day of November, 1823. Arrangements have been made and materials collected, for rebuilding it and probably in the course of the present year it will again resume its former appearance." (Directory of 1825, p. 113.)

The following year the announcement is made of the rebuilding of this structure which was once again in complete operation. The description is practically the same as that already given except that as rebuilt it seems to have been but eight stories high although still measuring 110 feet from the base to the top of the roof. This building was finally taken down in 1835 to make way for a steam ferry landing.

Two breweries are indicated on Drake's map, —one at the corner of Pike and Congress streets and one on the river front at the foot of Elm street. These breweries employed twenty workmen and made annually 31,000 barrels of porter and 1,340 barrels of beer, the total value of which was fifty thousand dollars.

Ferries are indicated all along the river front, —one at the foot of Lawrence, another near the foot of Ludlow, another near the foot of Broadway and one at the foot of Main street.

The Presbyterian Church at Fourth and Main, the Court House on Court street, the jail, the Methodist Church on the northwest corner of Fifth and Broadway, the Lancaster Seminary on Fourth and Walnut streets, the Bank of Cincinnati on the west side of Main above Fifth, the bank of the Miami Exporting Company on Front in the middle of the square between Main and Sycamore and the Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank on the west side of Main between Front and Second streets, the Friends' Meeting House on Fifth street west of Western row and the Baptist Church at the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut are the other public buildings marked. The remains of the ancient works in various parts of the city are also indicated. The Presbyterian burying ground is on Elm street among the out-lots. It was in fact upon the site of the present Washington Park. The site of old Fort Washington is indicated in the midst of the subdivision of lots made by Jared Mansfield. On the river bank west of Western row were the glass house and the steam sawmill. The sugar refinery was on Arch street almost at the point where the northeast blockhouse of Fort Washington had stood. On Front street beyond the mouth of Deer creek was the potash factory. The markets were shown at the site of the present Pearl street market and where is now the Government square. Another market was on Sycamore on both sides a short distance north of Seventh. Still another was on McFarland street west of Elm in the center of the block.

Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" contains a geographical and historical introduction and chapters on the physical topography, civil topography, political topography, medical topography, antiquities and a conclusion covering the projected improvements and future consequence of the city. In the appendix are discussed the earthquakes, aurora borealis and the southwest winds.

The chapter on the civil topography has been quoted in several parts of this work. The plan of the city is described and the prices of lots at different times are given. An important difference between the city levels at that time and at present is indicated by the discussion on drainage which is as follows:

"One part of the town being elevated from 40 to 60 feet above the other, it has long been an interesting question, whether the streets running from the river should be graduated to a steep or gentle ascent. The latter method has at length been adopted, and Main street rises by degrees from Second to Fifth street. The earth and gravel at the intersection of Third street on the brow of the Hill, and beyond it, as far as Fifth street, being hauled and washed down to raise the surface below. The angle of ascent varies, by estimation, from 5 to 10 degrees. Broadway, Sycamore and Walnut streets, are partly completed on the same plan. To the constant change of level which the streets have undergone for many years, from the descent of gravel into the Bottom, is to be ascribed the want of pavements and sidewalks, which the town so strikingly exhibits. Preparations are making for the pavement of Main street, from the river to Fourth street, the ensuing year; which will no doubt be followed by a general improvement of the town in this respect.

"Concerning the points at which the water falling on the town plat should be discharged into the river, there are two opinions. The first and most natural is, that it should be conducted down Second street, and emptied into the river below the town, through the same ravine which formerly carried it off. The other opinion is, that each street running to the river should be so graduated as to convey its own water. But the obvious injury which the banks, the beach and the water would sustain, from the discharge of these sluices of filth immediately opposite the town, together with the enormous expense attending it, seem to be procuring for the other method a general preference; and it is probable

that all the gutters west of Broadway will be discharged into a common sewer in Second street, along which in an open canal the water now indeed runs.

"It has been already stated, that the northwest part of the Bottom is occasionally inundated by great floods of the Ohio. To prevent this, it has been proposed to throw up a levee along the western border of the town plat. The cost of this could not be very great, as it would not have an average height of more than six feet, nor exceed two hundred yards in length; and having no current to stem, it need not be very strong. No measures, however, have yet been taken to effect this important object." (p. 132.)

We are informed that the materials for building were easy to obtain. Limestone was taken from the beds of the Licking and Ohio and marble from the cliffs of the Kentucky River and freestone from the Big Sandy and Scioto. The clay of the lower part of the town made excellent brick of which about five millions were annually used. Timber of all kinds was brought to market from the neighborhood, although the Alleghany Mountains necessarily furnished the most abundant supply. There were at that time in the city nearly eleven hundred houses exclusive of kitchens, smoke houses and stables. Of these twenty were all stone, two hundred and fifty all brick and about eight hundred of wood. Six hundred and sixty contained families and the remainder were public buildings, shops, warehouses and offices. The dwelling houses were generally two stories high, of neat and simple style with sloping, shingled roofs and Tuscan or Corinthian cornices. Several had recently been erected with an additional story and exhibited for a new town some magnificence. A handsome frontispiece or balustrade occasionally afforded an evidence of opening taste; but the higher architectural ornaments—elegant summer houses, porticos and colonnades, were entirely wanting. Very few of the frame houses were painted; this is the more remarkable as the timber was perishable. (p. 134.)

The public buildings are described in detail. The first Court House, which was erected in 1802 on the eastern end of the public ground at Fifth and Main streets, had burned down early in 1814 while being used by a company of soldiers as a barrack. This had been built of limestone on a plan furnished by Judge Turner, in the form of a parallelogram, 42 feet in front by 55 in depth; the height of the walls, including a parapet, being 42 feet. It had a wooden cupola with four projecting faces arched and balustraded, 20 feet high, terminated by a dome, and resting on a basement 20 feet square. From the ground to the top of the cupola was 84 feet. A pair of fireproof, two-story wings for public offices which formed part of the original design had never been added.

After the burning of the building, the commissioners of the county had sold on perpetual leases the whole of the public ground and accepted (from Jesse Hunt) a lot near the intersection of Court and Main streets. In the center of this they were then engaged in the erection of a second Court House, with fireproof apartments, to be 56 by 62 feet.

The new Presbyterian Church was a very spacious brick edifice of "low and heavy" aspect. The Baptist Church on Sixth street was a handsome and commodious brick edifice, 40 by 55 feet, well furnished with doors and windows, ornamented with a balustrade, and finished inside with taste.

The Methodist Church on Fifth street was a capacious stone building one story high.

The Friends' Meeting House near the western end of the same street was a temporary wooden building.

The Cincinnati Lancaster Seminary on Fourth street in the rear of the Presbyterian Church is described as an extensive, two-story brick edifice built with some alterations on a plan furnished by Isaac Stagge. It consisted of two oblong wings extending from Fourth street 88 feet deep. These were connected near the front by an apartment for staircases 18 by 30 feet. Out of this arose a dome-capped peristyle designed for an observatory. The front of this intermediate apartment was to be decorated with a colonnade forming a handsome portico 12 feet deep and 30 feet long. The front and each side were ornamented with a pediment and Corinthian cornice. "The aspect of the building is light, airy, and might be considered elegant, were the doors wider, the pediments longer, and divested of the chimnies, which at present disfigure them. One wing of this edifice was designed for male and the other for female children and between the two wings there was a connecting passage except through the portico." The lower stories at that time were finished entire and large enough to accommodate 900 children. Each upper story was to be divided into three apartments, two in the ends 30 feet square

and one in the center 25 feet with a skylight and the appurtenances of a philosophical hall. When completed, the whole building was expected to receive 1,100 scholars.

The buildings of the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company on the bank above Deer creek are described as numerous and extensive with a main edifice 150 feet long and 20 to 37 feet wide and from two to four stories high.

Dr. Drake regarded the means of preservation from fire as few and inefficient and therefore discussed the subject not for imitation but for admonition. According to the ordinances of the corporation, each house was obliged to be furnished with a fire bucket. This provision was generally disregarded. Every male citizen between 15 and 50 years was required to attend on the cry of fire "a provision finely calculated, if enforced, to augment the rabble which infest such places." A more important requisition was that each drayman should furnish at every fire at least two barrels of water. All bonfires were expressly but not successfully forbidden.

The water supply was not very efficient. There were a few indifferent springs on the borders of the town plat and a number of wells of various depths. The water from some of these was impregnated with iron. Cisterns were common and afforded good water. A large proportion though of the water was drawn in barrels from the river which being impure required time to settle but was preferable to well water. The proprietors of the steam mill contemplated distributing water from the river over the whole town "a plan so interesting, that its execution will constitute an important era in our public improvements."

Wood was a cheap article of fuel, a large part of which was rafted down the Ohio and Licking rivers; but little coal was used except by the manufacturers. This was brought from Pittsburg and sold at about 10 to 15 cents a bushel.

There were four market days in each week, two mornings at the small market house between Main and Sycamore and two afternoons at the market on Fifth street. Fresh meats could be had except in the midst of winter on every day in the week but the Sabbath. The mutton was of superior excellence and the beef generally good though said to be inferior to that of the maritime States. The poultry was fine. Fish though abundant in the Ohio were not in great supply. Those most esteemed were perch, pike, eel, yellow cat and sword fish. The soft-shelled turtle was considered a great delicacy. Venison in proper season was brought from the woods and bear meat now and then offered. Butter and cheese were scarce in quantity and inferior in quality. Fruits and vegetables were abundant and good. The grapes were brought either from the vineyard of General Taylor in Newport or the Swiss plantation in Vevay, Indiana.

Some progress had been made in manufactures. There was no iron foundry but many blacksmiths. Cut and wrought nails, stills, tea-kettles and copper vessels, tinware, rifles, fowling pieces, pistols, dirks and gun-locks and most articles usually made by blacksmiths were manufactured in abundance. Cotton and woolen machinery was manufactured as well as saddlery and carriage mountings of all kinds. Clocks were made and watches repaired. Common pottery of a good quality was made in sufficient quantity for home consumption. Sills, chimney pieces, monuments and all the varieties of stone cutting were executed. The manufactures of green window glass and hollow ware and white flint glass were just opening up.

Among the manufactures in wood were sideboards, secretaries, bureaus and cabinet furniture in general. Fancy chairs and settees elegantly gilt and varnished wagons, carts and drays, coaches, phaetons, gigs and other pleasure carriages were also made.

One William Baily of Kentucky had obtained a patent in 1811 which enabled a man and a boy with the assistance of one or two horses to dress and joint the staves necessary for 100 barrels, hogsheads or pipes in 12 hours. This could be also used in shaving and jointing shingles.

The steam sawmill on the river bank with its buildings, 70 by 56 feet, three stories high, as well as the plants of the Steam Mill Company and the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company, were in active operation. There were four cotton spinning establishments containing upwards of twelve hundred spindles moved by horses and a woolen manufactory was contemplated.

Fur hats were made in such quantities as to be exported and the tanning and currying of leather was carried on at six tan-yards in such large quantities as to create an extensive manufacture of shoes, boots, saddlery and trunks. Blank books and all kinds of common and extra binding were executed with neatness.

The Cincinnati Manufacturing Company had already established a white lead plant and were building one for red lead. A sugar refinery was

expected to go into operation in a few weeks. Tobacco and snuff were manufactured in four different shops. Pot ash and pearl ash, soaps of various kinds and candles were manufactured for exportation.

The distilleries gave an ample supply for domestic use. The breweries consumed annually 30,000 bushels of barley, producing beer, ale and porter of a quality equal to that of the Atlantic States of which large quantities had been exported to the Mississippi even as far as New Orleans. The one on the river bank which had been in operation four years used the river water; the other used water from wells and cisterns.

The manufacture of flour was carried on at the steam mill to a great extent. A mustard manufactory had been erected the year before but had not yet got into such extensive operation as to supersede the importation of that article.

Although but little had been done in the line of fine arts, all kinds of labeling, sign and ornamental painting, together with the engraving on copper of official and other seals, cards of address, and vignettes, were executed with taste and elegance.

The commerce of the city was carried on in flat-bottomed boats, keel-boats and barges; the last named it was thought would soon be superseded by steamboats, of which two kinds were coming into use on the Western waters. The principal export was flour which was followed by pork, bacon and lard; whiskey, peach brandy, beer and porter; pot and pearl ash, cheese, soap and candles; hemp and spun yarn; walnut, cherry and blue ash boards; cabinet furniture and chairs; to which might be added kiln dried Indian meal, for the West Indies.

The imports included different kinds of East Indian, European and New England goods, which were received from Philadelphia and Baltimore but chiefly from the former. It was not difficult to foresee, however, that in a short time foreign merchandise would go through other channels as a "portage of three hundred miles, over high and rugged mountains, must at all times be more expensive than ascending a navigable river five times the distance." The author felt that the great emporium of the Western country must be New Orleans, although whenever the government should have completed the road from the navigable waters of the Potomac to those of the Ohio, and New York had executed her projected canal, transportation by land would be much reduced. Many articles were brought at that time from New Orleans at a lower price than from the East, examples of which were coffee, salt fish, claret and some other wines, copperas, queensware, paints, mahogany and logwood, and of course sugar, molasses, cotton, rice and salted hides. From Missouri Territory were imported lead, peltry and skins; from Tennessee and Kentucky, cotton, tobacco, saltpetre and marble; from Pennsylvania and Virginia, bar, rolled and cast iron, millstones, coal, salt, glassware, pine timber and plank. Furs were brought from the waters of the Great Miami, Wabash and Maumee. The goods brought for consumption were kept in more than seventy shops of which sixty contained dry goods, hard glass and queensware, liquors and groceries. The others were stores for iron, shoes and drugs. Cincinnati had been made a port of entry in 1808 and the business of building ships had been discontinued on the Ohio; no vessel had yet cleared from the place.

Dr. Drake gives an account of the three banks of the town. The oldest of these was the Miami Exporting Company, the oldest banking institution in the Miami country, which was incorporated in 1803 for 40 years.

The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank had been established in 1812 and incorporated in 1813 for five years. Its capital was $200,000.

The Bank of Cincinnati, founded in 1814, had a paid-up capital of $140,000. It had not yet been chartered but its notes were in excellent credit.

Sadly enough within a few months (on December 26th) the banks suspended payment.

Some of the newspapers described by Dr. Drake have been referred to. The *Centinel* established in 1793 was succeeded in 1796 by *Freeman's Journal* which continued until 1800. The *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* was established by Joseph Carpenter on May 28, 1799, and continued by various papers for ten years. The name was then changed by Messrs. Carney and Morgan to *The Whig*. After 58 numbers of this had been published, its title was altered to *The Advertiser* under which name it continued to November, 1811, when it expired.

In July, 1814, the *Spirit of the West* was commenced and continued but for 41 numbers. The papers which were published in 1815 were the *Western Spy* which had been reestablished by Mr. Carpenter in September, 1810; *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury*, established December 4, 1804, by John W. Browne; and the *Cincinnati Gazette*, established July 15, 1815, but almost immediately discontinued. The *Spy* at that time

had about twelve hundred subscribers and *Liberty Hall* about fourteen hundred. Both of these papers were of what was called superroyal size. Each of them had an extra press for book printing. Twelve different books besides many pamphlets had been executed, averaging each more than two hundred pages. The paper was at first brought from Pennsylvania and afterwards from Kentucky but at the time of the publication of Dr. Drake's book was brought from the new and valuable paper mills on the Little Miami.

Nine mails we are informed arrived every week which included about seventy different papers as well as a great number of documents, franked by members of Congress, and most of the Eastern periodicals.

The postmaster at that time was William Burke. His predecessors have all been mentioned—Abner M. Dunn, William Maxwell, Daniel Mayo and William Ruffin. Dr. Drake in his book devotes a chapter to education in which he gives the history of the Lancaster Seminary, the Cincinnati University and the Miami University. Mention is also made of the Circulating Library Society of Cincinnati and the School of Literature and the Arts.

Under the head of religion is given the history of the various churches as well as of the Bible Society.

Little less valuable than Dr. Drake's book itself are the comments published upon it in the contemporary journals. The book appeared in February, 1816, and in the numbers of *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of March 11th and for several weeks succeeding that date appears an elaborae review in which are some criticisms that throw additional light on the condition of the town at the time.

The reviewer commenting on the buildings of the town protests "against the narrow policy which acceded to such a lamentable disposition of the ground appropriated for the use of the Court House. It is enough to sicken the admirer of munificence and taste to behold the petty and contemptible buildings which are for the most part now stringing around its borders; —after having indulged in anticipation of seeing its spacious area decorated at some future day—as the Lancaster portion of the square now is—with architectural ornaments of the town." Attention is also called to the fact that of the three market houses the largest one was built and owned by private individuals. This was true as well of the street on which it was located.

The inadequacy of the fire department is shown by the fact that "in the event of a fire on the Hill there is no resource but to tug away at the windlass or wait the arrival of the draymen from the river." Both the Baptist and Presbyterian churches had already divided so that there were two additional congregations by this time.

A very amusing criticism is that of Dr. Drake's portrayal of society which is quoted elsewhere at length.

The reviewer tells us that the Thespian Corps had about concluded to disband by reason of the lack of patronage.

The founding of the Scientific Library and of the Town Library also called for comment. The latter apparently was the occasion of much discussion as it had not met with the favor that was expected, although at the time of the review its subscribers had increased to eight or ten score at ten dollars a share and the shelves contained about a thousand volumes which were distributed by a librarian on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons.

Two new societies, the St. Cecelia Society and the Social Reading Party, are also commented upon. Regret was manifested that in a town where pianos were numbered by the dozen no one was found willing to put them in tune; "as a result many were suffered to remain as silent appendages to the drawing room."

It seems to have been a pleasant habit with writers in the early days to forecast the future. The first of these interesting prophecies is contained in Dr. Drake's chapter entitled "Future Consequence." In this he discussed the probable increase in importance of the various cities on the Western rivers. He concludes that the chief city of the promised land will be located on the borders of the Ohio River. "They (the chief cities) are not likely to become places of political importance, for these must lie towards the centres of the States which this river will divide; but the commercial and manufactural advantages that exist in lieu of the political, are so much superior, as to justify, in this enquiry, the omission of every town not situated on the Ohio. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Louisville, are the places which at present have the fairest prospects of future greatness."

At that time Pittsburg was of course the most important of the three, but Drake thought that the latter two were both destined to surpass it.

His explanation of this was that for twenty years goods destined for the Western population had been carried through Pittsburg, "the Birmingham of America," and the manufactures of that town were disposed of in the Western settlements. The increase in population in the West and the consequent growth of manufactures of course would take from it the advantage it had as entrepôt and a manufacturing center and as the country around that place was rugged and sterile the population that it could support was necessarily smaller than that around Cincinnati or Louisville. The advantage that Louisville had was the partial interruption of commerce at that place by the falls of the Ohio, which required the carrying of all goods around the rapids. This not only gave employment to a great number of hands but made the town one of the heads of navigation. "Still there are reasons for believing that CINCINNATI IS TO BE THE FUTURE METROPOLIS OF THE OHIO. Its site is more eligible than that of most towns on the river. It is susceptible of being rendered healthier than Louisville, and is extensive enough for a large city. The Ohio bounds it on the southeast, south and southwest, so that all the streets, if extended would, at one or both ends, intersect the river within the limits of the corporation. It has, therefore, a great extent of shore, along the whole of which there is not a reef nor a shoal to prevent the landing of boats. * * * Opposite to Broadway, is the mouth of Licking; a river whose navigation will certainly be much improved. * * * Over the town plat, as we have seen in the preceding article, a canal at some future period may be conducted from the Great Miami; whose waters can, by another canal, be connected with those of the Maumee, and thus secure to us a new and profitable trade with the Lakes."

Viewed in the light of subsequent events, Dr. Drake's prophecies seem to have been realized. Cincinnati always maintained her preeminent position over the cities of the West so long as waterways were the principal means of transportation and of course for a long time afterwards. The natural advantages of which he speaks however have been lost sight of in later days when railroad developments have reduced their importance. In the matter of waterways, however, Cincinnati still has an advantage over other cities and if these ways should be developed in the future with the same enthusiasm that has been displayed in the line of railroad development, the city in the judgment of the present writer would gain a position even more preeminent than any it has ever occupied. It is to the river and canals that Cincinnati must look for much of her commercial supremacy and not to the railroads, in which respect she has no advantage over other cities, equally capable of railroad development.

Among the improvements contemplated at the time of Dr. Drake's writing were bridges over the Ohio, across the mouth of Deer creek and over Mill creek and roads towards the sources of the Miamis extending to Dayton. An improved road to Columbia was especially desired as the one in existence had become nearly impassable during winter time.

The matter of canals connecting the river with the lakes, the Ohio with the Great Miami at a point near Hamilton was discussed at considerable length.

FLINT.

Timothy Flint says of the city in this same year (1816):

"When you saw this city, apparently lifting its head from surrounding woods, you found yourselves at a loss to imagine whence so many people could be furnished with supplies. In the fine weather, at the commencement of winter, it is only necessary to go to the market of this town, and see its exuberant supplies of every article for consumption, in the finest order, and of the best quality; to see the lines of wagons, and the astonishing quantities of every kind of produce, to realize, at once, all that you have read about the growth of Ohio. In one place you see lines of wagons in the Pennsylvania style. In another place the Tunkers, with their long and flowing beards, have brought up their teams with their fat mutton and fine flour. Fowls, domestic and wild turkeys, venison, those fine birds which are here called partridges, and which we call quails, all sorts of fruit and vegetables, equally excellent and cheap—in short, all that you see in Boston market, with the exception of the same variety of fish, and all these things, in the greatest abundance, are here. In one quarter there are wild animals that have been taken in the woods; cages of redbirds and paroquets; in another, old ladies, with roots, herbs, nuts, mittens, stockings, and what they call Yankee notions. My judgment goes with the general assertion here, that no place, in proportion to its size, has a richer or more abundant market

than Cincinnati." (Recollections of the Last Ten Years, p. 39.)

THOMAS.

Another visitor during this year, David Thomas, described the city:

"About three o'clock we descended through the hills, along a hollow way, into the valley of the Ohio, and Cincinnati appeared before us. It is a great town. Brick buildings are very numerous, and many of these are elegant; but compactness constitutes much of the beauty of our cities, and in this it is deficient. Some of the streets may form exceptions to this remark; and we ought to remember that few towns (if any) ever rose from the forest more rapidly; that its date even now is within the memory of the young; and that its mammoth form at no distant period will be filled up and completed. By some it is suspected, however, that its present greatness is premature; but this can only apply to its mercantile concerns; for its manufactories cannot be materially affected by any change in the amount of commerce. Neither need the merchants fear a rival city, unless it rises to the north.

"Among the most respectable of the manufacturing establishments we notice the brewery of D. & J. Embree. The works, though in a progressive state, are now sufficiently extensive to produce annually five thousand barrels of beer and porter, and the quality is excellent. A treadle-mill is attached to these buildings similar in construction to that at Montgomery. It is turned by horses, and grinds one hundred and twenty bushels of malt a day. In the present recess of business, it is employed in the manufacture of mustard.

"Works for green glass have lately gone into operation; but some of the articles produced are very imperfect. We can sympathise with the proprietors of new establishments; for we are aware of the many inconveniences and discouragements that beset them at the commencement; but we cannot too strongly inculcate that to attain excellence will be the first object of the patriotic manufacturer; and such virtue could scarcely fail of its reward.

"A monthly meeting of the Society of Friends, comprising about forty families, is established in this year." (Travels Through the Western Country.)

CINCINNATI IN 1817.

A resident of Cincinnati from 1817 to 1821, his recollections published in 1851 described the city in April, 1817, at the time of his arrival. He had letters to General Harrison whom he met on his way from Washington to Cincinnati at Pittsburg and who accompanied him down the river. On his arrival he was introduced to General Findlay, receiver of public moneys, who insisted upon taking him to his own house (which had been Harrison's headquarters while in the city) where they had breakfast. The appearance of the city struck him at first rather unfavorably. Its population at that time did not exceed eight or nine thousand. "There was an air of life, a bustle and activity about it, and yet, taken together, it had a raw, unfinished, and slovenly aspect. The bank of the river, in front of the town, was not only unsightly, but calculated to make an unfavorable impression upon the mind of a stranger. Parts of it had been worn away by the strong current of the waters, and parts had slidden down into the river. It was, in short, ragged, broken, and verdureless,—without tree or shrub, without wall or railing, protection or ornament. Nor was there anything in the shape of a dock or landing place at the water's edge. The operation of landing was indeed perfectly aboriginal. It was effected by three moves as explained in the following order:—'Run your boat ashore, Josey, tie her to a stake, and jump out into the mud!'"

The business of the city was then confined to Main and Front streets which "were tolerably well built, and exhibited a lively business-like appearance. The residue of the town was scattered about in all directions, right and left, hither and thither—some on the Hill and some on the Bottom. The buildings in the suburbs, though without any apparent gregarious inclination, were generally in sight of each other, some times within call, or even shaking hands distance, but more frequently isolated and unconnected, having nothing to do with close files of regular lines. They were, moreover, of all heights, sizes, shapes and colors."

He found the public buildings, though, neither numerous nor costly, with the exception of two, the Presbyterian Church and the Court House, both situated on the Hill. "The church was on the brow of the Hill, and in sight of the congregation, and sufficiently aloof from the then business parts of the city. It stood in the midst of an old burial ground, uninclosed,—itself in bad taste, disproportioned, unfinished, and open to desecration." The Court House further on by

the side of the road, "a huge quadrangular building, ill-conceived and ill-contrived, but tasteless and inconvenient, looking more like a penitentiary or house of correction than anything else," in an open field "protected (if protected at all), by a post and rail fence." The private buildings he thought in better taste and mentioned particularly the mansion house of General Lytle and that of Judge Burnet. Judge Burnet's house "was situated on an eminence, some half a mile south and west of the city, commanding a fine view of the town, the river, and the scenery of the opposite bank. Its healthful position, its fine shade trees, and its beautiful gardens, rich with the choicest fruits and flowers, rendered it one of the most charming residences in the State." When it is remembered that this was at the northwest corner of Third and Vine, the site subsequently of Shires' Garden and at present of the Burnet House and that it evidently impressed the writer as being some distance from the town, some impression of the narrow limits of the village at that time can be had. Despite the unfavorable impression received by this writer he noted that "it was easy to perceive that it was destined to become one of the great cities of the West." The principal part of the town, he says, in 1817 was on the narrow strip between the second table and the bank of the river, and (following the line of Main street) was just beginning to show itself on the brow of the Hill.

BIRKBECK.

Morris Birkbeck on his way to Illinois passed through the city later (in 1817) and he too has his fling at it:

"Cincinnati, like most American towns, stands too low; it is built on the banks of the Ohio, and the lower part of it is not out of the reach of spring floods. As if life was not more than meat, and the body than raiment, every consideration of health and enjoyment yields to views of mercantile convenience. Short-sighted and narrow economy! by which the lives of thousands are shortened, and the comfort of all sacrificed to mistaken notions of private interest.

"Cincinnati is, however, a most thriving place, and, backed as it is already by a great population and a most plentiful country, bids fair to be one of the first cities of the West. We are told, and we cannot doubt the fact, that the chief of what we see is the work of four years. The hundreds of commodious, well-finished brick houses, the spacious and busy markets, the substantial public buildings, the thousands of prosperous, well-dressed, industrious inhabitants, the numerous wagons and drays, the gay carriages and elegant females; the shoals of craft on the river, the busy stir prevailing everywhere—house-building, boat-building, paving and leveling streets; the numbers of country people constantly coming and going; the spacious taverns, crowded with travellers from a distance.

"All this is so much more than I could comprehend from a description of a new town just risen from the woods, that I despair of conveying an adequate idea of it to my English friends. It is enchantment, and Liberty is the fair enchantress.

"June 27, Cincinnati. All is alive here as soon as the day breaks. The stores are opened, the markets thronged, and business is in full career by five o'clock in the morning; and nine o'clock is the common hour for retiring to rest.

"As yet I have felt nothing oppressive in the heat of this climate. Melting, oppressive, sultry nights, succeeding broiling days, and forbidding rest, which are said to wear out the frames of the languid inhabitants of the Eastern cities, are unknown here. A cool breeze always renders the night refreshing, and generally moderates the heat of the day." (Notes on a Journey in America.)

PALMER.

Another traveler, John Palmer, of the same year, thought the general appearance of the city clean and handsome—"indeed, elegant and astonishing, when we reflect that less than forty years ago it was the resort of Indians, and the whole surrounding country a wilderness, full of wild beasts and savages. * * * In the principal streets they are neatly paved with brick sidewalks and pumps are placed for general accommodation. * * * The present number of buildings may be between thirteen and fourteen hundred, and the number of the inhabitants eight thousand, all whites, the laws of Ohio prohibiting even free negroes (except in certain cases) from settling in the State. Near five hundred of the houses are built of stone or brick, many of them three-story high, and in a very neat, modern style. The rest of the houses are frame, most of them neatly painted. * * *

"The public buildings are of brick, and would ornament an European city. The new Court House is a stately edifice, 56 by 66 feet and 100 feet high; the apartments are fireproof. Presbyterians, Baptists, Friends, and Methodists, have each a meeting house. Those belonging to the

Presbyterians and Baptists are finished with taste. The Friends' Meeting House is a temporary wooden building. The Lancasterian Seminary is a capacious structure, calculated to contain one thousand one hundred scholars, male and female. There are three brick market houses, the largest is upwards of three hundred feet long. * * * I have counted near sixty tilted waggons from the country on a market day, chiefly with produce, which is brought to market by the farmer and sold from the waggons. * * *

"The climate is healthy, if we may judge from the appearance of the inhabitants. At this season (July) the mornings and evenings are delightful; mid-day hot, but not too hot to do any outdoor work. * * * The winters are short and pleasant.

"The manners of most of the inhabitants are social and refined, without jealousy of foreigners (which is sometimes the case with the ignorant or interested, in the Eastern and Middle States); they are pleased to see a respectable European settle amongst them. Many cultivate the fine arts, painting, engraving and music. With few exceptions, we found the English language spoken with purity. * * *

"The city, in all probability, will soon be the largest in the West; it is rapidly improving in size; sixty new brick and frame houses have been occupied since last fall; and at least as many more are now building besides several manufacturing shops and factories. There is more taste displayed in building and laying out grounds and gardens than I have yet observed west of the Alleghany Mountains.

"The price of town lots is high, and houses in the principal streets difficult to obtain on hire. The lots in Main, first and second streets sell for two hundred dollars a foot, measuring on the front line; those possessing less local advantage sell from fifty to ten dollars; out-lots, and land very near the town, sells for five hundred dollars per acre. Taxes are very moderate. * * * The price of labour is one dollar per day. Mechanics earn two dollars. Boarding is from two to three, and five dollars per week. Five dollars per week is the price of the best hotel in the city; we paid three dollars per week, had a room to ourselves and our living was excellent; at breakfast, plenty of beef steak, bacon, eggs, white bread, johnny cakes (of Indian meal), butter, tea and coffee. Dinner, two or three dishes of fowls, roast meat, kidney beans, peas, new potatoes, preserves, cherry pie, &c.; supper nearly the same as breakfast. Living is very cheap here; and it is easily to be accounted for in the cheapness and fertility of the surrounding country, the scarcity of tax-gatherers, and the distance of a market for the supplies. You can have very decent board, washing, and lodging, by the year for one hundred and fifty dollars.

"* * * The land round Cincinnati is good. Price, a mile or two from the city, fifty, eighty, and one hundred dollars per acre, according to quality and other advantages. This same land, a few years ago, was bought for two and five dollars per acre. Farms with improvements ten miles from the town, sell for thirty and forty dollars per acre."

Mr. Palmer found in the stores in Front, Water and Main streets, an excellent supply of goods from the East and West Indies, Europe, and of the produce of their immediate neighborhood. Trading boats regularly proceeded to New Orleans, St. Louis, Pittsburg and various other places, while steamboats from New Orleans and Pittsburg called, delivered and received goods and passengers. Numbers of arks with emigrants and their families, bound to various parts of the Western country, were generally near the landing. He counted at the landing, seven Kentucky boats with coal, iron and dry goods from Pittsburg; four barges or keel-boats one two masted and at least 150 tons, which were trading and carrying freight up and down the rivers; four large flats or scows with stone and salt from the "Kenhawa" works; six arks, laden with emigrants and their furniture, who were stopping to purchase provisions. He was much impressed with the celebration of the Fourth of July, which was ushered in by bands of music parading the streets and the firing of cannon. At eleven, "three companies of volunteers (consisting of a rifle corps, and two companies of infantry, one a fine company just raised, called the Cincinnati Guards) assembled near the landing, and accompanied by many citizens, two and two, marched in procession to the Presbyterian Church." Here were prayers, singing and an oration, followed by a dinner at the principal tavern. Although some of the laborers and mechanics were "great amateurs of whiskey" he saw but one man intoxicated during his stay and that was on the Fourth "which for an American, amounts almost to an excuse." (Journal of Travels in the United States, etc., in the Year 1817, Chapter V.)

REMINISCENCES OF "OLD MAN."

A series of articles written in the *Cincinnati Times* in the year 1867 by a writer who concealed his identity under the pseudonym "Old Man" describes Main street in the early days. He calls attention to the fact that in its original state the front of the city was a bluff with a precipitous bank some twenty feet high in which were two indentations or coves, the one near Sycamore and the other at the foot of Main. The ground at the head of the latter was several feet higher than at present and it was cut down when the grade of Main street was established. On either side of the cove were small fields of table land and at the left stood the original jail and Town House. At the head of the cove, the ground descended into quite a ravine until it came to a point where Pearl street is now located when it gradually ascended to Third street. Here was another high bluff bank and on top of this a small Indian work. The ground from this point back for some distance was moderately level. During the first years there were but a few log houses on Main. At the corner of Front and Main was the two-story frame house of John Ludlow, so frequently referred to, where Mathew Winton, the grandfather of Squire Sedam, the second, kept tavern. Just above him John Bartle had an inn and where the Resor warehouse stood for so many years was the first billiard room in the settlement. It was not until 1804 however that there were many houses on Main street. One of the first was that of James Ferguson, who kept a general country store where were sold dry goods, groceries and liquors. Ferguson lived until the age of 86, dying in the year 1853. He left an estate, valued at over a million dollars, gained in business in this city.

Another merchant not far away was an Irishman named O'Farrell who was supposed to have been a quartermaster in the proposed Burr expedition. He was killed in the War of 1812.

Hugh Moore opened his wholesale and retail store on Main opposite the New Market (Fifth street) in November of this year. The reason for Moore going up the hill was the removal of the Court House to the public square on Main between Fourth and Fifth. This merchant lived in Cincinnati for over 50 years, dying at the age of 90 at his residence on Broadway above Fourth.

The first brick house was that of Elmore Williams on the corner of Fifth and Main. The building was known by the name of the "Brick House" and Joseph Delaplaine offered as a special inducement to buyers that they would "have a chance to be shown through the grand brick house built regardless of cost by our well known citizen Elmore Williams." As a special inducement, the best of liquors were always kept on hand and "persons who buy in considerable quantities will be generously treated." In the same building was the firm of Smith & Brown, young merchants from Baltimore.

Menessier's boarding house on the slope of the hill near Pearl and Main has been frequently mentioned. Here on a summer's day in 1803 or 1804 came a tall and venerable looking man clad in most fantastic array with very long white hair. This striking personage introduced himself as Professor Yernest, a Swede by birth, and his business was indicated by the following advertisement:

"The Elixir of Longevity"

"Dr. Yernest, a native of Sweden, the inventor of the above Elixir, and by whom the secret has long remained in his family, lived 254 years, his grandfather 130 years, his mother 107, his father 130, and his grandmother 175 years.

"Dr. Yernest, the eldest in descent of the mail line of this venerable family, now in his 185th year, lives at Mr. Menessier, and has the Elixir of Longevity with him; a fifty-cent bottle of the same being sufficient quantity to insure the continuation of life of the most sickly, for at least a century."

The Professor for a time did a prosperous business but one day the distinguished French advocate and tavern-keeper and the patriarchal Swede became involved in a discussion on European politics. Angry words soon gave way to blows and in the excitement of the conflict the wonderful white hair of the learned antediluvian came off, bringing to view a mass of bright red curls, as red says the "Old Man," as the topknot of a woodpecker. As a result a vision of youth took the place of the semblance of hoary old age and a man of 35 stood in the shoes of the fossil of 185. The "Elixir" was not able to save him and that night riding on a rail accompanied by a dozen or more of his former friends who had indulged in sufficient quantities of another sort of elixir, he was escorted from town to the tune of the "Rogue's March."

Another well known business house was that of Long & Chase at the corner of Columbia (Second) and Main streets opposite the Colum-

bian Inn. Their principal business was indicated by a sign "Klock and Wach Maken." They also were tinners and coppersmiths. The Columbian Inn was then kept by Mrs. Willis.

On the east side of Main below Pearl was the "Indian Camp" of Leonard Sayre, so called because of the large trade carried on by Sayre with the Indians. Sayre was said to have been able to trust any Indian that came in and get his money without fail.

In 1807 O. Ormsby established a store at the "Yellow House" on Front and Main where he sold "exclusively for cash" and on "credit of three, six, nine, and twelve months."

In the "Brick House," whose stores commanded the highest rent in the city, Abraham Chase kept a country store in 1807.

A curious character was John Wall, the saddler, whose business was indicated by a huge military saddle hung up in front of a one-story, gable-end log house on Main near Columbia. Wall's special fad was navigation and the seas and he read and talked about ships and salt water until his name was forgotten in the sobriquet of "Old Ocean."

Just opposite the Court House on Main was an old weather-boarded, two-story log cabin where the lawyers congregated during term time and where many of the most distinguished citizens such as Henry Clay, Lewis Cass, Judge Burnet and Nicholas Longworth put up. This was called at that time Ewing's Tavern.

Directly across the street was the old Court House with the jail behind it, all surrounded by a railing fence with a large double gate directly in front to which led a broad path. A little below was the pioneer church in front of which were attractive yards filled with fine trees. This as well as the cemetery behind it was enclosed with a neat fence giving the square the aspect so familiar in all country towns. Here one morning in December, 1806, early risers were privileged to see four fine large bucks standing directly in front of the Court House as if demanding justice in their claim for the grazing grounds which had been wrenched from them. Unfortunately for them, their claims were soon settled by the rifles of the pioneers. They were killed in the beech woods along Deer creek.

Next to Ewing's Tavern opposite the old Court House was the business place of Frederic Hailfligh & Son. The son Henry was supposed to be very much afraid of Indians and some of the younger men attempted to give him a surprise. One night in 1806 he was aroused by a number of red painted savages and commanded to prepare for death. His appeals for mercy were not heeded and as a last favor he was allowed to stop in the front part of the store to say his last prayer. The pretended Indians crowded around him just in time to be greeted by a tremendous explosion followed by a great blaze of fire and dense smoke. Henry had been warned and had dropped powder around the floor and at a critical moment had touched it off. The Indians disappeared and a number of the citizens suffered for some time from rather severe burns.

Another well known merchant named Alter arrived from Baltimore in May, 1806, and opened a store in a two-story frame near the top of the hill on the east side of Main street. He was renowned for his expensive advertising and his name deserves execration for he was the first Cincinnatian to exploit his wares on the fences. Contrary to the moral obliquity implied by this conduct, he was a most generous citizen and when the war with England came on he donated $100 to purchase blankets for the soldiers and one-fifth of all his profits for their families. Near him at the same time James Kirby established the first lumber yard on the east side of Main above Columbia.

Another method of advertising quite well known in the early days was adopted by Richard Gaines in 1811, who swung out from his store on the verge of the hill a great golden boot.

Some distance above Fifth was the first ropewalk, started by Peter Love early in the century. Love claimed to be the first person in the Northwest Territory in this business.

At a little later period in October, 1811, S. G. Grenell & Company opened a tea store on Main street three doors above Front. Here in addition to tea was retailed the usual stock of a country store. Some of the prices are interesting. Imperial tea was $2.00 a pound; Young Hyson, $1.40, extra fine, $2.00; Souchong, $1.00; and Pekoe, $1.25.

Not far away was the first wagon shop of Poor & Kirshner and near them a large general store of S. and J. Halley.

The founder of the brewery business was a well known Quaker named Davis Embree whose establishment was on the river at the foot of Race street and whose office was in the Columbian Inn. Here Embree dispensed his beer by the drink to his customers free of charge, taking many a fippennybit from the income of Mrs. Wil-

lis the landlady of the tavern. Embree lived well down to the second half of the 19th century.

Yernest was not the only fraud of the early days as the following circular indicates:

"King, the Prophet!
"King, the Wise Man!
"King, who never Dies!
"King, King, King!

"Humble ones, my mission calls me among you. The Great Book, on being opened, announces my coming. Your pains, sufferings and sorrows shall cease. Dr. King can look back through a vista of 3,000 years, and trace his descent from a continued line of great physicians. Wherever he has been, the blind have been restored to sight, the lame walked, the heart broken made happy. More than a million of people, afflicted with every ill that flesh is heir to, have applied to him for relief during the past ten years, and in every instance has a permanent cure been effected. Come, behold, see for yourselves, and watch the hand of Fate, as it points you out the course to follow.

"Dr. King cannot attend to any calls after sundown, as he is then engaged until the morning dawn in consulting the stars and planets as to the proper treatment of his patients on the following day.

"Troptiienidem King."

"Room No. 6, Columbian Inn."

This prophet was so successful that at last he was so indiscreet as to issue a challenge to physicians to meet him in a joint discussion. This was too much of an opportunity for Dr. Drake, then a young and combative practitioner. He accepted the challenge and as a result of an announcement in the paper a large crowd was present to see the fun. In those days as at present the humbug had his followers and the result of the contest was by no means certain. King opened up with a speech in some absurd gibberish at the end of which he was interrogated by Drake as to its meaning. King triumphantly announced that that was the language of the natives of Farther India. Thereupon Drake brought in an extraordinarily dressed personage whom he announced as Fredora a native of Farther India, who would act as interpreter. Fredora who had been dressed to represent an Icelander, Indian, Hottentot or any other outlandish personage began to grumble, growl and roar at the unfortunate King. It was a case of Indian against Indian, Greek against Greek, dog eat dog, and King was obliged to retire discomfited. He finally confessed that he had worked for years in a Philadelphia woolen mill but concluded that it was easier to live by his wits. He was allowed to leave town without ceremony. (Reminiscences of "Old Man.")

In 1815 two young men started a book store under the name of Coleman & Phillips on Main street near Front, which under various names has survived to our own time. After many years business the senior member retired and Mr. Phillips continued, afterwards carrying on the bookbinding business at the northwest corner of Fourth and Main. Here in the "thirties" he took in his employ a young man who afterwards became the mayor of the city, Charles F. Wilstach. Subsequently William H. Moore, David A. Anderson, and Samuel B. Keyes became associated with Wilstach, the survivor of William Phillips, under the firm name of Moore, Anderson, Wilstach & Keyes at No. 153 Main and No. 28 West Fourth street. Later this firm became known as Moore, Wilstach, Keyes & Company of which William Overand was a member. This house was located at No. 25 West Fourth street just west of Main. Keyes afterwards retired and the firm became Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin. At a later time under the name of Wilstach, Baldwin & Company the house was located on the west side of Race street near Fourth.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TOWN OF CINCINNATI (1802-1819)—II.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

The First Charter — The Presidents of the Council — David Ziegler and His Successors — The Charter of 1815—William Corry, the First and Only Mayor of the Town — The Meeting Places of the Council—The Select Council (1802 to 1815)—The Town Council (1815 to 1819)—Some Township Official Acts—The Courts and the Lawyers—The Post Office—The Water Supply—Fire and Police Protection.

THE FIRST CHARTER.

The act to incorporate the town of Cincinnati was passed at the first session of the second General Assembly held at Chillicothe and approved by Governor St. Clair on January 1, 1802. It is Chapter 34 of the third volume of the laws as published at Chillicothe by N. Willis, printer to the Legislature.

It provides in section one "that such parts of the township of Cincinnati, in the county of Hamilton, as are contained in the following limits and boundaries, that is to say, beginning on the Ohio River, at the Southeast corner of the fractional section No. 12; thence running North to the Northeast corner of the said fractional section; thence West with the township line to Mill creek; thence down Mill creek, with the meanders thereof to its mouth; thence up the Ohio River, with the meanders thereof, to the place of beginning; shall be, and the same are hereby erected into a town corporate, which shall henceforth be known and distinguished by the name of 'The Town of Cincinnati.'"

Section two provides that the officers are to be a "president, recorder, seven trustees, an assessor, a collector and a town marshal, who shall be appointed and sworn, * * * which president, recorder, and trustees shall be one body corporate and politic with perpetual succession to be known and distinguished by the name of 'The president, recorder and trustees of the Town of Cincinnati.'"

Section three provides for the powers of said officers and for a seal.

Section four provides "that all the inhabitants of the said town, who are freeholders, or householders paying an annual rent of thirty-six dollars, shall and may assemble at such place within the said town, as the president, recorder and any four of the trustees shall appoint, on the first Monday of April, yearly and every year, and then and there, by a plurality of suffrages, to elect a president, recorder and seven trustees, an assessor, a collector and a town marshal, to hold their respective offices during one year and from thence until their successor shall be elected and sworn," etc.

Section five provides that the president, recorder and trustees shall be called "The Select Council of the Town of Cincinnati" and gives said Council the power to make and publish laws, appoint a treasurer, administer oaths, impose fines and makes it the Council's duty to adopt regulations for securing the town against injuries from fire, to keep the streets, lanes and

alleys open and in repair, to regulate markets and prevent animals from running at large, etc.

Section six provides that the freeholders and householders shall at their annual meeting vote such sums of money as they think proper to be raised for the town for the ensuing year which shall be assessed by the assessor on such objects of taxation in the said town as shall be yearly subject to taxation for county purposes and on such other objects as the said meeting shall direct, provided that no poll-tax be imposed by the said corporation on persons not entitled to vote.

Section seven gives the Council power to fill vacancies, appoint subordinate officers, impose fines for refusal to accept office, and the like. The Council is given the exclusive right to license taverns, ale houses and public houses of entertainment.

Section eight provides that persons feeling aggrieved by an officer or individual of the Council may appeal to the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace.

Section nine gives the use of the county jail to the corporation provided "that no person shall be imprisoned under the authority of the said corporation unless for the non-payment of taxes, fines or penalties assessed or imposed, and all persons so imprisoned shall be under the charge of the sheriff of the county."

Section ten appoints David Ziegler, president; Jacob Burnet, recorder; William Ramsey, David E. Wade, Charles Avery, John Reily, William Stanley, Samuel Dick and William Ruffin, trustees; Joseph Prince, assessor; Abraham Carey, collector and James Smith, town marshal, to hold their offices until the election provided for. The act was signed by Edward Tiffin, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Robert Oliver, President of the Legislative Council, and approved by Arthur St. Clair, Governor.

THE PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL.

The presidents from this time until 1815 when a change was made in the charter were as follows:

David Ziegler	1802-03
Joseph Prince	1803-04
James Findlay	1805-06
John S. Gano, Martin Baum	1807
Daniel Symmes	1808-09
James Findlay	1810-11
Martin Baum	1812
William Stanley	1813
Samuel W. Davies	1814

In the issue of the *Spy* of Saturday, April 10, 1802, we learn about the election held for corporation officers on the preceding Monday. David Ziegler was elected president and Aaron Goforth, recorder in the place of Jacob Burnet who had been selected by the Legislature. There were also other changes. The trustees elected by the people were Thomas McFarland, George Fithian, David Grummon, Samuel Stitt, Andrew Parks, Isaac Anderson and William McFarland. Joseph Prince was elected as assessor, Abraham Carey, collector, and William Ruffin, general marshal.

DAVID ZIEGLER AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

David Ziegler, the first president, a position corresponding in many parts to that of mayor, has been frequently referred to in the text. David Ziegler was born at Heidelberg, Germany, in 1748, and in his early life served under Frederick the Great. At a later time he served in the Russian Army during the reign of Catherine the Second in the campaign against the Turks. He came to America in 1775 and immediately entered the Revolutionary Army and was commissioned 3rd lieutenant in Captain Ross' Company in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. One of his first duties was to escort powder to Washington's army at Cambridge. A little later he became 1st lieutenant and adjutant. His regiment was the second in the State to enlist for the war against Great Britain. In 1776 he was made 1st lieutenant and afterwards captain of a company of the First Pennsylvania Continental Infantry and remained senior captain of this regiment until the end of the war. He served with distinction on Long Island, at Brandywine, Monmouth and Bergen Point. He was also inspector of the Pennsylvania brigade. He served in the Carolinas in 1783 and returned in the end to Philadelphia by water. When the war was over, he became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He accompanied General Harmar on his expedition to the West and was also for a time with General Lincoln. In 1791 he became a major. Throughout the Indian wars he saw much hard service and stood very high. His company was regarded as the best drilled one in the service. In the spring of 1789 he married Lucy Sheffield, the youngest daughter of Benjamin Sheffield of Marietta. Ensign Denny acted as the best man at this wedding. He afterwards was in charge of Fort Washington for a time but in 1792 resigned, settled in Cincinnati and began the business of a storekeeper which he carried on with great success. In 1804 he was the first, appointed by President Jefferson, marshal of

the Ohio district, the first after Ohio had achieved statehood, and from 1809 to 1811 he was surveyor of the port of Cincinnati. He died in 1811 at the age of 63 years, and was buried with military honors.

His residence at the time of his election to the presidency of the Council was just east of Griffin Yeatman's tavern. "His was a stately and commanding presence, especially when he chose to array himself, literally, in the purple and fine linen of his elaborate wardrobe. His was an erect, military bearing, with broad shoulders, full round face, smooth shaven (of course, at the hands of John Arthurs, the first barber and hair-dresser of the settlement and military post) with large, regular features; in all a fine, open countenance, that challenged inspection and invited confidence. He had ceased to wear his hair 'en queue' although the fashion was still quite in vogue, but used powder plentifully on his full natural hair, which was rolled back from forehead and temples, and fell behind upon the high collar of a plum-colored velvet coat, upon the left lapel of which glittered the great gold badge of the Society of the Cincinnati. Lace ruffles to his shirt, lace falls to his sleeves, a long buff waistcoat, close-fitting knee breeches or smalls, silk stockings, highly polished shoes with silver buckles, and silver buttons on garments and at knees, made up his gala costume as a civilian. Such was the appearance, in his fifty-fourth year, of David Ziegler, the first President of Cincinnati's first Council." (Henderson's Council, p. 9.)

In the early days very few records were kept and it is now almost impossible to obtain accurate information as to the official acts of the authorities during Cincinnati's life as a town. We know that Mayor Ziegler was regarded as a very satisfactory officer. In 1803 he gave way to Joseph Prince who had been the assessor during the first two years of the town life. Prince as well as Ziegler had won for himself high honor as a soldier and he was by nature of the temperament that gains the affection of the public. As was common in those days, he was of a convivial temperament and many were the tales told of the scenes in his court at a time when the lofty dignity of the presiding officer was mellowed by the softening influence of applejack. He was one of those men, of whom there are many in every community, about whom and whose exploits tales are told for years after they pass from the scenes of this earth. Two terms were enough for President Prince. At their conclusion in 1805, one of the most distinguished of the early citizens, James Findlay, was elected to succeed him. He was one of the most prominent of the early citizens. He organized and for a long time was a general of the militia, was register of the United States Land Office and preeminent in every public matter. He served for two years as president, at the end of which time he was obliged to decline further service on account of the press of other business. He was succeeded by another very distinguished citizen, Martin Baum. John S. Gano acted as president and Martin Baum clerk for a short time in the early part of 1807. Martin Baum was born at Hagenau in Germany in 1761. He came West towards the end of the 18th century with the sutlers' trains for Wayne's army as a surveyor, and at once became one of its leading citizens, settling in Cincinnati in 1795. He organized its first bank and acted as president for many years. When the business and commercial developments of the first decade of the city are spoken of and are examined closely, it will be found that in a large measure they are simply the history of Martin Baum's business life. He organized the first sugar refinery, the first iron foundry, the first woolen factory, the first steam flouring mill, laid out the first vineyard, the first ornamental garden, assisted in the founding of the Lancaster School, the first Public Library in 1802, the Western Museum, the Literary Society of 1818, the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture in the West in 1819 and the Apollonian Society in 1823. He did much to encourage the immigration of his fellow citizens and in that way laid the foundation for the great German population of Cincinnati. He married, in 1804, Ann Wallace, Judge Burnet's sister-in-law, and built for himself a brick residence on the northwest corner of Front and Sycamore streets, back of his store a weather-boarded log house at the corner. His later residence, which unfortunately he was unable to occupy but a short time owing to financial difficulties, still stands on Pike street, one of the handsomest as it is one of the oldest buildings in the city. It has been in turn the Longworth, Suire, Sinton and Taft residence. Baum died in 1831.

Daniel Symmes, a nephew of John Cleves Symmes, succeeded Martin Baum as president in 1808. He was also a prominent man in the early life of the community "a ripe scholar, a profound thinker, a true patriot, an honest man and officer."

He graduated at Princeton, was clerk of the territorial court, State Senator, judge of the Su-

preme Court and register of the Land Office. He was a very prominent citizen until his death in 1817.

General Findlay in 1810 once more became president and served for two terms, to be succeeded again in 1812 by Martin Baum. In 1813 William Stanley, also an old Revolutionary soldier, was elected president. In 1814 he was succeeded by Samuel W. Davies, the last of the presidents of the town of Cincinnati. By virtue of the act of 1815 the head of the government was the mayor selected by the trustees from their own body. The first mayor and president of the town of Cincinnati was William Corry, selected by the Town Council, at that time holding their meetings at the tavern of Samuel McHenry. Mr. Corry was the only person to hold the office of mayor and president. During his term which lasted four years the trustees held many of their meetings at the old Town House on the landing and after 1817 at a hall on Fourth street between Main and Walnut.

THE CHARTER OF 1815.

The act of January 1, 1802, was repealed by an act of January 10, 1815 (13 O. L. L. 60). By this act, which reincorporated the territory covered by the first act, the officers of the town were a mayor, recorder and trustees. The town was divided into four wards by straight lines crossing each other at right angles. Until the boundaries of the wards should be altered by Council, these lines were to be along Third street and Main street and that portion north of Third and east of Main was to go to the First Ward, west of Main to the Second, south of Third and east of Main to the Third and west of Main to the Fourth. The electors were required to be white male inhabitants, freeholders or householders, who had resided therein one year. They were directed to meet on the first Monday of April of every year to elect trustees for each ward which should be three in number until otherwise ordered by the Council. These trustees were directed to select from their number a mayor, recorder, clerk and treasurer no two of whom should be selected from the same ward. These officers were to serve for two years. The remaining two trustees of each ward were directed to decide by lot as to which should serve for one year and which for two and thereafter all trustees should serve for the term of two years. The Council was empowered to appoint a marshal, assessor, collector, town surveyor, clerks of the market and such officers as might be necessary. Other provisions gave the Council, which was constituted of the mayor, recorder and trustees, the right to hold real estate not to exceed five thousand dollars per annum in value. In addition to the rights given by the former act they were empowered to establish a night watch for the purpose of securing the town against fire, to purchase fire engines and to establish fire companies and also to appoint supervisors of the highway, to regulate the assize of bread and to establish wharves, but they were restricted from establishing any by-laws subjecting cattle, sheep or hogs not belonging to the inhabitants of the town to abuse or to be sold coming into the bounds of the corporation. The Council was also given power to levy taxes on dogs and hogs and on realty not to exceed one-half of one per cent of the value thereof unless the legal voters should in a general meeting authorize a greater tax. The Council was also given power to license taverns, porter houses, ale houses and houses of public entertainment, and puppet shows and to impose fines upon persons refusing to accept offices. The mayor was given the powers of a justice of the peace. Appeals could be taken from his decision to the Court of Common Pleas. The recorder was required to keep a record of the laws and ordinances and in the absence of the mayor to exercise his functions. The town marshal was to be the ministerial officer of the corporation with the powers of a constable. Imprisonment for the violation of by-laws or ordinances was forbidden except for non-payment of assessment and then it could not be continued longer than 24 hours if the person imprisoned should take the pauper oath. This act by its terms took effect on April 1, 1815.

WILLIAM CORRY, THE FIRST AND ONLY MAYOR OF THE TOWN.

During the time that this act remained in force, William Corry served as mayor (1815 to 1819), to be succeeded when the town became a city by act of February 5, 1819, by Isaac G. Burnet, who served until the new charter of 1827. This explains a common confusion of ideas as to the first mayor of Cincinnati. David Ziegler was the first president of the town, William Corry the first mayor of the town, and Isaac G. Burnet the first mayor of the city. Other officers of the town whose names have been preserved are as follows: Recorders,—Jacob Burnet, 1802, 1812; Charles Kilgour, 1803; Aaron Goforth, 1805-09; James Andrews, 1810-11;

Samuel W. Davies, 1813; Griffin Yeatman, 1814; Oliver M. Spencer, 1815-16; Martin Baum, 1817-18; John W. Armstrong, 1818. Treasurers,—Jacob Williams, 1813; Davis Embree, 1814; David Kilgour, 1815-16; Jacob Wheeler, 1817-18. Marshals,—James Smith, 1802; Andrew Brannon, 1813; James Chambers, 1814-18. Clerks of Council,—John Reily, 1802; Matthew Nimmo, 1804; Griffin Yeatman, 1805-06; John Mahard, 1807; William McFarland and Daniel Drake, 1813; William Corry, 1814; William Ruffin, 1815; George P. Torrence, 1816; and Jesse Embree, 1817-18.

William Corry was born in Virginia of Irish parentage in 1779. His father was killed at the battle of King's Mountain in 1781. William was educated in the schools of the neighborhood and worked upon his mother's farm until his 20th year. In 1798 he was invited by William McMillan, a relative, to come to Cincinnati and accordingly entered the latter's home as a member of his family. Mr. Corry studied law in McMillan's office and was admitted to the bar in 1803. After McMillan's death in 1804, Corry associated himself with John Reily at Hamilton, where they inhabited the same log cabin. After Reily had been appointed clerk of the courts, Corry practiced alone until his marriage in 1810. Under the provisions of Mr. McMillan's will, he was one of the executors and in order to more effectually administer the trust which involved the cultivation of the large farm where is now Avondale, Corry returned to Cincinnati in 1811. He settled with Ethan Stone on Main between Fifth and Sixth streets. Here in an old white frame double house were for many years the Cincinnati Library, of which he was librarian, and the offices of the trustees of the Cincinnati College and of the Medical College of Ohio. Subsequently, on Corry's election as mayor it became the official center of the municipality. During Mr. Corry's term he with the assistance of his marshal, James Chambers, ruled the town with a strong hand. We are told that "lawlessness abounded, weapons were indiscriminately carried and used on the slightest provocation; and bowie knives, the broad blades of which were riveted into iron or wooden handles, were carried about for ornament and for toothpicks. The mayor's office, to which issues were adjourned in the expectation of a peaceful and judicial settlement often became the scene of bloody riot. But this was only for a time. The determination of Mayor Corry, the coolness and daring of his able lieutenant, Marshal Chambers, the rigor of prison discipline had its effect upon the sanguinary disposed part of the community. Mayor Corry disposed of the many cases coming before him with deliberation, handing the prisoners under sentence over to the marshal who in turn delivered them to Jailer Cunningham who placed them on a bread and water diet in the public jail at Fifth and Market streets." (Encyclopedia of Ohio, p. 103.)

After the expiration of his term of office, Mr. Corry returned to the practice of the law where he met with success. By temperament he disliked the antagonisms both of the active practice and of politics although he subsequently was sent to the Legislature twice. He was a man of wide scholarship and of much literary taste. His health during the latter years of his life was poor and he died in 1833 at the age of 55.

THE MEETING PLACES OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council had no official abiding place of any permanency until April 19, 1815. From the date of the passage of the first ordinance, which, passed March 5, 1802, was an ordinance for preventing swine from running at large in certain places, until 1815, the meetings were held at inns or at private residences. Popular meeting places seem to have been the Columbian Inn, Yeatman's, McHenry's, Wingate's, and the Green Tree.

The controversy with relation to the ownership of the town common has already been referred to. By the decree in chancery entered by the Supreme Court at the November term, 1807, the use of the "Brick House" on the common or landing just south of the corner of Front and Main was reserved to Joel Williams until April, 1816. Mr. Henderson has pointed out that although in 1813 and 1814 meetings were held at the Columbian Inn, John Wingate's tavern and Stephen McFarland's tavern, at one dollar a night including fuel and candles, as early as April 4, 1814, the Council leased the "Brick House" to William C. Anderson for one year for $300. A year later Jonathan Pancoast and Francis Carr were appointed on a committee to examine and subsequently to repair the upper room in the Town House for use of a council chamber and on April 14, 1815, the first meeting of the Council was held in that room. Various entries in the minutes at later dates refer to the plastering of the council chamber, the building of a stairway on the exterior of the building and the purchase of andirons, etc., for the council house. It seems therefore that, except for short

intervals while repairs were being made, the legislative part of the city government occupied the Town House on the Public Landing until it was ordered torn down in 1824 at which time it was sold at public auction to Peter Britt for $62. The council chamber was then removed to Francis Carr's brick building at the northwest corner of Third and Hammond streets. (Henderson's Cincinnati City Hall, pp. 5 and 6.)

According to the "Cincinnati Almanac" for 1839, the Council met during the years 1813 and 1814 at the Columbian Inn, and during the next year and until April 14, 1817, at which time the Town House was occupied, at McHenry's.

THE SELECT COUNCIL (1802 TO 1815).

The records of the Select Council are complete from the first meeting on March 5, 1802. There were recorded as present on this day: The recorder, Jacob Burnet; the trustees,—William Ramsey, David E. Wade, Charles Avery, John Reily, William Stanley, Samuel Dick and William Ruffin; as well as the assessor, Joseph Prince; the collector, Abraham Carey, and the town marshal, James Smith. The president, David Ziegler (speller Zeigler in these records) was absent.

The first ordinance was an appropriate one for a city to be known for all time as "Porkopolis." It was "an ordinance for preventing swine from running at large in certain places," the places being any lane, street, alley or public common within the bounds of the in or town lots of the town or between the south front of the town and the river. This ordinance in the absence of the president was signed by Jacob Burnet, the recorder and John Reily, clerk.

The second ordinance passed at the same time required the removal by the inhabitants of all wood, timber and lumber and every other matter or thing that rendered or might render the passing and repassing of the said streets in any way dangerous or inconvenient.

The third ordinance passed on the same occasion provided for the first annual meeting of the inhabitants. According to this ordinance, the meeting was directed to be held at the Court House or place of holding the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace at five o'clock P. M. on the day appointed and provision was made for the office of moderator and clerk. After the selection of these officers, the inhabitants were directed to proceed to elect by ballot the officers of the corporation for the year ensuing, the first ballot to be for the president and recorder, the second for the trustees and the third for the marshal, assessor and collector. The duty of the moderator was to preserve order and with the assistance of the clerk to count the ballots and to make known the persons elected. The clerk's duty was to make a record and deliver a copy of it to the president elect, signed by the moderator within five days of the election. All propositions before the town meeting were required to be reduced to writing and voting on these propositions was to be by the lifting up of hands, except in case of doubt when a division was directed. In accordance with this ordinance which was the last passed by the first Council, the election was held at the Court House and the following officers were elected: David Ziegler, president; Aaron Goforth, recorder; George Fithian, Thomas McFarland, David Grummon, Samuel Stitt, Isaac Anderson, Andrew Park and William McFarland, trustees; and Joseph Prince, assessor; Abraham Carey, collector and William Ruffin, town marshal.

The first ordinance of the newly selected Council was one regulating the duties of the various town officers. This was signed by President Ziegler and attested by William McFarland, clerk. Another ordinance passed immediately thereafter provided for the seal of the corporation as described elsewhere. On the same evening was passed the ordinance for preventing accidents that might happen by fire by which all householders and freeholders paying an annual rent of $36 were directed to provide themselves with black-jack leather buckets and all male inhabitants were required to render assistance upon an alarm of fire. The black-jack leather bucket was so minutely defined as to leave very little option to the householder. It must contain two and one-half gallons of water; have a rope handle covered with leather and be a third wider at the top than at the bottom and 14 inches in length and must have the initials of the owner painted on the side.

Another ordinance passed on the same evening provided for a town meeting to be held at the Court House on July 31, 1802, at two P. M. for the purpose of voting funds necessary to the use of the town; at such meeting the president was to preside to preserve order. All propositions were required to be in writing and the voting was to be by the lifting up of the right hand except where a division was called for. The procedure apparently was very much like that of the New England town meeting. Two days later by a resolution the public were informed

of this meeting which was to be at the house of Charles Avery and were also informed that the Select Council would meet at the house of George Fithian on the first Monday of every month at three o'clock P. M. The result of this town meeting appears in an ordinance passed September 8, 1802, which recites the voting by the inhabitants of the sum of $118 and provides for its collection.

Among the earliest ordinances of the Council was that of July 17, 1802, fixing upon an appropriate design for a seal as follows: "Cincinnatus, with the word engraved above his head in a circular manner; a plow, sheaf of wheat, beehive, and rising sun, with an inscription around the edge and near the extremity thereof in these words, to-wit: 'Corporation of the Town of Cincinnati' and with the Roman numerals MDCCCII."

The first paving ordinance was passed January 8, 1803, which permitted lot owners to pave the street in front of their property with brick or flat stones to a width not to exceed nine feet and forbade the extension of cellar doors in the street more than five feet. Lot owners were also authorized to erect posts and to plant Lombardy poplar and black locust trees in front of their lots.

An ordinance establishing a night watch for the more effectual prevention of fires concluded the proceedings of the first elected Council. It was passed March 29, 1803, and was the last ordinance signed by David Ziegler as president. It provided for a roll of all the citizens of 21 years of age and the division of the citizens into classes of 12 men each who should serve as watchmen in rotation, meeting at the watch house at eight o'clock in the evening. The watchmen were directed to choose an officer for the night who should divide its forces into two divisions of six men each, which divisions should in turn guard the town by walking to and fro through the streets in a quiet peaceable manner and take in custody the wrong doers. As said elsewhere, the houses of Hugh McCullum and David J. Poor were selected as the watch houses to be used on alternate nights.

The first ordinance, to which the name of the second president, Joseph Prince, was fixed, passed June 18, 1803, once more attempted to regulate the swine of the town. John Reily signed this ordinance as clerk.

An ordinance passed March 22, 1804, "for the better security and peace of the town of Cincinnati" recited the frequent riots, quarrels and disturbances which had arisen in consequence of the free toleration of slaves from Kentucky to pass and repass the river Ohio and spend the Sabbath and nights in the town of Cincinnati and forbid slaves unaccompanied by their masters from coming within the limits of the town at "any time between the setting of the sun and daybreak next morning or at any time during the Sabbath," and at other times without a written license. The penalty for the first offense was imprisonment in the "County Jaol" until the master should have paid the expenses and for a second and each subsequent offense, the pillory. To carry this ordinance into effect, two constables were provided for.

The colored population seemed to be a source of constant annoyance and the first ordinance passed by Daniel Symmes as president and James Ewing, clerk, referred to them. It recited that many black and mulatto persons of idle lives and vicious habits were ordered to the town under pretext that they were free and thus imposed upon the public to the great damage of the town and society in general and the injury of their masters in particular and required that all non-resident black or mulatto persons should have credentials in the shape of a written pass from their master or a certificate of freedom.

A resolution passed by the president, recorder and trustees of the corporation of Cincinnati on October 22, 1804, was to the effect "that the corporation petitioned for the fee of the thirteen acres now occupyed by the Garrison and other Publick buildings; and should Congress concieve this incompatable with their former donations of Lands that the ground lying North of a Street runing from the Stone House of Daniel Symms to be granted in trust to the Corporation for the purpose of Erecting an Academy and that the Land lying South of the 3d Street to be granted to Jeremiah Hunt & Ethan Stone and the money proceeding from the valuation thereof be given to the corporation for the effecting the afforesaid purpose. Provided that the sd Hunt & Stone open sufficient Street from Vattiers to Ruffins and another Street from the Stone landing or thereabouts runing Northerly and that both Streets be four poles wide. And provided also that should the corporation obtain the fee for the whole of the thirteen acres they shall grant a Deed to the sd Hunt & Stone for such part thereof as lies South of said Street leading to Symms's and their paying to the Corporation the value thereof to be ascertained by three disinterested Persons mutually chosen.

"Passed by the Select Council date above Written.

"JOSEPH PRINCE, *President*"

"Attest:

"MATTHEW NIMMO, *Clk.*"

A provision for the market was made by ordinance of November 3, 1804, by which the market was directed to be held at the market house on every Wednesday and Saturday between six and ten A. M. from April 1st, to October 1st, between eight and twelve from October 1st, to April 1st; during these hours no meat, butter, eggs or vegetables could be sold out of the market house. The clerk of the market was directed to weigh and measure articles exposed for sale, to judge whether they were marketable or not and if not marketable to send them to the prisoners in the county jail! Stalls in the market were disposed of to the highest bidder for terms of six months.

The reappearance of smallpox in the year 1804 created great alarm and was the occasion for two ordinances, one of December 10th and another of December 28th of that year. The first recites the appearance of the disease and the danger of its spreading and the expression of a desire by the citizens in general meeting to prevent its further progress as well as the fact that "numberless experiments have proved that the vaccine inoculation which may in a short time be procured is a sure preventitive of that fatal distemper" and therefore provides penalties for the smallpox, for in any way designedly communicating infection, for receiving the infection by inoculation or exposed persons entering a house or company where were present persons who had not had the disease. A red flag was required to be exposed at infected houses.

A second ordinance recites that the vaccine matter had not yet been procured and as there was but little probability of getting it in time to prevent the spreading of disease the first ordinance was repealed.

At the election held in 1805 the following officers were selected: James Findlay, president; Aaron Goforth, recorder; Ethan Stone, Nathaniel Reeder, Thomas Williams, Samuel Stitt, Griffin Yeatman, Nehemiah Hunt and John Stall, trustees; John Mahard, assessor, Alexander King, marshal, and Thomas King, collector.

The first ordinance passed by the new Select Council directed that the house erected between Main and Sycamore be the market house and made provisions regulating the market. The ordinance especially provided for punishment for the enhancing the price or dearer selling of articles consigned to the market.

The first building regulation was by an ordinance passed November 4, 1805, requiring chimneys to be built of stone or brick laid in lime mortar and to extend at least a foot and a half above the ridge of the building. On the same day an ordinance was passed so modifying the market regulations as to permit the following articles in amounts exceeding the sum of a dollar to be purchased outside the market house: Flour, corn meal, beef and pork and vegetables of all kinds.

By ordinance of January 5, 1807, which was signed by John S. Gano as president and Martin Baum as clerk, certain streets were required to be improved by foot ways and good and pleasant walks raised to the proper height, kept clean and dry and nine feet in width. The material described was gravel or bricks or stones. The streets covered by this ordinance were Main street between Front and Sixth, Sycamore between Front and Fourth, Front between Beech (Race) and Eastern row, Second between Main and Eastern row and Fourth between Main and Sycamore. Provision was also made for the erection of posts and planting of trees.

An ordinance of November 14, 1806, levied a tax of $10 on "any theatrical performance of any kind or description, Puppet Shew, Tumbling, Roap or Wire Dancing, Ballancing or deception or representation of any kind whatever either real or fictitious for which compensation is demanded."

As early as March 5, 1807, it became necessary to provide by ordinance that owners of fowls should keep them within their respective bounds.

The first ordinance signed by Martin Baum as president and at the same time by John Mahard, clerk, created the office of town surveyor for the purpose of surveying the streets, lanes, rows and alleys of the town and of pointing out the limits of building fences. This was passed April 21, 1807.

The first gambling ordinance, passed May 1, 1807, has the curious title "An Ordinance which will put Innkeepers on their Guard." It recites that some of the innkeepers had been transgressing good order and government by suffering wrong persons, minors, apprentices and servants to carry on gambling in their dwellings and by furnishing spirituous liquors to an unreasonable excess and harboring them at unreasonable hours which was regarded as "certainly very pernicious

to the morals of our citizens, youths and servants." The ordinance forbade gambling within the dwellings of innkeepers or the furnishing of an unreasonable quantity of liquors as well as other kindred offenses. No indication is given as to the quantity regarded as reasonable.

Street commissioners were provided for by ordinance of March 9, 1809.

The first ordinance signed by James Findlay, as president for the third time, and Ethan Stone as clerk was naturally one to regulate the hogs, pigs and swine running at large. This was under date of April 4, 1810.

An ordinance that created considerable excitement and opposition was that of July 11, 1811, which declared that pools of stagnant water at and around different brick-yards in the lower and western part of the town and the pond of water east of Broadway and south of Congress street were nuisances and required that they should be filled up. On November 21, 1811, was passed an ordinance changing the name of the main cross street which ran nearly east and west and passed by the Methodist meeting house, the Court House and new market house in a direction to the mouth of Mill creek from Fifth to Market street. This was of course repealed by the ordinance, referred to in a previous chapter, prepared by Nicholas Longworth and Daniel Drake of February 12, 1814, which determined the names of the streets and alleys of the town. A day later the new market house on Fifth street was established as a public market house, making it necessary to provide by ordinance for the two market houses.

The minutes of the Select Council and Town Council from the time of the election of William Stanley to the presidency in April, 1813, to the end of the life of the town in 1819 are preserved in an old volume in a vault of the city clerk's office. The first meeting of the Select Council whose proceedings are recorded in this volume, that of April 13, 1813, at the Columbian Inn, was attended by William Stanley, president; Samuel W. Davies, recorder; and Robert Richardson, Nicholas Longworth, Jacob Williams, John Mears, Jacob Burnet, Daniel Drake, George P. Torrence, trustees, and Andrew Brannon, marshal and collector. At the first meeting it was resolved that the owners of the different ponds, which were required to be filled up by the ordinance referred to above, be cited to appear before the Council at the next meeting. Another resolution was to the effect that the above members of the Council should consider it their duty to notice all violations of the ordinance and to give information thereof. Daniel Drake acted as clerk. At the following meeting on April 26th, the moderator and clerk of the annual town meeting on April 5, 1813, reported to the Council a resolution empowering that body to lay a tax for the purchase of a fire engine. This had been presided over by Abraham Ferris, moderator and James Kemper, clerk. The delinquent owners of brick-yards were cited before the Council and many admitted that they had neglected to comply with the ordinance but promised to do so at once but others, including John Wilson, William Pierson, Samuel Littell, Nicholas Longworth (himself a member of the Council), Elmore Williams and Ephraim Carter admitted the violation but were fined because they declined to comply with the law. The matter was passed to the next meeting. At the same meeting Jacob Burnet, Samuel W. Davies and Nicholas Longworth were appointed a committee to revise the ordinance of the corporation. The matter of brick pits seems to have been a serious one for at the meeting of May 1, 1813, an ordinance supplementary to the existing one and prepared by Davies and Drake was passed. The brickmakers' case was postponed.

At the session of May 8, 1813, authority was given to the committee on revision of the ordinances to employ Joseph Carpenter & Company to print 300 copies of an octavo edition of the ordinances of the corporation. Nicholas Longworth from the committee of revision reported certain agreed cases between the brick-yard delinquents and the Council which cases were to be submitted to the ensuing Supreme Court.

An important ordinance was passed at the suggestion of Dr. Drake on May 10, 1813. It provided that every practitioner of physic or surgery who should attend in a professional capacity during the last illness of any person dying within the town should leave in the house where the dissolution took place a written memorandum stating the name of the disease which occasioned the dissolution, the date of its occurrence and the age and sex of the deceased. The master of the house was required to make a return of this memorandum to the president of the Select Council and in default of receiving one from the physician to report the same. Provision was made for a record of these "Bills of Mortality."

This ordinance apparently was not complied with for on September 25th, the marshal was directed to summon Drs. Robert Allison, John Selman, John Douglass, Samuel Ramsay, Will-

iam T. Crissey, Christopher Anthony and John Cranmer for failure to comply with the ordinance. Drs. Anthony, Allison, Selman, Ramsay, Douglass and Crissey all appeared at the next meeting on October 2nd and made their peace with the trustees.

The ordinance of September 25, 1813, provided for public wells. The constant recurrence of the ordinance for the purpose of licensing theatrical performances indicates that there must have been a number of these at the time. The ordinance with relation to the streets passed February 12, 1814, is quoted elsewhere.

At a meeting of the Select Council on December 13, 1814, a motion was made to appoint a committee to draft a bill for the purchase of a fire engine but this was negatived and further consideration of the matter was postponed to the next meeting. At this meeting a committee of two, Nicholas Longworth and Daniel Drake, were appointed to draft an ordinance laying a tax for the purchase of a fire engine conformable to the resolution of the annual town meeting.

An ordinance of February 12, 1814, preventing disorderly conduct on Sunday, recited that much inconvenience had arisen to religious societies and the citizens in general from noisy, riotous and profane and disorderly conduct on the Lord's Day and frequent assembling of servants and others at taverns, shops and boats.

From the record in the minutes the following list of tavern keepers to whom licenses were granted during the year 1813 and 1814 is taken: James Crosson, Ebenezer Pruden, William Harlow, Nathaniel Edson, David J. Poor, Frederick Facorn, Joel Williams, Rufus Green, Samuel McHenry, Thomas Wingate, Andrew Burt, Stephen McFarland Patrick Dicky and Robert Hewes.

At the meeting of April 11, 1814, the newly elected officers were present. They were: Samuel W. Davies, president; Griffin Yeatman, recorder; William Irwin, Jacob Burnet, Samuel Stitt, John S. Wallace, Davis Embree, Jacob Wheeler and William Corry, trustees. Mr. Corry was appointed clerk. This meeting was at the Columbian Inn, but subsequent meetings were ordered to be held at the house of John Wingate.

On November 28, 1814, President Samuel W. Davies announced that he had licensed David R. Campbell & Company to exhibit balancing and rope dancing for two nights. A little later on January 4, 1815, Samuel Cogswell was licensed to exhibit living animals for seven days and Messrs. Lewis and Ives authorized to exhibit wax figures for the space of three weeks.

The last ordinance of the Select Council, passed February 23, 1815, was to regulate public celebrations which had become a source of danger to the thickly settled little community, especially at a time when celebrations of victories and, finally, peace were numerous.

Mr. L'Hommedieu thus described these celebrations:

"The news of the battle of the 8th of January, 1815, at New Orleans fought and won by Old Hickory reached our village, and what a glorification our people had! Some now present will remember the illumination, the grand procession that moved down Main street with a bull manacled and appropriately decorated.

"Another month or more brought news of peace, made before the great battle of the 8th was fought; and then another grand illumination of our village. What a joyous time we boys had! How we equipped ourselves with paper soldier-caps, with red belts and wooden swords, and marched under command of our brave captain as far as Western row, now Central avenue, where we reached the woods, and, for fear of Indians, returned to our mammas, reporting on the return march to old Major-General Gano, who, after putting us through a drill, gave each boy a fip to purchase gingerbread, baked by a venerable member, formerly president of this association." (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 13.)

On February 24, 1815, after the consideration and passing of the ordinance regulating illumination, which appears among the ordinances as of date February 23, 1815, occurs the following entry: "Whereas information hath been received that preliminaries of Peace had been agreed upon between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Great Britain, therefore resolved by the Select Council of the town of Cincinnati that in commemoration of that joyous event a general illumination of the town be recommended to the citizens on Saturday evening the 26th instant; lights to be extinguished at ten o'clock and that the president be authorized to cause the same to be proclaimed according to the ordinance in such case made and provided." The ordinance forbade illumination except by authority of the Select Council after notice by the town marshal.

On March 1, 1815, Thomas Carr made application to the Select Council for use of the fire engine on behalf of an organized fire company of which he was captain. His application was

granted. Nathan Oliver and others asked that Water street be opened to Western row and Western row from Front street to the river, which petition was granted. At the same meeting the polling places for the first election to take place under the new charter were selected as follows: In the First Ward at the house of Samuel McHenry; in the Second Ward at the Court House; in the Third Ward at the house of John Wingate; in the Fourth Ward at the house of Nathaniel Edson. This being the last meeting of the Select Council, it adjourned *sine die.*

THE TOWN COUNCIL (1815 TO 1819).

The members of the first Town Council, provided for by the act of 1815, were: O. M. Spencer, Samuel W. Davies and Jonathan Pancoast; John Shaw, Jacob Burnet and William Corry; Francis Carr, Nicholas Longworth and William Ruffin; and Christopher Walker, Joseph Warner and David Kilgour, from the First, Second, Third and Fourth wards respectively. (*Liberty Hall,* April 8, 1815.) Other members during the town's life were James W. Gazlay, Charles Marsh, Martin Baum, William Corry, Richard Fosdick, J. H. Piatt, Richard Wheeler, John Williamson, Jesse Embree, Oliver Lovell, Jacob Wheeler, William Greene and George Libbey. (Henderson's History of Council, p. 20.)

The first meeting of the Town Council was held at the tavern of Samuel McHenry on April 6, 1816. There were present: William Corry, Jonathan Pancoast, Oliver M. Spencer, Joseph Warner, Christopher Walker, David Kilgour, Samuel W. Davies, Nicholas Longworth, John Shaw, William Ruffin, Francis Carr and Jacob Burnet. The trustees proceeded to the election of a moderator for the evening and Jacob Burnet was selected for that place and Nicholas Longworth as secretary. The trustees thereupon proceeded to the election by ballot of mayor, recorder, clerk and treasurer to which offices, respectively, William Corry, Oliver M. Spencer, William Ruffin and David Kilgour were elected.

The seal of the Council was readopted until another should be provided and Oliver M. Spencer, Jacob Burnet and Joseph Warren were appointed a committee to select a new one. A committee was appointed to examine the upper room of the Town House and to report as to its state and whether it would answer for a council chamber. Jonathan Pancoast and Francis Carr constituted this committee. Another committee was appointed to consider the throwing up of a levee in the western end of the town to keep out the water.

At the meeting on April 10, 1815, the Thespian Corps asked to be exempted from paying a tax for their performance. The Town House committee reported that a small expense would render the chamber useful for the Council and it was ordered repaired. Upon the report of Mr. Burnet of the committee on the city seal, the old seal with an alteration from 1802 to 1815 was adopted.

The first ordinance of the Town Council, passed April 14th, referred to the common and forbade the erecting of any structure on the common or digging thereon.

The matter of grading Main street formed a subject of discussion at several meetings in the early part of 1815. The first ordinance signed by a mayor, William Corry, of date June 15, 1815, related to the licensing of wagons, carts and drays. The last ordinance of the Town Council was passed February 27, 1819, and provided for punishment for offenses against the watch.

SOME TOWNSHIP OFFICIAL ACTS.

While on the subject of the civil government of the town, it may not be inappropriate to make some extracts from a very valuable original record, none of which has heretofore appeared in print. While not directly connected with the town government, it throws light upon one branch of the administration of affairs at that time.

From the earliest time to 1853 when Infirmary directors chosen by the city took charge, the trustees of Cincinnati township cared for the poor, aided by two overseers of the poor elected by the citizens each year. In addition to the trustees named in the following extracts, the following served as trustees during 1802-19: Isaac Anderson, Joseph Carpenter, Edward Dodson, James Ferguson, James Gibson, Levi James, Thomas McFarland, John Riddle, Nathaniel Reeder, William Ramsey, Jeremiah Reeder, Stephen Wheeler, William Woodward and Jacob Wheeler. The township clerks were Levi Woodward, who served from 1792 to 1805; Samuel Patterson (1805-08), Thomas Henderson (1808), James Rollins (Thomas Rawlins) (1809-10), Christopher Smith (1811-12), David Wade (1813-14), Jeremiah Reeder (1815), Jacob Reeder (1816), and Micajah T. Williams (1817-21). The overseers of the poor were Hugh Bracken, Benjamin K. Cozier, Edward

Dodson, Jesse Embree, Isaac F. Earle, Elias Fisher, James Gibson, John Humes, Ezekiel Hall, Nehemiah Hunt, James Kirby, Herman Long, Solomon Langdon, Thomas McFarland, Robert Merrie, Joseph McMurray, Charles Marsh, Alex. McNutt, Jonathan Pancoast, Lewis Rees, Daniel Stagg, Elmore Williams, Jacob Williams, John Williamson and John Woods. (Annual Reports, Cincinnati, 1888, p. 368.)

There is in the possession of Judge Frederick W. Moore, for many years the judge of our Court of Common Pleas and afterwards the judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, a most interesting volume entitled "Record of the Proceedings of the Trustees of the Township of Cincinnati," commencing with the year 1808. It appears from this book that the trustees at that time, elected at a meeting of the citizens held April 4, 1808, were Sam Forster, Sam Swing and John W. Miles. At the same time Oliver M. Spencer was elected treasurer and Dav. L. Carney, clerk.

Other officers were "Benj. Mason, Appraiser, Jac. Fowble, Lister; Ez. Hall and Tho. M'Farland, Overseers of the Poor; Jas. Chambers, Jac. Stuart, Jed. Ayres, Rob. Terry, And. Brannon, Constables; Dave J. Poor, Will. I. Cullum, Rob. Richardson, Joshua Williams, Will Woodward, Tho. Dugan and Sam Swing, Supervisors of Highways; Christ. Cary, Isaac Anderson and Clark Bates, Fence Viewers." The principal duties of the trustees according to the entries made in this record seem to have concerned the overseeing of the poor. Frequent allowances were made to various citizens for the support of the paupers of the township.

Police jurisdiction of the trustees is shown by the following entry: "June 17, 1808, the Trustees by their warrant ordered Nancy ——— to leave the town immediately * * * ordered the overseers to take charge of the child." In August the township clerk, Mr. Carney, "begged to resign his office which resignation was accepted by the Trustees who immediately appointed Thomas Henderson as his successor." Henderson was sworn in on September 7th before Justice Ewing. On September 17th, the accounts of Griffin Yeatman, the late treasurer, were examined and it was found that he stood indebted to the township for $3.01½ which he promptly paid over to his successor, Oliver M. Spencer. At a subsequent meeting an order was issued "for the removal of ——— Powers and his Family who are likely to become chargeable and have not obtained a legal settlement." Other entries of frequent occurrence relate to the allowance of small sums, "for digging a grave for a poor child" and "for making a coffin for a poor child." Although Mr. Powers and family had been ordered out of the township in October, on the 30th of January of the following year Maxfield Hargraves was allowed $5.95 "for butcher meat furnished * * * to Jno. Powers a Poor man." At a later meeting, relief was voted "for an Insane Poor Man, a Stranger lying at the house of Solomon Pelly." "Agreeable to notice received from the clerk of the court" the following list of jurors was selected by the trustees for the year 1809: Grand jurors: John Selman, Thomas Henderson, Elnathan Kemper, John O'Farrell, Samuel Patterson, Robert Merrie, Culbertson Park, William Ramsey, John Kidd, John Shally, William Betts and Clark Bates. Petit jurors: James C. Morris, Benjamin Mason, Edward H. Stall, Jonathan Pancoast, Nehemiah Hunt, Martin Baum, Francis Carr, Ichabod Spinning, Samuel Best, Ezekiel Hutchinson, Phil. Price, Charles Fox, John M. Piatt, Ad. Dunseth and Evan Price.

John Powers again receives assistance in March, 1809. At the election held April 3, 1809, there seems to have been a complete change in the trustees. Joseph VanHorn, Benjamin Mason and Adam Moore were elected the trustees. Oliver M. Spencer continued as treasurer and James Rollins was elected township clerk. The justices elected were: James Ewing, John Mahard, James Lyon, Enos Hurin and William T. Callom. Among the other familiar names that appeared are those of Andrew Brannon, James Kirby, William Woodward, Ethan Stone, F. Menessier, Isaac Bates, Peter Mills and Cornelius R. Sedam. At an election held January 29, 1810, Griffin Yeatman was duly elected justice of the peace. On April 9th he was sworn in as township clerk. The following day the new trustees were elected: Adam Moore, Nehemiah Hunt and William Woodward. John H. Armstrong became the township treasurer and Aaron Goforth, lister of property. Among the supervisors are Cornelius R. Sedam, Ethan Stone, Thomas Ashburn and John Whetstone. It is recorded on May 12, 1810, that a warrant was issued to Robert Blair, constable, as follows:

"To Robert Blair, counstable of Cincinnati township, Greeting:

"You are hereby required and this is your warrant to go forthwith to the house of John Win-

ters in hill street, to command a certain woman there, who calls her name Susanna Morris to leave this township immediately, by reading this writ in her presence, or leaving a copy at said house, and fail not. Given under our hands in Cincinnati, the eleventh day of May, A. D. 1810,

"BENJ. K. COZIER,
"Overseer of the Poor."

A similar order was given to John Tibbles, constable, three days later directing him "to go to the house of Henry Sights and command a certain woman there who calls her name Jane Brown to depart this town immediately." A little later Andrew Brannon, another constable, was directed "to command a certain blind negro man by the name of Sam to depart this township immediately." Joshua L. Wilson, so long a favorite in Cincinnati, was appointed treasurer of the township on July 5, 1810. On the 19th of the same month Nathaniel Reeder became a trustee. On August 3rd, Constable Blair was directed to "warn a certain woman by the name of Mary Hayward and her four children to depart this township immediately." John Powers seems to have been a burden upon the township for some time, for regularly each quarter the sum of $31.25 is allowed for his keep. Another entry allows to Dr. Crissey $39 "for his physical aid" to one of the poor of the township. Griffin Yeatman on March 4, 1811, was allowed for his service as township clerk for one year the sum of $12 and each of the trustees for the same period received the sum of $10. Some of our prominent citizens seem to have been regular jurors in those days for on the list of the year 1811 there appear as grand jurors Samuel Patterson, Culbertson Park, Jacob Baymiller, Stephen McFarland, Isaac Anderson, Josiah Halley, Martin Baum, Francis Carr and John H. Piatt. Among the petit jurors were Alexander Gibson, John Martin, Ephraim Carmack, John Wozencroft, Edward Dodson, Hezekiah Flint, Robert Caldwell, Jonathan Pancoast, William Robinson, Samuel Stitt and William Ramsey. For the next year, Adam Moore, Robert Merrie and Christopher Walker were elected trustees. Joshua L. Wilson continued as treasurer and Nathaniel Reeder as appraiser and Christopher Smith became township clerk. On April 25, 1811, Elijah Adams was warned to leave the township. Apparently the compensation to the overseer of the poor was $5 a year which was allowed B. K. Cozier. Among the jurors drawn for the next year were some prominent men: Joseph Prince, David Kilgour, Elmore Williams, William Lytle and John S. Wallace. Among the petit jurors were Christopher Walker, William Cummings, Benjamin Mason, William Burr, James Hicks, Casper Hopple and Jeremiah Reeder. Dr. Daniel Drake was allowed this year the sum of $4 for medical services rendered to a pauper. Moore and Merrie continued as trustees for the following year and John Williamson took the place of Christopher Walker. The clerk and treasurer remained the same. The following year Adam Moore was reelected trustee and George P. Torrence and Jacob Wheeler were asssociated with him. David E. Wade was one of the overseers of the poor and Culbertson Park, an appraiser of property. William Woodward continued as one of the fence viewers. In 1815 among the names of the jurors appear those of John S. Wallace, Jesse Hunt, William Ramsey, Samuel Stitt, James Ferguson, David E. Wade, William Ruffin, Joseph Ruffner, John H. Piatt, William Barr, Elmore Williams and Martin Baum. Adam Moore, Benjamin Mason and Abraham Ferris became the trustees for 1815; the treasurer was David E. Wade and the clerk, Jeremiah Reeder. Solomon Langdon was an overseer of the poor and William Barr and Culbertson Park, the fence viewers. John Mahard continued as justice of the peace. The first action of this board was the issue of an order for $11 in favor of Archibald Holland, being the balance due him *for boarding his wife.* A little later Samuel Cunningham was allowed $10 "for removing foolish John out of this township." In 1816 Benjamin Mason, George B. Mason and William State became trustees. Jeremiah Reeder was elected clerk but declined serving and Jacob Reeder was selected in his place. The record closes November 30, 1816.

THE COURTS AND THE LAWYERS.

After the burning of the first Court House in 1814, already described by Drake, by reason of the carelessness of the United States troops quartered therein, work was begun to replace the public buildings on the spot formerly occupied at the corner of Fifth and Main streets. In the spring of 1815 an agitation arose whose purpose was to locate the buildings at a point which would be more central as the city grew larger. Judge Burnet made an offer to donate to the county as much ground as the public square then occupied and lay out streets 50 feet wide all around the square and give $4,000 be-

sides if the city would locate the Court House on the block at Seventh and Elm. James Ferguson also agreed if this offer was accepted to add $1,000 more and bear the expense of moving the foundation already laid at Fifth and Main. A little later Samuel Caldwell and Capt. Edward White offered to donate for the Court House and county buildings two acres of land at the second crossing of Mill creek beyond Carthage and to lay out 40 acres adjoining in town lots around the public square and give the alternate third lot to the county and $2,000 bonus. Jesse Hunt on the next day, 15th of April, having previously offered the lots on Main street together with $3,000 bonus, raised his bonus to $4,000 and added ten feet to each side of the proposed square. The Burnet proposition seemed to be carrying the day and on April 20th, Hunt, William Woodward, John Heighway and Samuel Stitt offered to bear the expenses of the removal of the foundation and pay $1,500 more. This offer was finally accepted on the 20th and as a result the present unfortunate location of the Court House was selected. The old lots, 20 in number, included in the square from Church alley to Fifth street between Main and Walnut, were offered for sale on 99-year leases and realized an annual income of six per cent on about $53,000.

In July, 1815, Leavenworth completed a brick house at the southwest corner of Fifth and Walnut and the courts occupied two rooms in the upper story of this building for about one year. In June, 1816, David Thatcher's house on the opposite side of the street was leased.

In the meantime work had been begun on the new building, which had been planned by Jesse Hunt. Flint who was building it did not make the work move forward rapidly enough and on March 12, 1817, he was discharged from the work and John Dodson succeeded him in the contract. It was completed in 1819. On January 15, 1815, General Harrison as commissioner of the county received from the United States government $16,801 as the value of the property destroyed in the burning of the Hamilton County Court House by the troops. This same year a site for the jail was acquired and the contract for its building after the plan of Jonathan Pancoast was let to Loftus Keating for the sum of $6,900. In May the following year the prisoners were removed to this jail and on the 9th of June the bell man went through the town announcing the contemplated sale that evening of the old log jail. It was sold to Jacob Wolff for $220.

The constitution of 1802 provided for a Supreme Court of three judges and courts of Common Pleas for each county. The State was divided by law into three circuits, in each of which should be a president judge. In each county there were in addition to be appointed no more than three nor less than one associate judges. All judges were appointed for terms of seven years and by the Legislature. Strangely enough, it is by no means an easy matter at this time to give a list of the judges or their terms of service. This is true even of the judges of the Supreme Court. Two volumes which partake somewhat of the nature of official publications,—Taylor's "Ohio Statesman and Annals of Progress" published in 1899 and the revision of the same book published under the authority of the General Assembly in 1901 as the "Ohio Hundred Year Book,"—differ as to the personnel of the highest court of the State. This difference strangely enough is as to members of the court from Hamilton County. As the Supreme Court was required to be held once a year in each county, the personality of that court properly belongs to this history. The court as originally constituted in 1803 was made up of Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., of Washington County, who had served five years in the Supreme Court of the Territory, Samuel Huntington of Cuyahoga and William Sprigg of Jefferson. Judge Meigs resigned after two years' service and on February 7, 1805, Daniel Symmes at that time presiding officer of the Senate and quartermaster-general of the first division of militia was elected to succeed him. Sprigg resigned in April, 1806, and Governor Tiffin appointed to succeed him George Todd of Trumbull County. He was afterwards elected to the seat by the General Assembly on January 1, 1807. Judge Symmes resigned January, 1808, to accept the presidential appointment as register of land at Cincinnati, whereupon William Sprigg was again elected to the bench. Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., had received the vote of the State for the governorship of Ohio but had been declared ineligible to the office and as a result he was reelected as an additional judge of the Supreme Court on the same date, February 13, 1808. Huntington was elected Governor of Ohio and Meigs resigned to become United States Senator. This led to the election on February 17, 1809, of Thomas Scott of Ross County, who was chief clerk of the Senate, and Thomas

Morris, then a member of the House of Representatives from Clermont County. Morris, however, failed to qualify before the General Assembly abolished the additional judgeship. In 1810 at the expiration of the first period of seven years, the two houses met on February 10th to elect a new Supreme Court. This court, as generally given, was made up of Thomas Scott, William W. Irwin of Fairfield County, who a few years before had been impeached by the House of Representatives and removed by the Senate as associate judge, and Ethan Allen Brown of Hamilton County. According to Mr. Taylor, the third judge elected was Francis Dunlevy at that time president judge for the circuit which included Hamilton County and this name is carried by Mr. Taylor among the list of Supreme Court judges up to February 5, 1814, at which time is substituted the name of John S. Edwards. He also states than on February 4, 1815, Ethan Allen Brown was elected by the Legislature judge of the Supreme Court. (Ohio Statesman and Annals of Progress, pp. 60-81.)

The revision of this book and the usual version gives the court as first stated, that, is, Scott, Irwin and Brown. Scott and Irwin resigned in 1816 and on February 18th there were elected to succeed them Jessup N. Couch of Ross County, previously appointed by the Governor, John McLean of Warren County and Calvin Pease of Trumbull County, who had recently so successfully defended the prerogatives of the judiciary against attempted impeachment proceedings, was elected additional judge. The following year January 18, 1817, Brown was reelected as a consolation for having been defeated as Governor, so that at this time the court was constituted of Judges Brown, Couch, McLean and Pease.

There was also a little confusion and hence a little uncertainty as to the personality of the local courts during the time covered by the first State constitution. The meagreness of the information contained in the newspapers of the day and also in the various official reports and the destruction by fire of the court records make it almost impossible to state positively the names and terms of all the judges. It is not difficult, however, to trace the course of appointments by the Legislature.

On April 1, 1803, Francis Dunlevy (or Dunlavy) was elected by the General Assembly, president judge of the Western or Third Circuit, which included Hamilton County, and according to the best authorities he served in that position throughout the whole of the period of Cincinnati's town life. It is true that according to Mr. Taylor he was elected judge of the Supreme Court on February 10, 1810, at which time most authorities record the election of Ethan Allen Brown to that position but in all probability Dunlevy (spelled indiscriminately Dunlevy and Dunlavy) continued to preside in the Court of Common Pleas for a period of from 14 to 16 years.

It was the custom in those days to select the president judge from among members of the bar. This custom, however, did not prevail in the case of the associate judges who sat with the president judge and also as judges of Probate, although many of the associates were lawyers. The first associates for Hamilton County were Michael Jones, Luke Foster and James Silvers, elected by the Legislature on April 6, 1803, for the term of seven years. Jones resigned a couple of years later and Matthew Nimmo was appointed by Governor Tiffin in his place. He was elected by the Legislature to fill the vacancy on February 7, 1805. He in turn resigned and on February 13, 1808, John Matson (Master) was elected in his place. On February 15, 1810, Stephen Wood, Aaron Goforth and James Silvers were reelected for the full term of seven years. Goforth was subsequently elected Senator and on January 27, 1811, James Clark was elected to succeed him on the bench. On the expiration of Silvers' term, he was on January 18, 1817, reelected for another term of seven years. Stephen Wood was succeeded by Othniel Looker at the same time and in the following year, January 27, 1818, William Burke succeeded James Clark.

A number of other names are given as serving during this time. Ford gives Thomas Gibson as presiding judge in 1803 and Michael Jones in 1804. In 1807 William McFarland is given by him as associate. (Hamilton County, pp. 239-240.) He is followed in these particulars by Judge Thew Wright in his account of the bench and bar.

During all this period the clerk of the courts was John S. Gano, who served from 1793 to 1818, a period of 25 years. In fact the Ganos, John S. and Daniel, served from 1793 until 1835, at which time William H. Harrison succeeded and remained clerk until his election to the presidency. During the earlier part of this time, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., acted as prosecuting attorney and was succeeded by Ethan A. Brown, Elias Glover and David Wade, who served from 1812 to 1829. The sheriffs were James Smith,

who served from 1797 to 1804, and William McFarland, Aaron Goforth, Joseph Jenkinson and John S. Wallace, who each held a two years' term. Daniel Hosbrook was sheriff in 1816, and William Ruffin in 1817. Richard Ayres became sheriff in 1818 and held the office for four years.

Among the lawyers who were active during the life of Cincinnati were of course many of those already referred to in connection with its days under the territorial government when the courts were the actual authorities of the settlement. Judge Burnet still remained at the head of the bar; William McMillan occupied a most prominent place until his death in 1804. In this same year came Nicholas Longworth, Peyton S. Symmes and George P. Torrence, for so long a time presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas. James W. Gazlay came in 1813 and Judge David K. Este a year later. William Corry, of course, occupied a position of prominence. David Wade was public prosecutor in 1809 and for some years afterwards, while Moses Brooks, at first an innkeeper, practiced law for a time. Judge Nathaniel Wright did not arrive until 1816 and Judge Bellamy Storer a year later. An active practitioner of the time and afterwards, although no longer prominent at the bar, a leading citizen was Ethan Stone, a man, according to Mansfield, of high intelligence, sound judgment and signal integrity, who chose to do right rather than seek popularity by courting the multitude. He it was who made the contract with the county commissioners to build the bridge over Mill creek which after it had been finished but before it was accepted was swept away by the flood. This loss almost swamped him, but he so retrieved his fortune by many years of industry that he died a wealthy man. "It took twenty years, many of which he passed in comparative obscurity at his cottage in the country, to reestablish himself and he afterwards repurchased a small part of his homestead for fivefold that for which he had parted with it in payment of debt. He had built for a time an elegant mansion at the corner of Fourth and Vine streets, then a retired situation." (Mansfield's Drake, p. 141.)

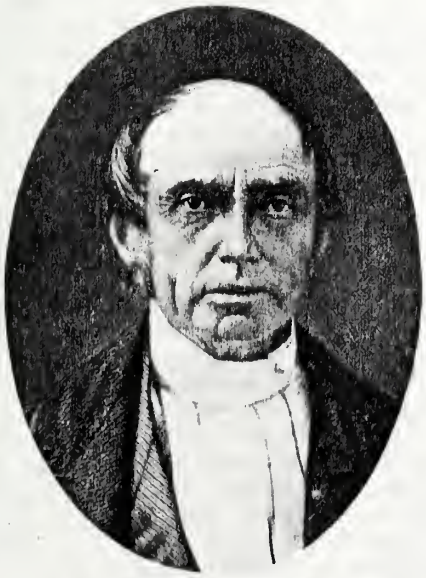
Of course many of the list given by the Directory of 1819 were practitioners here some years before that time. Thomas Clark, who once threatened to fight a duel with Elias Glover, appears in that list, but Glover does not. Others not already mentioned who had achieved some prominence at that time were Elisha Hotchkiss subsequently mayor, Daniel Roe, Nathaniel G. Pendleton, Nathan Guilford, William M. Worthington and Joseph S. Benham. William Henry Harrison was himself a member of the bar but never engaged much in practice. His son of the same name was a man of brilliant promise, whose convivial habits made impossible any great success. Nicholas Longworth for a time was active.

A celebrated case of which a record has been preserved dating from 1807 gives the names of a number of the lawyers at that time engaged at the bar. This was the trial of a well known citizen who was charged and finally convicted of burglary and larceny for stealing from the office of General Findlay, receiver of public moneys for the district of Cincinnati, large sums in specie and bank notes amounting to many thousands of dollars. This case was most bitterly contested on both sides; a full acount of it was published from the press of David L. Carney in 1807. This book, according to Thompson's "Bibliography," "is written in a malignant spirit and was published by V—'s enemies; all available copies were destroyed by his descendants." One copy, however, thought to be the only one in existence, is preserved in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. The prosecution was represented by Arthur St. Clair, Jr., Jacob Burnet, Ethan Stone and Elias Glover and the defense by Nicholas Longworth, Joseph H. Crane, William Brush and Richard S. Thomas. The defendant, who was a man of prominence and whose descendants have been very prominent since, was found guilty as charged and the sentence of the court was as follows: "That he the said ———— pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the use of the State; and sixteen hundred dollars to James Findlay, from whom the property was burglariously taken as charged in the first Count of the indictment; and that he be imprisoned thirty days. And also that he pay a fine, for the larceny, as charged in the second and third counts of the indictment set forth, of one Hundred dollars to the State of Ohio. And that he make restitution to James Findlay, by paying him Ninety-two thousand four hundred dollars and four cents. And also that he be publicly whipped ten stripes on his naked back at ten o'clock in the forenoon, on the 23d day of May next. And that he pay the costs of prosecution and stand committed until sentence be performed."

According to the chronicler, "In a whimpering tone of voice, and with tears in his eyes, the

MARTIN BAUM.

MAJ. DAVID ZIEGLER.



NICHOLAS LONGWORTH.

GEN. JAMES FINDLAY.

prisoner said 'it was a hard sentence upon an innocent Man.'" An immediate effort was made to obtain a pardon or at least a remission of the part of the sentence referring to the public whipping, from the acting Governor, at that time Thomas Kirker. The result of this effort is given as follows:

"The morning of Saturday May 23, on which ————was to be whipped, had now arrived and rumor said, the acting Governor had sent him a pardon. This gave a spring to the public sensibility.

"The town at an early hour exhibited signs of commotion, and a multitude from various parts of the country, had assembled, unapprized of the rumor, to see punishment inflicted on one, now the object of general detestation. The corps of Light Infantry turned out, to add solemnity to a scene, in which all appeared to be interested. At length the convict came forth attended by the sheriff, and took his stand upon the pillory the place in Cincinnati where corporal punishment is inflicted. He ascended the platform, amid the execrations of a vast concourse of citizens. The sheriff now produced, and read aloud, a pardon remitting the stripes and signed Thomas Kirker, acting Governor. Mortification and chagrin, were now visible among the multitude and found their vent in imprecations. * * *

"No sooner had the sheriff gone through the pardon, than murmurs of uncommon discontent fell from the populace. The prisoner was now taken back to jail, when a cart was drawn up to the pillory, bearing the figure of a man intending to represent the acting Governor, upon his breast were these words—

"'The stripes are now from Charley taken off —myself befitting'—and on his back was another label as follows:

"'The acting Governor of Ohio.—Charles ——is pardoned. Bank notes and embraces have a powerful effect.' The figure ascended the pillory and receiving the stripes, the number designed for Charley, it was afterwards burned. Late in the evening another concourse of citizens assembled and moved in tumultuous procession to the whipping post with martial music, playing the Rogue's March.. They bore another figure —meant for ———. In Passing the Bank, the effigy was made to menace it with an attempt to break in. Parading for some time before the jail and calling on ——— to look out, the company returned to the whipping post, amidst the noise of drums and loud hussas. A fire was kindled and the effigy committed to the flames with marked indignity. This was a trying time for ———: who during the whole of it was under serious apprehensions that the enraged multitude would break into jail and destroy him."

The venom of the chronicler and the feeling aroused among the citizens is shown by an extract which in its insinuating style would do credit or discredit to the yellowest of modern journals. It can be said that the statement about the wife of the convict visiting Chillicothe and the reference to her is absolutely untrue.

"And Edward died and Thomas reigned in his stead—

"And it came to pass about those days that Charles, a Gaul by birth, was suspected of having broken the house of James, the Receiver, and taken therefrom much gold and silver and precious paper. And Charles was apprehended and thrown into prison, and they put bars of iron on his legs and on his arms. And they put a guard over the prison, which continued night and day that he should not escape. And when the wise men were gathered together, in the great city of Cincinnati, Charles was brought before them and so strong was the evidence of his guilt that all the people cried out aloud—hang him—hang him. And the wise men sentenced Charles to pay unto James Ninety and four thousand pieces; and into the treasury two hundred pieces; to lie in prison thirty days and receive eleven stripes save one. And the people were exceedingly rejoiced.

"Now Charles was a subtile rogue, and he cast about him, how he should avoid the stripes; and he said unto James unless you and your friends will petition the chief ruler to omit the stripes, I will squander my gold and silver and my precious paper which I have taken from you: and you shall become a bankrupt; but if you and your friends will petition to Thomas the chief ruler for me: then will I pay you, as the wise men have directed. And James consulted with his friends: and they petitioned Thomas the chief ruler according to the wish of Charles: howbeit Thomas would not grant their request—but declared that unless the wise men who had condemned Charles to the stripes would certify that they believed Charles innocent he would in no wise listen to their request.

"And when Pamela the wife of Charles heard this she grieved exceedingly. And she said to Rebecca her handmaid, go to, prepare fine linen and costly apparel per adventure I may find favor in his eyes.

"And Rebecca did as she was commanded: and Pamela took with her gold and much precious paper: and she went out and came into the house of Thomas: and she decked herself gorgeously, and went in unto Thomas with her gold and her precious paper and all the ornaments wherewith she was ornamented and humbled herself before the chief ruler: and the woman was lovely in the sight of Thomas, and her offerings were acceptable.

"And Thomas said unto Pamela, tarry here all night and in the morning I will send thee away rejoicing and she did so.

"And Thomas pardoned Charles: And the woman returned to her own house: and when the report thereof went abroad, the people were exceeding wroth. And they made an image and they called it Thomas: and the stripes of which Charles had been pardoned they inflicted thereon: and they burned the image with fire and said 'Thus be it done unto the man who pardoneth thieves and robbers' and all the people cried Amen."

This book gives a very clear idea of the methods in vogue in the courts of the day, which differ but little from those of the present time. Some of the most distinguished people of the town were witnesses in the case or appeared in it in some connection.

For instance,—Oliver M. Spencer went to V—'s house to the party which V— held the night he is supposed to have committed the robbery. He testified that he staid all night. After the ball broke up, he and Kilgour and V— danced together and drank wine. When asked if he was in a condition to know whether or not V— was in or out of the house, "the witness smiled archly and counsel politely declined to press the answer."

Rev. Timothy Flint tells us that at the bar he heard forcible reasonings and just conceptions and discovered much of that cleverness and dexterity in management which were so common in the American bar in general. There was here, as elsewhere in the profession, a strong appetite to get business and money. It was popular in the courts to be very democratic and while across the river in Kentucky a lawyer was generally a dandy he here affected meanness and slovenliness in dress. The language used at the bar was an amusing compound of Yankee dialect, Southern peculiarity and Irish blarney; "him and me" said this or that one, "I done it" and various phrases of this sort and images drawn from the measure and location of land purchased, and figures drawn from boating and river navigation were often served up in the speeches of the time.

An extract from the inaugural address delivered to the Cincinnati Pioneer Association on February 24, 1859, by its president, Nicholas Longworth, gives an insight not only into fees of lawyers in the early days, but as to the local methods and also the values of real estate. Mr. Longworth after some sarcastic comments on lawyers' fees in modern times says that in the earlier days Jacob Burnet "labored to the best of his abilities for five dollars a case in the Common Pleas, eight dollars in the Supreme Court and in slander suits sixteen dollars with no commission on money collected." He was not always fortunate in collecting even these small fees, as the following story told by Mr. Longworth will illustrate: "A farmer living near town was indicted for stealing an iron wedge of the value of twenty-five cents, the punishment being thirty lashes on the bare back which you might call a fraction over one per cent and rather severe considering the easy times rogues now have. At the trial Mr. Burnet had the prisoner's wife seated by him, a genteel interesting lady and two of his daughters of great beauty with her. The evidence was positive but Mr. Burnet denied the veracity of the witnesses. He told the jury to look at the prisoner, his wife and daughters and asked if it was creditable that a farmer the husband of such a wife and the father of such daughters could be guilty of stealing a twenty-five cent wedge subjecting him to public whipping at the post and his family to everlasting disgrace? This made the wife and daughters shed floods of tears. The hearts of the jury were melted and without leaving the box they returned a verdict of not guilty. For his well earned fee, Mr. Burnet took his client's note for ten dollars. After waiting a year for payment, he gave it with other fee notes to a magistrate who was in the office and put in suit. In those days if a defendant denied his signature to a note it must be proved or he would nonsuit you. The farmer denied his signature to the note in question. I was present when this was reported to Mr. Burnet by the magistrate who also informed him that a judgment of nonsuit had been entered. 'Nonsuit me! Denied his signature! The rascal! I am satisfied now that he stole the wedge.'"

In connection with this anecdote, Mr. Longworth told the following oft-repeated tale: "A newcomer here was indicted for stealing a horse.

He had no copper pennies, but he had a second-hand copper whiskey still and horse (not the one stolen). He had left them at the tavern of Joel Williams (we had no hotels in those days). He offered me my choice to take the horse or still for my fee. A fair presumption was that both might be stolen and the horse most likely to be recovered and I am compelled to admit that this crossed my mind but I gave him not this reason but one that excited his gratitude and caused him to sqeeze my hand. I told him that I would take the still and leave him the horse for a reason greatly to his benefit, —that if he succeeded in getting his acquittal he could run away on the horse but could not on the still. He was acquitted, mounted the horse and did not even wait to bid the jailer goodbye. I went to Williams' Tavern to get the still. He told me he could not part with it, that he had built a whiskey distillery and I must sell it to him for fourteen and a half acres of ground in the city on Western row south of Eighth street. He was a brother Jerseyman and I consented. The ground is now worth if vacant only seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It would be an error to suppose that in those times of low fees the eloquence of the bar was at a low figure."

Another real estate transaction which failed was described as follows: "When I tried to purchase of our leading citizen Jacob Burnet on credit his cow pasture for five thousand dollars of thirty-two acres, for which he paid eight hundred dollars, he refused my offer saying 'What would be its operation on my character. They would say in our native town of Newark, New Jersey, that you came here to study law under my care and the first thing I did was to make you a slave for life by saddling you with a debt you could never pay for a piece of property good for nothing but pasture or to raise corn.'

"Judge Burnet had no rival at the bar and no lawyer's character ranked higher. By the failure of the old Miami Bank and the factory he had aided, the Judge lost a heavy sum and was obliged to sell the square his residence was on and had but little left but his eight hundred dollar purchase trade. The family still own a large part of it. The cow pasture is now worth two millions, four hundred thousand dollars."

THE POST OFFICE.

Dr. Drake tells us that Major Ruffin, who was postmaster for the town, performed all the duties of the office with his own hands and that the great Eastern mail was then brought once a week from Maysville, Kentucky, in a pair of saddle-bags. Major Ruffin unfortunately did not succeed in his business pursuits and was afterwards elected sheriff of the county for several terms. He was one of the most popular officials ever in the service of the town and the county and died in 1834, having earned the respect of the whole community after a long and useful life. During his incumbency the service was much improved. In 1799 a mail route was established between this place and "Chelicotha" and in 1800 we are informed by the newspaper that the post route had been opened between Louisville and Kaskaskia and another between Nashville and Natchez. There was but one mail route through the Miami country itself and this passed through Hamilton, Franklin, Dayton and as far north as Stanton, a town on the east bank of the Miami opposite the site of the present town of Troy, thence through Urbana, Yellow Springs and Lebanon back to Cincinnati. Afterwards it was reversed, starting by way of Lebanon and returning by Hamilton but touching at the same points. There was then no post office west of the Miami River. (McBride's Pioneer Biography.)

"In 1808-09 Peter Williams had contracts for carrying the mails between Louisville and Cincinnati, Cincinnati and Lexington, Cincinnati and Chillicothe, and Cincinnati and Greenville, in Darke County. All these contracts were performed with packhorses through the dense forests and along the 'blazed' tracks or paths which, in those days, were called roads. The trip from Cincinnati to Louisville was generally performed in about two weeks' time. The provender for the horses had frequently to be carried along, it being impossible to procure any on the way. So of the other routes to the different places named—everywhere through the grand, dense forests, filled with wild game of all kinds. Our informant recollects many rude incidents which occurred on many trips he, as a boy, made with his father, and afterwards by himself, as he became older, to Chillicothe, Greenville, Louisville, etc. Mr. Williams retained these mail contracts up to 1821, using packhorses during the whole time, and only releasing them on the advent of the stage-coach, owners of which could afford to carry the mails at about one-half the price he was getting. In those early days the packhorse was the only way in which supplies of every kind could be transported any distance; and Mr. Williams distinctly remembers

that his father possessed the only wagon in the country around Cincinnati, and that, being of no use, was suffered to rot down in the barn." (*Cincinnati Commercial,* quoted in Ford's Cincinnati, p. 363.)

Among the mail carriers employed by Mr. Williams was Samuel Lewis, who afterwards became one of the city's most useful residents and the first superintendent of public schools in the State of Ohio. To Mr. Lewis it will be remembered it is largely due the founding of both Woodward and Hughes high schools. In his biography published by his son, William G. W. Lewis, is given some account of his life as a post-boy.

"After working a short time upon the farm, he was employed in carrying the United States mail—for which Mr. Williams had a contract at that time. His route was at first from Cincinnati to Williamsburgh, and afterward from the latter point to Chillicothe. This work often required seven days and two nights in the week, making the labor very severe. In addition to this, the creeks and small rivers along the route were to be forded, bridges at that period being out of the question. This was all done on horseback. The routes covered most of the country east of Cincinnati to the Scioto River at Chillicothe, and southward of this to the Ohio River, including Maysville, Kentucky.

"Over some of these streams, during high water, it was necessary to swim the horse; while often the attempt was accompanied with much danger. At one time, being compelled to swim his horse, he had secured the mail-bag, as he supposed, and commenced crossing the stream, swimming himself and leading the horse. When nearly over, the mail-bag, from some cause, became unloosed and floated off. His horse was first to be secured, and then the mail. Its recovery and the renewal of his journey would have been speedy, but he was struck by a floating log in the water, and severely injured. Making his way with extreme difficulty to the shore, he succeeded in mounting his horse, and continuing his journey to the next town, which he reached completely drenched and exhausted, and where he remained for some days before he was able to renew his round. The accident unfitted him for his employment for the time, and when he returned to Cincinnati, he was occupied with other labor."

Major Ruffin was succeeded by Rev. William Burke some time in the year 1814. Mr. Mansfield gives us a somewhat striking view of this well known citizen who was postmaster during the time covered by his reminiscences. He tells us that Burke was a Southern man and had many of the prejudices of the South. "He seemed to have lost his voice and always spoke low and in guttural tones. He was always chewing tobacco and being a postmaster was always a Democrat. He was a strong Methodist and seemed an amiable man." Burke remained in office for over a quarter of a century until by the death of Harrison, Tyler became president and President Harrison's son-in-law, W. H. H. Taylor, was appointed to the office. He removed the office from Ruffin's Corner to Main street above Columbia or Second street and a little later to Main street on the west side above Fourth. In the Directory of 1819 it appears at No. 157 Main street. The assistant postmaster for many years under Burke was Elam P. Langdon. The Post Office was the center of interest, particularly from the fact that in connection with it Mr. Langdon kept up the Cincinnati Reading Room, where could be seen the leading news and literary journals of this country as well as many foreign publications. Many citizens congregated here and strangers who came to town were made heartily welcome. According to Dr. Drake, the mails in 1815 were but nine a week. Some seventy different newspapers and periodicals were taken at the office, aggregating three hundred and fifty sheets a week and also a large number of public documents.

That there was serious complaint as to the efficiency of the postal service is apparent from a notice inserted in *Liberty Hall* of November 15, 1814, calling for a meeting of citizens who had been aggrieved by the injuries and neglect of the general mail department. This meeting was held at the Columbian Inn at four o'clock on the afternoon of the following day. O. M. Spencer was chairman and Samuel W. Davies, secretary, and a long series of resolutions, 11 in number, were adopted. Resolutions were to the effect that the notorious delays and abuses in bringing forward the mails, particularly the

Eastern mails from Chillicothe, were the result of the authorities not being in possession of accurate information and the contempt and neglect of the former Postmaster General or the clerk in office. A committee of 15, including Jeremiah Neave, Jacob Burnet, Jesse Hunt, O. M. Spencer, Daniel Drake, Solomon Langdon, Martin Baum, Samuel W. Davies, Samuel C. Vance, George P. Torrence, William Ruffin, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., Daniel Symmes, James Findlay and J. S. Gano, were appointed to correspond with their representatives in Washington on the subject,—with what degree of success is not now easy to ascertain.

THE WATER SUPPLY.

Considerable improvement was made in the matter of water supply during this time. In 1806 one William Gibson carted around water in a cask. Another water carter was Samuel Arthur. Eleven years later Jesse Reeder built a tank on the bank of the river near Ludlow street where by means of elevators assisted by horse power he raised the water and sold it to the carts. By the ordinance of March 31, 1817, the exclusive privilege of conveying water by tubes or otherwise from the Ohio River to the streets, lanes and alleys and commons of the town was vested in the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company for a term of 99 years. The company was required to complete the work so far as conveying water into that part of the town lying south of Third street commonly called the Bottom by July 1, 1819. It was to convey the water into that part of the town lying north of Third street commonly called the Hill so that the same might be delivered three feet above the first floor of James Ferguson's kitchen in the Second Ward of said town within another year. Water was to be taken from the reservoirs and conductors whenever necessary to extinguish fires and for this purpose the company was required to provide a fire plug for each square. The company was permitted to dig in the streets, alleys, lanes and commons of the town for the purpose of sinking their conductors and to demand from citizens who used the water such sums as they might agree upon. The rights of the company were not subject to forfeiture because of any temporary interruption in the supply. During the time covered by the lease, the franchise was to be an exclusive one. For this valuable concession the company was to pay the sum of $100 a year, which money was to be appropriated for the purpose of extinguishing fires.

By an ordinance passed the following year the time limit for the completion of the work in the Bottom was extended a year. The company whose principal business was the manufacturing of woolen goods expected to throw the water by a steam engine into a reservoir on a hill 200 feet above the river from which it was to be conveyed in aqueducts to different parts of the city. The expense it was thought would exceed $100,000. Work was commenced very shortly afterwards and a reservoir 40 by 30 feet and six feet deep was excavated on the hillside and two frame buildings erected on the bank, one to the north and the other to the south of Front street. The lifting pump was placed in the building on the south side of Front street and carried the water into a tank on the north side of Front, whence it was forced into the reservoir which was a little southwest of the present one. The work, however, did not progress rapidly enough to give any accommodation to the people during this period and it was not until after the incorporation of the city that any but the most primitive methods of supplying water were in use.

Reeder's appliance stood until the fire of May 7, 1829. (An elaborate history of the Water Works is contained in the City Water Works Report for 1880, found in the Cincinnati Annual Reports, 1880, pp. 463-519.)

FIRE AND POLICE PROTECTION.

Provisions against fire have been partly described in the extracts from Dr. Drake's book. A meeting of citizens held July 14, 1802, at the new Court House on Fifth and Main, already referred to had made the provision of $12 for six fire ladders and the same amount for as many fire hooks. Mention is made of the purchase, on September 3, 1807, of two hand engines, one to be used in the Bottom and one on the Hill. It seems difficult to trace the source of this statement. From the account in the first directory quoted hereafter it will appear that very little was accomplished in the way of fire prevention during this period.

The Select Council discussed the purchase of an engine in the year 1808 and a meeting was

called for the purpose. An association called the Union Fire Company was formed and included in its membership nearly the entire male element of the city. The engine proved very unsatisfactory and the organization of the company was even worse and as a result it soon dropped out of sight. In July, 1808, the Cincinnati Fire Bucket Company was organized. Its apparatus consisted of a large willow basket placed on a large four-wheel truck and containing leather fire buckets. The whole affair was about ten feet long and six feet high. Each householder was required by ordinance to keep two of these fire buckets in a conspicuous place on his premises. The headquarters of the company were on the north side of Fourth opposite the site of the present St. Paul Bulding.

An interesting relic preserved in the relic room of the present department is the old fire drum which dates from the year 1808. This gigantic drum five feet high with a circumference of sixteen feet five inches and heads five feet four inches in diameter was used until as late as 1824 to call the citizens to fires. The principal part of the town at that time was east of Walnut and along the river. In a field about where the end of the esplanade facing Walnut street now stands was a one-story frame bulding which was used as a carpenter shop. The drum was placed on the roof of this house, where it could be reached by any citizen desiring to give an alarm. A ladder in the rear of the house extended to the roof and furnished the means of access to this novel fire alarm. As the city grew, even a drum of these magnificent proportions was insufficient for the purpose and the more penetrating noise of the bell was substituted in its place. The principal one used was the bell of the Presbyterian Church at the corner of Fourth and Main, which it is said could be distinctly heard for miles along Reading road. This bell was used for fire purposes until about 1845. When the drum was abandoned, in 1824, it was placed in a hay press at the southeast corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. Here it was found in later years by an old painter, a former fire warden, named Oliver Lovell. He took it to his home and used it as an oat bin. Eventually it was discovered in his stable by some members of the old volunteer fire department and was taken possession of and has been preserved to the present day.

In 1810 the Washington Company, No. 1, was organized as an outgrowth of the Union Fire Company. Three years later the purchase of an engine was authorized by the Council, but although the tax was levied for this purpose the engine was not bought until 1816. It was purchased by Gen. John S. Gano and was put in charge of the company known as the Relief Fire Company, No. 2. Fortunately at this time fires were quite infrequent and the necessity for better fire-fighting facilities was not impressed upon the minds of the citizens. (History of the Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 55.)

The provision as to fire buckets and requirements as to attendance upon fires by all citizens are given in the quotations from Drake. (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 139.)

The discontent concerning the fire department seemed general. A fire at the brewery of Davis Embree which occurred February 12, 1815, impressed upon the public the necessity for a better department. Says *Liberty Hall*: "On this subject a reform is indeed indispensable. Another and better engine should be procured—rival companies should be organized, and their officers invested with power to press into active service or disperse the mob of knaves, fools and gentlemen who generally press round our fires and look up with the smiling and idiot gaze which they would bestow on a flight of rockets." Despite this pessimistic statement, the same issue contains a card from Mr. Embree presenting his grateful acknowledgement to his fellow citizens for their exertions in saving his property and stating that "on this occasion they evinced conduct which would do credit to the best organized fire companies."

Police protection was not much better. An ordinance establishing a night watch was passed March 29, 1803, as a result of a severe fire a few nights before. By its provisions, the poll was to be taken of all citizens of the town above the age of 21 years who were to be divided into classes of 12 men each who should serve as watchmen in rotation. From each set of 12 men one was chosen as the officer of the night. This patrol was divided into two sets who took turns in watching and guarding the town "by walking to and fro through the streets thereof in a quiet peaceable manner." Substitutes were permitted, provided that the substitute was a strong, able,

discreet, sober man of 21 years of age and upwards. The houses of Hugh McCullum and David J. Poor were designated as watch houses. If any man refused to act as a commander of the watch, he was subject to a fine of $10 and any one who refused to watch was fined $5. Any person insulting a patrolman on duty was subject to a fine of $20. The watch carried a watchman's rattle and large perforated tin lanterns. Their duties were not severe as the public generally retired at about nine o'clock and after that there was but little heard on the streets, except the hourly call of the patrolman.

John Palmer, who visited Cincinnati in 1817, says: "The police of the city are respectable; they have however no lamps or watch nor do they need any. We boarded in the heart of the town and our doors were mostly open night or day. Theft is very rare; the lowest character seemed above it." As the city at this time extended but from the river to Sixth street and from Broadway to Walnut with a few outlying houses it was not difficult to patrol the entire district. Any violations of ordinances were tried before the president of the Council, who acted as mayor.

In 1817 the guard consisted of a captain and six subordinates who were appointed by the Council. The captain's duty was to see that the watchmen kept the street lamps trimmed and lighted them about dusk. The watchmen were required to repair to the watch house at nine o'clock, where they continued under the captain's command until daylight. Any person found abroad after ten o'clock at night in commission of an unlawful act was to be taken before the captain, who could hold the prisoner until morning, at which time he was to appear before the mayor.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE TOWN OF CINCINNATI (1802-1819)—III.

SOCIAL LIFE, AMUSEMENTS, CELEBRATIONS AND NEWSPAPERS.

The Social Life of the Town as Described by Mansfield, Coppin, Mrs. Young, Flint, Longworth, Dr. Drake and Others—Invitations—St. Cecilia Society and Social Reading Party—Amateur Theatricals—The Shellbark Theatre—The Thespian Corps—The Pittsburg Company—Cincinnati Harmonical Society—The African Ape and the Cassowara—Gaston's Fireworks—Mr. and Mrs. Perez—Fourth of July Celebrations—The Newspapers of the Town—Notices and Advertisements.

The Social Life of the Town.

It is difficult of course after the lapse of many years to form any accurate conclusion as to the manners of a time already a century passed. The contemporary accounts are necessarily more or less colored by the people met by the writer. That there was a charming social life during the period of existence as a town is clear from the statements quoted from Drake, Mansfield or more especially from the visitors from abroad. This social life was undoubtedly of the simplest character and it is clear that luxury and display in dress were almost unknown. The passage already quoted from Drake's lecture, referring to the state of society about the year 1800, of course applies as well to that of a few years later. There was, however, a change which became manifest very shortly before the settlement entered upon its town life. During the years before, the military element predominated and the unfortunate excesses to which the soldiery were prone at that time necessarily affected the whole community. After the wars had terminated and the fort ceased to be a post of importance, this influence became of less consequence. Drake, speaking of a later time, tells us that the inhabitants,—in the main mechanics,—were temperate in their habits. Wealth was pretty evenly distributed and there was not very much luxury or extravagance. The traveler Ashe, writing of Cincinnati in 1806, received from the people in general a favorable impression. They were orderly, decent, sociable, liberal and unassuming. Some of the citizens he thought were of special worth and he mentions a number of names of distinction. Mansfield, writing some years afterwards in his life of Drake, describes the town of about the same period. The list of names given by him leaves no doubt as to the charm of the social life of the community.

MANSFIELD.

"Cincinnati was then emerging out of a village existence into that, not of a city, but of a town. In 1806 it was but a small and dirty county-town. But about that time commenced a career of growth and success which is unequalled in history. Such success, notwithstanding all natural advances, is always due as much to the mind and energy of the citizens as to all physical causes. If we look to the young men then as-

sociated with Dr. Drake and to the older citizens whom I have already mentioned, it will be found that no young place in America has gathered to itself a greater amount of personal energy and intellectual ability. I have named among the pioneers the St. Clairs, Symmeses, Burnets, Ganos, Findlays, Goforths and Oliver M. Spencer. In the class of young men, about 1806-7, were John McLean, now Supreme judge; Thomas S. Jessup, now quartermaster-general; Joseph G. Totten, now general of engineers; Ethan A. Brown, afterwards Governor, judge and canal commissioner; George Cutler, now colonel in the army; Mr. Sill, since member of Congress from Erie, Pennsylvania; Joseph Crane, afterwards judge; Judge Torrence, Dr. Drake, Nicholas Longworth, Peyton S. Symmes, David Wade, Samuel Perry, Joseph Pierce, a poet of decided talent; Mr. Armstrong and John F. Mansfield.

"The last two died early—the former, a young man of great ability, and the latter of distinguished scientific attainments and high promise. Such a circle of young men would grace any rising town, and impart to its mind and character a tone of energy and a spirit of ambition."

COPPIN.

Another reminiscence of this period is given in the inaugural address by Joseph Coppin, delivered before the Pioneer Association in 1880. His account of the costumes of that time is a little bit surprising:

"We had plenty of snow, but no pleasure sleighs; so the old pioneers thought that they must have a ride, and they procured a large canoe or pirogue, with a skiff attached behind and seated for the ladies. To this pirogue-sleigh were hitched ten horses, with ten boy-riders to guide them, the American flag flying, two fiddlers, two flute-players, and Dr. Stall as captain. They did not forget to pass the 'old black Betty,' filled with good old peach brandy, among the old pioneers, and wine for the lady pioneers —God bless them! And here they went it, merrily singing 'Gee-o, Dobbin; Dobbin, gee-o!' When the riding ended, both old and young pioneers wound up the sport with a ball—linsey woolsey dresses in place of silk on ladies, many buckskin suits on pioneer men, and moccasins on their feet in place of shoes."

Possibly this scene is the subject of the remarkable sketch printed by Dr. A. E. Jones, showing the amusements of the early aristocracy of the city. (Early Days of Cincinnati, opp. p. 70.)

MRS. YOUNG.

Mr. Coppin's description, however, is borne out to some extent by a letter of Mrs. Barbara Young, the widow of Philip Young, to the Pioneer Association. She came to Cincinnati with her husband as a young bride in 1811.

The party came down the river in the customary flat-boat. When they landed, Dr. Daniel Drake came aboard, took them on shore and escorted them to the Columbian Inn, kept by Mrs. Willis, near the corner of Columbia and Main streets. This hotel at that time, says Mrs. Young, was quite a fashionable place and a great many citizens of the pioneer race boarded there. "I well remember while we were boarding at this house how we were all awoke by the distant sound of thunder, the shaking of the houses and the terror of the villagers frightened out of their wits at what was afterwards discovered to be an earthquake. Cincinnati at this time was a small town of four thousand or five thousand inhabitants. Front street was the only one then called a business street, built up of log houses with here and there a frame one, from Broadway to Walnut street. Where the best part of the city now is (1816) was a forest with a clearing here and there with a few log cabins scattered about. The most refined and wealthy, or nearly all, wore what was called homespun or Kentucky jeans, and the linsey woolsey of the country. Few wore broadcloth, linen or cotton goods. Every kind of imported goods such as silks, dry goods, coffee, tea and so on was very high, while flour, corn and other products and game and meats of all kinds cost but a trifle. This great difference in prices was owing to the difficulties of transportation. This was before the time of steamboats."

FLINT.

Whatever may be the fact as to the dress of this period, there seems to be no doubt as to the cordiality of the inhabitants. It was about this time that Timothy Flint came to live in Cincinnati and in his "Recollections" he speaks with enthusiasm of his reception in this town sixteen hundred miles from the sea: "In no part of the old Continent that I have visited are strangers treated with more attention, politeness, and respect than in Cincinnati; and where, indeed, can an Englishman forget that he is not at home,

except in the United States? In most other regions he must forego many early habits, prejudices, and propensities, and accommodate himself to others, perhaps diametrically opposite; he must disguise or conceal his religious or political opinions; must forget his native language and acquire fluency in another before he can make even his wants known or his wishes understood; but here the same language and fashion as in his own prevail in every State; indeed, it is necessary for him to declare himself a foreigner, to be known as such, and I have always found this declaration a passport to increased attention and kindness; for every man in this land of freedom enjoys his opinions unmolested. Not having the slightest intention of stopping at any town on my way to New York, I was without any introductions; but this deficiency by no means prevented my receiving the usual benefit of the hospitality of the inhabitants, which was such as to induce us at first to remain a few days, and ultimately, probably, to end our lives with them." (Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years, p. 59.)

The language of the traveler, John Palmer, is very much to the same effect. The manners of most of the inhabitants he found social and refined. Many cultivated the fine arts, painting, engraving and music. The dress of the inhabitants he tells us was much in the English fashion. In summer many of both sexes wore domestic or home manufactured ginghams, and straw hats. Gentlemen, and many tradesmen, wore superfine cloth coats; blue and black were the prevailing colors. The ladies dressed elegantly in muslin, short-waisted gowns, vandyked frill or ruffle round the neck, and an English cottage or French straw hat. When about their household concerns, they wore a large, long, peaked hat, to defend their features from the swarthing influence of the sun and air.

LONGWORTH.

Mr. Longworth tells us that all the town came to see the first carpet laid down west of the mountains. Deacon Wade, who wore a wool hat during the week and a fur hat to church on Sundays, rejoiced in an ingrain carpet, window curtains and fine rush-seat chairs in the parlor. "A traveller from New York was standing at his door one afternoon gazing on the beautiful sunset that filled the sky with purple, crimson and gold, and upon the beautiful river flowing by amid hills clothed with the native forest in its fullest green. Turning to the Deacon he broke forth in a rhapsody of admiration on the grandeur of the view before him and said that at New York city we have no views to compare with this. 'Are you fond of beautiful parlors and furniture,' said the Deacon, and flung open the front door of his parlor and pointing to his red and yellow carpet, bright curtains and painted chairs, he said, 'Have you parlors in your city superior to this?'" Mr. Longworth boarded with Deacon Wade at that time and paid the high board of two dollars a week. At that time he tells us that mutton sold in the market for 10 cents a hind quarter and the butchers after ten o'clock cut off the tallow and threw the quarters at each other's heads. Corn was 12 cents a bushel.

The writer of the "Recollections of Cincinnati, 1817-1821," already quoted, gives some impressions of the social life of the town at the time of his residence. He tells us that the prominent men of the city included Judge Burnet, General Findlay, Doctor Drake, Martim Baum, Jesse Hunt, David Kilgour, John H. Piatt, General Gano, General Lytle, Judge Brown, Judge Burke, James Keys, Hugh Glenn, Judge Torrence, Nicholas Longworth, Mr. Irving, Samuel Perry and Joseph Perry, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., Oliver M. Spencer, Mr. Riddle, William Barr, Colonel Davis, Mr. Stone, Mr. Vance, Col. William Piatt, Mr. Oliver, and Thomas Sloo, Jr. He met Bishop Chase at the table of Mr. Burnet. "He was then comparatively young, with an agreeable countenance, and a stout, portly person and none of the supercilious air of a bishop about him. He had no objection to a good dinner or a glass of wine. His address was dignified, but easy; his manners stately but pleasing. He had been accustomed to good society, was even fond of a joke, and would have been witty had he dared, and came nearer the writer's idea of a well-bred and well-fed English bishop than any dignitary of the church he had yet seen." He dined at Mr. Kilgour's and the impression made upon him at that time seems to have been a marked one. "Talk of the *back woods!* said I myself, after dining with Mr. Kilgour,—by the beard of Jupiter I have never seen anything east of the mountains to be compared with the luxuries of that table! The costly dinner service,—the splendid cut glass,—the rich wines,—the sumptuous dinner itself! Talk to me no more of the *back woods*, said I—these people live in the style of princes. I did not, however, like my friend St. Clair, after a great dinner at Find-

lay's, mistake my longitude in the dark, and walk off the bank into the river! But I marched off most heroically, over the stones, and through the puddles, repeating to myself at every step—talk to me no more about the *back woods!*—talk to me no more about the *back woods!* always emphasizing the last two words—and before I reached home, setting the line to music, and repeating it, like the chorus of an old ballad. I never after looked at the keen eye, the tall form, or hard hickory features of my friend Kilgour, without thinking of *that dinner!*"

DR. DRAKE.

Probably no better account of this as well as all other aspects of the life of the settlement can be given than that of Dr. Drake. In his "Picture of Cincinnati" he gives the following statement of the state of society at that time (1815):

"This cannot, of course, be pourtrayed with the same facility and exactness as in older communities. The people of the Miami country, may in part be characterized, as industrious, frugal, temperate, patriotic and religious; with as much intelligence, and more enterprise, than the families from which they were detached.

"In Cincinnati the population is more compounded, and the constant addition of emigrants from numerous countries, in varying proportions, must for many years render nugatory all attempts at a faithful portraiture. There is no State in the Union which has not enriched our town with some of its more enterprising or restless citizens; nor a kingdom of the west of Europe whose adventurous or desperate exiles are not commingled with us. To Kentucky, and the states north of Virginia—to England, Ireland, Germany, Scotland, France and Holland, we are most indebted.

"Among such a variety, but few points of coincidence are to be expected. Those which at present can be perceived, are industry, temperance, morality, and love of gain. With a population governed by such habits and principles, the town must necessarily advance in improvements at a rapid rate. This, in turn, excites emulation, and precludes the idleness which generates prodigality and vice. Wealth is moreover pretty equally distributed, and the prohibition of slavery diffuses labor—while the disproportionate immigration of young men, with the facility of obtaining sustenance, leads to frequent and hasty marriages, and places many females in the situation of matrons, who would of necessity be servants in older countries. The rich being thus compelled to labor, find but little time for indulgence in luxury and extravagance; their ostentation is restricted, and industry is made to become a characteristic virtue.

"It need scarcely be added, that we have as yet no epidemic amusements among us. Cards were fashionable in town for several years after the Indian war that succeeded its settlement; but it seems they have been since banished from the genteeler circles, and are harbored only in the vulgar *grog shop* or the nocturnal *gaming room.* Dancing is not infrequent among the wealthier classes; but is never carried to excess. Theatrical exhibitions, both by *amateurs* and *itinerants,* have occurred at intervals for a dozen years; and a society of young townsmen have lately erected a temporary wooden playhouse, in which they have themselves performed. But as the tendency of their institution to encourage *strollers* and engross time, has been deprecated by the more religious portion of our citizens; and as the members have failed to realize their anticipations, with regard to the accumulation of a fund for the relief of indigence, they will be likely soon to relinquish the pursuit, and leave their stage and its trappings to some future votaries of Thespis. During the winter, select parties are frequently assembled; at which the current amusements are social converse, singing and recitation—the latter of which has been lately predominant. Juvenile plays and diversions are sometimes resorted to; which are generally such as promote a rational exercise of the mental faculties. Sleigh riding and skating are rarely enjoyed, on account of the lightness and instability of the snow and ice. Sailing for pleasure on the Ohio is but seldom practiced; and riding out of town for recreation, on horseback or in carriages, is rather uncommon, for want of better roads. Evening walks are more habitual, in which the river bank and adjacent hills—the *Columbian garden*—and the *mound,* at the *west end,* are the principal resorts." (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 166.)

INVITATIONS.

In the collection of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio at Cincinnati are a number of invitations, cards and other souvenirs which reflect upon the social life of that time. The names attached to the following are of sufficient public interest to warrant their being included here:

The honor of Miss Goforth's Company is requested at a Tea party to be given at Mr. Yeatman's on Tuesday the 27th Inst. (next Tuesday).

A. Burt
O. M. Spencer } *Managers.*

The honor of Mrs. Findlay's company is solicited at a Ball, on Friday evening the 4th inst. at 7 o'clock, P. M. at Griffin Yeatman's Hotel.

D. Ziegler
E. Stone
E. Cutler
N. Longworth } *Managers.*

July 1st, 1806.

INDEPENDENCE BALL.

The honor of Mrs. S——'s company is solicited at a Ball to be held at the Columbian Inn, on Friday evening next, at 7 o'clock, in the commemoration of the Birthday of American Independence.

MANAGERS.

Francis Carr, I. C. Scott,
P. A. Sprigman, T. C. Baker,
N. Longworth, W. Irwin, Jr.
June 30, 1812.

The advertisements of these cotillions are a regular feature of the newspapers. They seem to have been held for many years at the hotels of the town. For instance, on April 1, 1816, appears the notice that the Cincinnati Cotillion Assembly will hold their next party at General Wingate's hotel. Two weeks later appears the advertisement:

A CARD.

"Come and trip as you go
On the light fantastic toe."

The ladies of Cincinnati are respectfully informed that the last party of the

CINCINNATI COTILLION ASSEMBLY

will be held This Evening, at the Hotel; where it is hoped they will gratify the Subscribers by affording them the honor of a general attendance.

The Gentlemen will be good enough to leave their names at the Bar, when the tickets are obtained—which will greatly add in the settlement of the club.

L. W.
P. S. S. } *Managers.*

Monday Morning, April 15, 1816.

The writer of "Recollections of Cincinnati, 1817-1821," tells us that at that time the hotel life was an important feature of the town. The hotel at which many of the most prominent citizens lived fronted the river and was a spacious building for those days. It was well kept and for two-thirds of the year full to overflowing. At the time of his arrival there were fifty to one hundred at the table daily and among other things that attracted his attention was the great quantity of liquors placed upon the dinner table and the small quantity that was actually drank—not one in twenty touching or meddling with the matter at all. A principal topic of conversation in all places was the public lands, the price and the quality, the choice of location, tracts, quarter sections, entries and the like.

This writer also gives vivid pen pictures of Judge Burnet, General Findlay, Martin Baum, John H. Piatt, James Keys, Thomas Sloo, Jr., Nicholas Longworth and Hugh Glenn and William M. Worthington.

The reviewer of Dr. Drake's book in the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of April 1, 1816, comments at length on the Doctor's remarks on the state of society.

"An exact portrait of the manners and customs of this place, would, it is true, be almost a hopeless undertaking. But we are made out, so far as our author is conversant, to be, on the whole, a very moral and religious people. This opinion, however, as he says, is predicated on what appears only on the surface. He has never joined in the midnight orgies of our bacchanalian revellers; nor probed the bosoms of our abandoned profligates. Of these we are unqualified, even ourselves, to speak.——But in so new a spot, whose citizens are made up of all nations, and colors, and tongues, it can scarcely be supposed that the very cream of human nature should be accumulated,—or at best, that some unseemly dregs should not have come in to defile the mixture. These, however, as the Doctor implies, sink for the most part to the bottom; and can therefore but partially be given to the world, without diving into the lower regions of society, where they are to be found.

"With respect to Cards, we are not sure that our author is entirely accurate;—tho they have happily fallen into much greater opprobrium than formerly. Nor are we certain that our 'fair towns-women' never carry the amusements of the Ballroom to excess. We confess indeed we should shrink at the idea of becoming responsible for all the vexatious colds that are taken thro the medium of that polite accomplishment. One reason, we believe, why public Balls have not been more frequent, is the general dread, among all but striplings, to assume the office of manager:—and what is not a little to the discredit of our beaux, we are gravely informed that it is the difficulty of collecting the club that has for the most part created the aversion. This, we would fain hope, is an exaggerated charge;—but we believe it is too true, that an unwar-

rantable delay in these matters, does full often occur. The want of a suitable room, however, is a principal impediment.

"The 'frequent and hasty marriages' mentioned by the Doctor have very happily occurred this winter, and confirm his statement; and, indeed they have lately happened in such quick and gallant succession as almost to warrant a confidence in the effects which have been so long attributed to the reversing rights of leap year!—In the article of sleighriding, too, we have far exceeded the stated limits,—as during our late Christmas holidays, the horses & sliding vehicles of our citizens were in almost continual requisition; and so great was the furor for this fascinating amusement, that the rate of 30 dollars per diem was allowed for their use."

ST. CECILIA SOCIETY AND SOCIAL READING PARTY.

The reviewer tells us also of two new organizations which counted very much in a social way. These were the St. Cecilia Society and the Social Reading Party. The first of these was devoted to the delightful strains of the piano and the improvement and practice of its fair votaries in the 'witching powers of song. There seem to have been churlish critics who looked much upon the expertness and modulations of the voice and fingers but "there are enow left in the world who will always be capable of feeling and admiring the influence of music." It was thought that the St. Cecilian band was calculated to attune the soul to social sympathy and unite in harmonious concord the families at whose houses the meetings were alternately held. The Reading Party was composed in the main of ladies, although there were enough gentlemen to divide up the offices equally between the sexes. Its purpose was the promotion of literary taste as well as social relaxation. One of the principal subjects of study was English grammar and each entertainment closed with a recitation. The reviewer also ventures to comment upon the subject which still excites the criticism of many of the male persuasion: "Amid all these agreeable emotions, however, with regard to the most interesting part of creation we cannot (and at the same time 'trust we have good consciences') pass over without a protest against the fashionable, and ofttimes torturing bondage which so many of them are content to endure. We need hardly add that we allude to the health and shape destroying use of the Corsets, which have, like the yellow fever, been imported into America; and which with the similar tendency are only unequal in the number of their victims. What a pity that almost deities in shape, and only short of angels in perfection, should be content to disfigure the person and destroy the life created by Omnipotence—merely to pay homage to the changing idol, Fashion!

"Scarcely a month passes over, without wafting to us the news of some tight-laced damsel who was constrained to faint; or some hopeless votary who has untimely expired, at the shrine of the infernal Demon of Corsets."

The prevailing love of gain was also a subject of reprobation in those early days as at present. Another grievance was the lack of good servants and the matrons were told they must be content to labor on, because no adequate assistance could be had. The writer hastens to disarm any suspicion that he is advocating slavery and concludes (the same old story) "but we yet think that with a little more humility on the part of the maid, and a little more gentleness on the part of the mistress, the present unpopularity of the office of domestic assistant might in some measure be reduced."

AMATEUR THEATRICALS.

Still furnished considerable of the amusement for the people and we hear that in June, 1808, a special performance was given by the Thespians for the benefit of the fire company. Dr. Drake's prowess as an actor has been already referred to. The Harmonical Society furnished many of the amateurs and formed a brass band for the orchestra of the entertainments. Other actors besides those already mentioned were Ethan A. Brown, General Findlay, the attorneys Rawlins and Wade as well as Nicholas Longworth. The receipts were to be given for the Public Library but were finally used for building the Lower Market.

Mr. Longworth describes the earlier drama of pioneer days as follows: "Then an ambitious band of Thespians on a stage in Griffin Yeatman's stable occasionally acted plays for the benefit of the public and their own glorification and amusement. Our leading citizens were actors in men's and women's attire. Griffin Yeatman's tavern sign was a square in compass. I performed the part of Mungo in those days and recollect two lines of a prologue:

'To call in customers we make a rumpus,
You can't mistake the sign its Yeatman's square and compass.'

"This is the performance of 'The Poor Gentle-

man' at the opening of which General Findlay delivered an address. Major Ziegler dressed in cock hat and knee breeches with sword in hand was the doorkeeper."

This was in 1806. Arthur St. Clair, Jr., in his testimony in the Vattier case in 1807 mentions a series of three performances by a Mr. Smith in Vattier's stable in August, 1805. Afterwards he with several others formed the Thespian Corps which performed several times till Christmas or the beginning of the year 1806. The room over Vattier's stable was the most spacious one in town and it was during a Thespian performance in this loft that General Findlay's office was robbed. It was usual with the people of taste, said St. Clair, to frequent the theatre on play nights.

THE SHELLBARK THEATRE.

In 1814 the Shellbark Theatre so-called, which was a circus enclosure on Main below Fourth, was the scene of action. Among the performers at this time were Griffin Taylor, E. Webb, Joseph Thomas, William Douglas, Calvin Fletcher, John F. Stall, Thomas Henderson, Nathaniel Sloo, Abijah Ferguson, Junius and John H. James, Samuel Findlay, the two Hurduses, the Bensons, and Mr. Hepburn. Joseph Hurdus was also in charge of the scenery. The music was furnished by Cazelles and Doane, with Zeumer at the bassoon; C. Thomas, clarionet; Samuel Best, violin; Joseph and Samuel Harrison, bass drum. Benjamin Drake was president and Peyton S. Symmes, secretary.

Something more permanent in the way of amusement seems to have been desired and finally on December 13, 1814, *Liberty Hall* contained the following notice: "All persons who are favorable to the establishment of a THEATRE in this place are requested to meet at the Columbian Inn on Thursday evening next, the 15th inst., at seven o'clock. The members of the Cincinnati Thespian Society are also particularly requested to attend."

As a result of this meeting, a small frame theatre on the south side of Columbia between Main and Sycamore streets was erected at the point where subsequently stood the old Columbia Street Theatre. The early performances were furnished by the Thespians and the proceeds were devoted to charitable entertainments. So worldly an undertaking as this aroused the opposition of Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, who felt that the spirit of evil was responsible for so much levity. Theatrical performances he regarded as immoral and he started a sort of a crusade against the theatre which aroused much feeling and was the occasion of many communications to the papers. The Thespians and their friends were very indignant at the Reverend Doctor's monopoly of morality and they held strongly to their rights. At the Fourth of July celebration among the toasts was the following: "The Cincinnati Theatre—May it not, like the walls of Jericho, fall at the sound of Joshua's horn."

It is not probable that the theatre paid its expenses but the cause of the drama was upheld throughout the season and the sum of $50 given to charity. In the following year the Pittsburg Company of comedians headed by Mr. Drake, the so-called manager of the Kentucky theatres, stopped over on their way from Pittsburg to Lexington and gave a series of performances which met with considerable success. We are also told of the traveling museum of wax works and transparencies in charge of a Mr. and Mrs. Manley which visited the city in 1813 and furnished its share of amusement.

THE THESPIAN CORPS.

We learn from a communication to *Liberty Hall* January 11, 1815, that a number of young gentlemen of the city had united in the formation of a society for the purpose of improving themselves through the medium of dramatic exhibitions and also of aiding in the relief of suffering humanity by appropriating the accruing funds to the service of the poor. This excited great criticism and the correspondent returns to the subject two weeks later with a defense of the drama.

Rev. Joshua L. Wilson seems to have used the columns of the *Western Spy* for his attacks which were answered each week in *Liberty Hall* by "Theatricus." Despite the controversy however the play proceeded and on February 18, 1815, the Thespian Corps presented their thanks to the good people for their reception of the performance given the night before which was so cheering as to induce them to repeat on February 21st the same plays "The Point of Honor" and "The Weathercock." A little later appears the announcement that the Thespian Corps would exhibit on March 15, 1815, at their new play house the well known comedy of "John Bull" which would be preceded by an original prologue and followed by a farce called "Fortune's Frolic" and that the Harmonical Society had politely offered to assist in entertaining the audience with selected music between the acts.

THE PITTSBURG COMPANY.

An announcement of April 1, 1815, is to the effect that "the lovers of the drama are respectfully informed that the Pittsburg Company of comedians on their way to Kentucky intend presenting a few performances which they hope will receive and deserve their patronage. On Monday evening, April 3, will be presented a very celebrated drama in five acts called 'The Stranger or Misanthropy and Repentance,' after which a much admired musical farce written by Coleman author of 'The Poor Gentleman,' &c., called 'Love Laughs at Locksmiths.'" Tickets were one dollar each to be had at the principal inns, and performances were on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The parts of the "Stranger," "Mrs. Haller" and "Countess Wintersin" were by Mrs. Collins, Mrs. Barret and Mrs. Turner, respectively, and those of "Risk" and "Lydia" were taken by Mr. Morgan and Mrs. Turner. The same company under the auspices of the Thespian Corps presented on April 10th Sheridan's "School for Scandal" followed by a farce known as "The Wags of Windsor"; at this too the Harmonical Society assisted. Two days later by permission of the mayor was given the regular performance of the company including the play "Man and Wife" and the musical farce "Of Age To-morrow or the Wild Goose Chase." The following week the play was "Richard III," in which the parts were taken by Messrs. Collins and Caulfield and Mrs. Barret and Mrs. Turner. In the fifth act was exhibited a new tent scene painted by Mr. Jefferson and the performance concluded with the farce called "The World is a Stage." Between the play and the farce Mr. Morgan sang a comic song. This was Mr. Caulfield's last performance for on the morning of April 22nd he died after an illness of but two days. The dramatic season closed during the following week. The Thespian Corps solicited an audience of the "good people" for their last benefit from the Pittsburg Company to take place April 26th, at which was to be given the tragedy of "Hamlet" followed by a farce entitled "The Prize or 2, 5, 3, 8." Between the acts Mrs. Barret was to entertain the audience by reciting an "Ode in Honor of Masonry or Female Curiosity Gratified by the Aid of Guyges Ring in a Display of the Masonic Attributes." Tickets which were a dollar were for sale in the theatre and at the Columbian Inn and the audience was especially enjoined to assemble a little earlier than usual so that they could be dismissed at a seasonable hour. The door was to open at six o'clock and the curtain positively to rise at a quarter past seven. The last play of this dramatic season was "Romeo and Juliet" followed by a musical farce "The Poor Soldier." Between the play and the farce Mrs. Barret recited an ode on Jackson's victory at New Orleans. Apparently the success of the company was sufficient to induce them to reconsider their departure for on May 3rd "Romeo and Juliet" was again given, followed by the farce "Children in the Wood." A little later came the announcement of a benefit for the poor which in consequence of the protracted stay of the company was offered by the Thespian Corps to the "good people." This was given on May 8th. The principai play was "The Wonder or a Woman Keeps a Secret" and the farce was "How to Die for Love." There were also comic songs and recitations. On May 10th occurred Mrs. Barret's benefit at which was presented for the first time in this city Shakespeare's celebrated tragedy of "Macbeth." There was also an ode on Jackson's victory, a comic song "How to Please Woman" and a farce "The Padlock." Tickets were to be had at the usual places, at Mr. Zeumer's confectionery store and of Mrs. Barret. Several gentlemen of the Thespian Corps kindly offered their assistance for this performance. Mr. Jefferson's benefit took place on May 15th at which was given the tragedy of "George Barnwell" and a drama called "Tekeli or the Siege of Mont Gatz." Mr. Morgan's benefit on May 22nd was made the occasion of presenting "a very elegant drama called 'The Foundling of the Forest or the Unknown Female' followed by a popular farce 'Yes or No or Quaker Turned Soldier.'"

The issue of the paper announcing this benefit, that of May 22, 1815, contains a communication complaining of the riotous and abusive disturbance which had been raised by a parcel of contemptible vagabonds during the dramatic performances at the theatre. This was a repetition of a complaint made on April 8th. The writer refers to the suggestion of the expediency of suppressing all theatrical exhibitions as the only efficient method of putting down the disturbance, which suggestion he very properly reprobates. Mrs. Turner's benefit on May 29th included the play "The Doubtful Son or Secrets of a Palace" and the farce "The Bee Hive." Special announcement was made that a full band of music would perform in the orchestra. Special attention was called to this performance by a

communication in the paper in which Mrs. Turner was spoken of "as a much respected and old acquaintance of the citizens of Cincinnati.—As an actress she has been much admired and has frequently delighted the audience by a pleasing exhibition of talents not excelled by any performance in the city.—As a woman and mother of a family she is worthy of imitation and entitled to support. It is expected that the boxes of our theatre this evening will display the beauty and fashion of our growing town in an overflowing audience." This performance seems to have closed the theatrical season for that year.

CINCINNATI HARMONICAL SOCIETY.

The theatre was not the sole amusement of the people as was shown by the advertisements of the time. The Cincinnati Harmonical Society has been referred to a number of times. On October 10, 1815, announcement is made of a meeting of this organization at Mr. Burt's tavern where it was resolved that the society should meet at the same place every Saturday evening. On December 16th the society gave its annual concert and ball at the large brick house on Front street lately occupied by General Harrison.

THE AFRICAN APE AND THE CASSOWARA.

Another form of amusement was indicated by an advertisement of December 27, 1815, which headed by a striking woodcut of a monkey carrying a basket of apples reads as follows: "Naked Truth or Curious and Lovers of Natural History are most respectfully informed that there will be exhibited at Mr. Joel Williams' warehouse at the ferry, corner of Water and Main streets from 9 in the morning to 9 in the evening for one week from this date the Royal Tiger of Asia. This animal is full grown and the only one in America; he is nine feet in length, three and one-half feet high and weighs about four hundred pounds; and is the only animal in the world that dare face the lion. Also the African Ape: likewise the Long Tailed Mamozett. Admittance fifty cents; children twenty-five. Good musik on the organ and violin." The "mamozett" and tiger must have been a success for shortly afterwards arrived another interesting animal. On January 20, 1816, appears the following advertisement: "To the Lovers of Natural History just arrived and to be seen at the Columbian Inn in Cincinnati the grand Cassowara of India, a bird of prodigious size weighing one hundred and fifteen pounds and will take an apple out of a person's hand seven feet high and swallow it whole. There are also two very pretty little animals called the Barbary and African Apes. Good music on the organ, clarionet, violin, etc."

GASTON'S FIREWORKS.

On April 21, 1815, Mr. Gaston informs the ladies and gentlemen of Cincinnati and vicinity that he is preparing an exhibition of fireworks on Martin Baum's lot near the corner of Broadway and Fourth streets to be exhibited on Tuesday the 16th May next if the weather permit; composed of the following pieces: "1st, a double sun the different coloured fires turned vertically. 2d, the Ladies' fancy in grand Chinese fire turning horizontally in different forms. 3d, a Chinese vortex turning round a table in brilliant fire. 4th, a combat of four butterflies of different colours turning vertically in a large circle of Chinese fires. 5th, a grand Chinese chandelier turning horizontally forming the rose of a water engine. The cascade and parasol furnished with Roman candles and brilliant sheaves. 6th, the grand Polar Star in grand illumination terminated by a glory of China fire. The whole concluded by the explosion of the Devil's Castle in grand brilliant fire and mosaic works and a bunch of Sky Rockets. Several flying rockets between each piece of the entertainment. The ascent of the Balloon will take place a quarter of an hour before sundown; it will be decorated by an American Coat of Arms descriptive of the present times; the Balloon will be 80 feet in circumference." In order that this fiery entertainment might not be too trying upon its observers, an enclosure with seats was constructed in which a bar and refreshments could be found.

Another place of entertainment was the Columbian Garden of James Sinclair, which in the spring of 1815 was opened for the reception of company as a pleasure garden. It was located on Plumb street between Third and Fourth streets in the orchard formerly owned by Mr. Dexter, where patrons could be accommodated with mead, porter, ale and cider as well as fruits in their seasons.

In the review of Dr Drake's work published in *Liberty Hall* (April 1, 1816), we are told that the Thespian Corps had found that the enormous expenditure attendant upon the erection of a building and to supply it with scenery, dress and decorations was so great as to leave little to be turned over to charity. They complained that exclusive of the free tickets given out the "good people" afforded them no better house than

they bestowed upon strangers and the idea of acting any more was about abandoned. "We understand that a reputable company of comedians now at Louisville who had been acting with very general applause at Pittsburg and Frankfort during the past winter are about to establish something like a permanent system of Theatrics among a few of the principal cities of our interior; and by what we learn from their auditors we think that they would not dishonor the Thespian boards of Cincinnati. They have hitherto declined coming we are told on account of the opprobrium that is attached to the enormous tax levied upon shows by our corporation,—or rather by the mayor in whose discretionary hands the business is entirely left." This provision was regarded as intended to keep out vagabonds but not a regularly organized company.

MR. AND MRS. PEREZ.

The Thespian Corps became active again during the summer of 1815 at which time Mr. Perez exhibited a variety "of Interesting and Surprizing Fetes on the Tight and Slack Rope alone and with Mrs. Perez including as follows:—A horn pipe in fetters—with fireworks at his feet—balancing on a drumhead over the rope—bounding on his back—vaulting over musketry—with grotesque wooden shoes—grand transformation—stand heels over head on the rope and whirling around so rapidly as to be almost invisible—the whole to conclude with a diverting Pantomime called 'The Mistaken Shoemaker.'" This called forth a communication from "Tyro Quizicus and his Clan" in *Liberty Hall* of August 14th which criticises the exhibition but asks the public to attend for the purpose of helping the Thespian band to pay its debts. Mr. Perez evidently did succeed, for his performances continued for several weeks. The advertisements grow more and more thrilling with each performance and would do credit to a modern prestidigitateur, equilibrist and acrobat. The Thespian Corps on August 28th announces the first and only performance for the ensuing autumn of "Speed the Plough."

Another form of entertainment is indicated by an advertisement of Mr. Huntington's on November 27, 1815, to the effect that his last performance will be given in "General Wingate's Long Room" at half past six in the evening when "he will pronounce an oration endeavoring to demonstrate the utility at aiming at moral excellence and exposing the blighting influence of infidelity." He also delivered a commentary on Shakespeare with recitations from his writings and concluded with a variety of satirical and entertaining recitations.

The Thespian Corps seems to have reconsidered its announcement of the early fall for on December 5th we learn that they performed "The Sleep Walker" and "The Weathercock." "The Point of Honor" and "How to Die for Love" were given January 1, 1816. The first play was stated to be the favorite of Washington. This performance was repeated a few days later for the benefit "of the unfortunate individual who was lately thrown desolate upon the world by the conflagration of his building and its contents." The writer in the paper of the day lauds the performance to the skies and calls especial attention to the fact that the actors were drawn from the citizens themselves. An unfortunate result of this performance seems to have been the loss of some one's pocket pistol which apparently was stolen during the performance. The pistol was one of those in use on the stage.

On March 25th the Thespians produced "The Cure for Heartache" as well as other sketches, addresses, recitations and so on. The Harmonical Society furnished the music.

A few days later announcement was made that the Cincinnati Thespian Corps, having declined getting up any more comedies and being desirous of affording their country friends and those of the city who were prevented from attending their performance an opportunity of witnessing their last exhibition, would repeat "The Cure for Heartache" as well as the farce "Love Laughs at Locksmiths." The farewell address was also delivered.

Another theatrical notice of the same day is that of Mrs. Williams' benefit, given April 1, 1815, at which was presented the tragedy "Douglas" and Coleman's farce "The Wags of Windsor." The Harmonical Society also assisted at this performance.

The Thespian Corps and a few wandering companies of actors and the traveling mountebanks were obliged to struggle along in a rather precarious existence however during the most of this period as it was not until 1819 that the theatre gained a fixed position for itself.

The craving for another form of amusement created a demand for music books as shown by the advertisement of one John McCormick in *Liberty Hall* during April, 1815, who sets forth his intention to publish by subscription a new and valuable collection of music entitled "The Western Harmonist." Another book of the same

character "The Columbian Harmonist" was printed by Timothy Flint at the *Liberty Hall* office in 1816. The announcement is made that the author, having been nearly two years in the contemplation of this work, "flatters himself that he will be able to furnish the different societies with the most useful tunes and anthems." The Harmonical Society met regularly on each Saturday evening and on the Fourth of July, 1819, they played after the toasts of the banquet and among the selections were the following: Life let us Cherish, Will you Come to the Bower, Hail Columbia, The White Cockade, Victory of Orleans, Italian Waltz, Echo, Monroe's March, America, Commerce and Freedom, Liberty or Death, Masonic Dead March, Liberty's March, Hull's Victory, Friendship, Lafayette's March, March in Blue Beard, Adams and Liberty, Star-Spangled Banner, Sweet Harmony, Massachusetts March, Haydn's Fancy, Miss Ware's March, Pleyel's Hymn, Lawrence's Dirge, Away with Melancholy, Rural Felicity, Harmonical Society's March.

Another society mentioned by Klauprecht is the St. Cecilia Society described above. Even before this time, a band of amateurs practiced at the house of Amalung on Sycamore street below Fourth. To this society are said to have belonged Martin Baum, Menessier the jurist pastry cook, Albert Von Stein, builder of the water works, the confectioners Carl G. Ritter and Augustus Zeumer, the dancing master Philibert Ratel, the piano maker George Charters and the druggist Edward H. Stall.

The mechanical side of music received attention as well. Adam Hurdus, the Swedenborgian minister and keeper of a dry goods store, built the first organ here in the year 1810, which was utilized until a very recent date in a church at Wyoming. A few years later one Adolph Wuper advertised as a music teacher and a repairer and tuner of pianos and George Charters as pianoforte maker.

There was also a little German band of uncertain date in which Sebastian Rentz played the clarionet, Henry Schmidt the violin and Jacob Schuetz the piccolo.

That there was no lack of instruction is shown by this remarkable advertisement which appeared in 1815:

MUSICAL ACADEMY

at Mrs. Hopkins', opposite Columbian Inn, Main street, Cincinnati. For teaching in a scientific and comprehensive manner, a scholar thirteen tunes at least, in eighteen lessons, or no compensation will be required, on any of the following instruments, viz.:

Clarinet,	Flagotto or bassoon,
Trumpet,	Serpent,
French horn,	Flagolet,
Bugle horn,	Sacbut,
Oboe,	Hurdygurdy or beggar's lyre,
Grand oboe or voice umane,	Violin,
Trombone,	Violincello,
Fife,	Bass drum,
German flute,	Octave flute,
Cymbals, etc., etc., etc.	

Military bands taught accurately and expeditiously, on a correct scale, on any of the above instruments, with appropriate music, by

JAMES H. HOFFMAN, P.

In the kindred field of art the principal name seems to be that of A. H. Corwine, the portrait painter and John Nagle, known for his picture of "The Blacksmith."

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATIONS

Still another form of amusement was of more public character. There was reason for an ordinance concerning its limitations, for during the early days the celebration of the Fourth of July was regarded as of great importance. On the first anniversary after Cincinnati became a town, there was a dinner at Major Ruffin's at the corner of Lawrence and Front streets, and a celebration by the Republicans at George Fithian's where Daniel Symmes furnished the song; also a dinner at Major Perry's in Columbia. In 1803 Captain Smith's infantry paraded in front of Anderson's at the West End of the town and in front of Ruffin's at the East End. Below Mill creek on the banks of the Ohio there was a dinner at Ewing & McCullum's where an oration was delivered by Matthew Nimmo. At Columbia a dinner was held at Thomas Frazer's. Here Mr. Spencer presided, assisted by Colonel Armstrong. A distinguished guest was Gen. John Stites Gano. The Republicans celebrated the Fourth of July, 1804, in a bower built in front of the Court House at Fifth and Main streets. Judge Symmes was the presiding officer and Thomas Rawlins delivered an oration. There was of course the usual dinner. A similar bower at the same place was erected for the celebration of the following year. Judge Symmes again presided with Matthew Nimmo as vice-president and Thomas Rawlins was again the orator. Lieut. Elmore Williams headed the troops of Light Dragoons in the parade and Captain Smith led the light infantry to Beechen Grove. At the dinner there were 19 toasts. At Columbia there was an equally enthusiastic meeting at which

Colonel Spencer presided, once more assisted by Colonel Armstrong. This dinner was at Thomas Hinkinson's and 17 toasts added interest to the proceedings. This day was also celebrated across the river at Newport, Kentucky, where Washington Berry presided. In the following year the Republican dinner was at Disbrow's at Fifth and Main streets. This was attended by uniformed volunteers. Exercises were held at the spring above Deer creek. Daniel Symmes presided, William Goforth was vice-president, Elias Glover delivered the oration and J. Delaplaine furnished the song. On this occasion Daniel Gano acted as captain of a boys' company of infantry. The regular Light Dragoon Company was in charge of Capt. J. Ferguson. The Select Council dined at Yeatman's and among the distinguished guests were John S. Gano, George Gordon and Andrew Burt. A year later the dinner was held once more in the Beechen Grove near Mound street. Captain Wheeler's company of artillery took part and the orator was Thomas Henderson and the reader of the declaration, William McFarland. Fourth of July in 1808 came on Sunday, which made it proper for Rev. Joshua L. Wilson to deliver a sermon. At the exercises in Thomas McFarland's orchard on Front street, Ethan Allen Brown was the orator and Thomas Henderson the reader. The marshal of the day was Col. John Riddle. Nine cheers and two guns of the Independent Artillery enlivened the proceedings. A feature of the exercises was a derisive toast to Senator John Smith who had just left the country on account of the unjust charges made against him in connection with the Burr conspiracy. Col. John Riddle was marshal the following year. A military salute of 17 guns ushered in the day. At the Court House, Ethan Allen Brown read the Declaration of Independence, at a meeting presided over by John O'Farrell and Daniel Symmes. The party marched to the foot of Elm street and dined at Swing's. An organization known as the Socratic Society marched to Menessier's farm in the valley of Deer creek where they listened to an address from young Francis J. Menessier and took dinner. In 1810 the exercises were held in part at the Court House and part at the Beechen Grove near Mound street. James L. Looker was the reader and Seth M. Leavenworth, the orator. The next year saw a much more general celebration. The growth of the settlement tended to divide up the celebrants into parties. At the Court House after the reading of the all important document by Elias Glover, an oration was delivered by Judge Symmes who gave an account of the settlement and life in the early days which would be most interesting reading at this time. Colonel Riddle acted as marshal and led the procession to Mr. L'Hommedieu's new ropewalk in the West End. The dinner was by Fowble. On this occasion United States Judge Byrd presided, assisted by Judge Silvers of the State Court. The Republican celebration included a parade of military and citizens from Columbia street to the First Presbyterian Church and concluded with a dinner at the Wheat Sheaf Hotel. Robert Wallace, Jr., was the reader and Col. John Monroe the orator of this party. Another party met at the Columbian Inn under the auspices of Dr. Allison and General Gano while a celebration was held in a bower at Ezekiel Hutchinson's Spring in what was afterwards known as Cumminsville. Military of all descriptions, including artillery, cavalry and infantry, participated in the proceedings of the day. Independence Day in 1812 was naturally made more of because of the impending war. There was a recruiting station in the town in charge of Lieut. Hugh Moore and a senior corps of Home Guards under William Lytle. There was a meeting at the Court House, salutes from Jenkinson's artillery and the reading of the Declaration of Independence as well as the declaration of war and proclamation of the President by David Wade. The orator of the day was William Hendricks, then teaching school at the Court House and the marshal was of course Colonel Riddle. Another party, gathered in the orchard on the south side of Columbia street now Second street, included General Harrison, General Gano, Colonel Spencer, Othniel Looker and Dr. Allison. The toasts delivered naturally related to the impending war and the one given by General Harrison showed none of the prophetic instinct. It was as follows: "General Hull and his Army—They have passed that scene immortalized by the victory of Wayne; the spirit of that hero will animate them to deeds like his and teach them the lesson of victory or death."

In the year following the meeting was at the First Presbyterian meeting house in charge of Marshal William Stanley. The reader was Josiah Meigs and the orator of the day, Hon. Stanley Griswold. The dinner in the Court House yard was prepared by Andrew Burt, the son-in-law of General Gano. A year later we are told that the Tammanies met at the circus enclosure on the east side of Main below Fourth

where afterwards was the Thespians' Shellbark Theatre. Chaplain Thomas Hersey was the orator and Thomas Henderson once more the reader of the day, while two revenue officers strangely enough bore aloft the cap of liberty. The dinner was in Cummins' orchard and provided by Joel Williams.

In 1815 the day being Sunday was celebrated at the Baptist Church on Sixth street. The Cincinnati Light Infantry under Captain McFarland, accompanied by Colonel Oliver and Dr. Allison bearing the cap of liberty, headed the parade from the Cincinnati Hotel to this point. The services were in charge of Rev. A. Denison assisted by Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, while D. K. Este read the Declaration and J. C. Short acted as orator. The dinner at which General Gano, General Findlay and Major Torrence presided was at the well known Republican Springs on the bank near the water works reservoir. At this, Peyton S. Symmes read a poem in memory of Capt. J. F. Mansfield who had returned from the army to die from exposure. The Tammanies met at the wigwam of Joel Williams, and paraded to Gaston's fireworks enclosure at Fourth and Broadway where they listened to a long talk from Thomas Henderson. They then adjourned to Williams' Tavern for dinner. J. W. Gazlay and Rev. Ithiel Smead participated in the services. There were also dinners at Newtown and Harrison. Goodwin's at the southeast corner of Fifth and Main streets was the place and David Wade, Dr. Drake, Stephen McFarland and Daniel Gano the leading spirits of one dining party in 1816. The Cincinnati Light Infantry paraded from the Cincinnati Hotel once more to the Sixth Street Baptist Church where the officials of the year before once more took charge. This party dined at the Springs. J. W. Gazlay delivered a long talk to the Tammanies at their wigwam and Thomas Henderson was the reader. The dinner was of course furnished by Joel Williams. The day was saddened by the explosion of a gun at Newport as the result of which the gunner firing the salute lost his arm. At the celebration in Miami town in the following year (1817) General Harrison's volunteer toast left little doubt as to his attitude on a point about which there was afterwards much discussion: "May the fertile banks of the Miami River never be disgraced by the cultivation of a slave, or the revenue they afford go to enrich the coffers of a despot." (Address of John D. Caldwell, July 4, 1874; Cincinnati Pioneer, No. IV, p. 7.)

THE NEWSPAPERS OF THE TOWN.

The newspapers of this period have been referred to in connection with Dr. Drake's book. Shortly after the publication of that work on December 11, 1815, the newly established *Cincinnati Gazette* was consolidated with *Liberty Hall* and the title of the paper was *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, which was a semi-weekly paper published by Morgan, Lodge & Company who succeeded J. H. Looker and A. Wallace.

Journalism in those days consisted mainly in getting advertisements and publishing marriage and death notices with a few items of general and local interest interspersed. The editor at rare intervals expressed himself on subjects of common interest but he usually found it necessary to have some other vocation. Rev. John W. Browne was also a publisher, preacher, town recorder, bookseller and dealer in patent medicines and was also called upon to show his prowess in other ways for in November, 1807, he was thrashed publicly by Judge Burnet for remarks which he had made. Looker & Wallace and Morgan, Lodge & Company were book publishers and printers.

The history of the first newspapers has been given with considerable length and enough has been quoted from their columns to indicate their general character. The *Centinel* and its successor, *Freeman's Journal*, covered a period of about six years from 1794 to 1800. The *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* published by the distinguished soldier, Capt. Joseph Carpenter, began its existence in the spring of 1799 and continued under the same name for about ten years at the end of which time it came into the hands of Carney & Morgan who changed its name in 1809 to *The Whig*. But 58 numbers of this paper appeared when it again changed hands and became known as *The Advertiser*. The life of this paper ended in November, 1811.

In the meantime Captain Carpenter reestablished the *Western Spy* which at the time of Dr. Drake's account in 1815 had about twelve hundred subscribers and was edited by Messrs. Morgan and Williams. The subsequent history of the paper is brief. In 1819 it appears to have been called the *Western Spy and Cincinnati General Advertiser*. In 1823 we are told that its name was changed to the *National Republican and Ohio Political Register*, which appears in 1826 to have been published semi-weekly.

A little later in 1829 two papers shared the name, the *National Republican* which appeared

on Tuesdays and Fridays and the *Cincinnati Advertiser* which appeared on Wednesdays and Saturdays. In 1831 Messrs. Looker and Reynolds were the publishers of the *Daily National Republican* which also had a tri-weekly and a weekly edition.

A paper which in some respects is entitled to be regarded as the one of the longest continued existence although under changed names appeared from the loft of a log cabin at the southeast corner of Third and Sycamore streets for the first time on December 9, 1804. (Dr. Drake says December 4.) This was first known as *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury*. It was edited by Rev. John W. Browne who as editor, publisher, preacher, bookseller, patent medicine vender and public official was one of the best known of the citizens of the day and achieved particular distinction by being the first editor flogged in the streets of Cincinnati. The second name was soon dropped although it was still so styled by Dr. Drake in 1815 at which time edited by Messrs. Looker and A. Wallace it was of superroyal size and had upwards of fourteen hundred subscribers.

In July, 1814, a paper called the *Spirit of the West* appeared but its existence was limited to 41 numbers. (Drake, p. 41.)

A new name but one destined to be connected for many years with Cincinnati journalism appeared on July 15, 1815, at which time Thomas Palmer & Company published for the first time the *Cincinnati Gazette* which continued for a short time under an independent name. This was published on Main street near the clerk's office and the fourth door above Fifth street. It was a semi-weekly sheet with four columns to a page and sold for $2.50 a year if the subscription was paid in advance, $3.00 if paid within the year and $3.50 if not paid at all or at least if not paid within that time. On December 11, 1815, it was consolidated with *Liberty Hall* and the new paper became known as *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*. This paper bore a little more the appearance of a modern journal. It was published by Looker, Palmer & Reynolds. Its first New Year's address was written by Peyton S. Symmes and the carriers for the year were Wesley Smead and S. S. L'Hommedieu. In 1819 it appears to have been a semi-weekly.

NOTICES AND ADVERTISEMENTS.

The first number of *Liberty Hall* contained in the Public Library of Cincinnati is that of date January 7, 1813. It is printed with reversed column rules in mourning for the death of its editor, Rev. John W. Browne, which had occurred on the previous Sunday. Rev. Mr. Browne was riding to Newtown where he expected to preach but while crossing the Little Miami River was thrown by his horse by the breaking of the saddle girth and as a result of his plunge into the cold water lost his life. He was an Englishman, born in 1764, who came to America in 1795 and to Cincinnati in May, 1798. He was a member of the State convention in 1802, recorder of Hamilton County for seven years and commissioner for leasing school lands. He became the editor of *Liberty Hall* in 1812. We learn from the same paper at that time that papers and letters were delivered at the Post Office at eight o'clock P. M.

An advertisement of May 31, 1814, announces the arrival of James W. Gazlay with a view to follow the profession of the law. On July 20th D. K. Este states that he occupies the office of Ethan Stone for the practice of the law and likewise for the sale and exchange of real estate.

It is noted that at the anniversary of the School of Literature and the Arts held November 23, 1814, two addresses were delivered, one by Samuel F. Hunt on "Commerce" and an anniversary oration by the president. Peyton S. Symmes delivered a recitation from Walter Scott.

An advertisement of August 23, 1814, announces an election at the inn of Major McHenry for the purpose of electing a captain and lieutenant for the second company of the Cincinnati battalion and one at the inn of Mr. Hughes on Front street for the purpose of electing a captain of the third company and one at the inn of General Wingate for the purpose of electing a captain of the fourth company. This is signed by Major Torrence, commanding the Cincinnati battalion.

A curious notice is contained in the issue of July 17, 1815. It reads as follows: "Any gentleman having a file of the two first newspapers printed in this place Wm. Maxwell and Samuel Freeman or possessing any information concerning the names, times of establishment or continuance of those Journals will confer a favor by communicating the same to the Editors."

The columns of the newspapers reflect so closely the life of the community that the temptation is great to quote at length from the advertisements as well as the news of these publications. Space however will not permit such quotations being extended beyond a few selections,

some of which have been used in other parts of this chapter. In 1814, for example, much of the contents of the papers was devoted to the war against England as well as to the stirring events abroad. Matters of general national interest such as proclamations of the President and newly enacted laws of Congress occupied much space. Most of the local interest attaches to the advertisements which show quite an active business community. The Cincinnati Steam Mill, Baum, Sloo & Company, David Kilgour, Samuel Newell, Benjamin Corp, Leatman & Anderson, Adams & Piatt, Ross & Coleman, Israel Byers and William Lyons the tailors, Baldwin, Reed & Company, Z. Leavenworth & Company, the Cincinnati Union Cotton Factory and Samuel Lowry are but few of the many advertisers whose notices to the public appear regularly. Among professional men the name of James W. Gazlay the attorney and the names of Drs. Barker and Fairchild are most frequent. A notice of June 28, 1814, of the removal of the Post Office which thereafter was to be kept on Main street two doors above Mr. Thompson's store, corner of Main and Columbia, is followed by one of the Bank of Cincinnati to the effect that all notes offered for discount must be lodged before two o'clock on Wednesday of each week and the form of the note which must be used is printed in the advertisement. Immediately following is a notice that the Tammany Society or Columbian Order would meet on the Fourth of July at their usual place and move in procession to the Hill market house and afterwards to "Coming's Orchard" at the west end of Front street where a dinner would be provided. In the event of bad weather the dinner was to be given at the house of brother Joel Williams.

Lost, strayed or stolen horses, apprentices, negroes and soldiers continued to be a frequent subject of attention.

The list of letters uncalled for are usually very long and run into many hundreds of names, many of which are of the most important citizens.

An interesting communication in *Liberty Hall* of July 26, 1814, is the defense written by Gen. William Hull which occupies a page of the paper. The same number contains an account of the capture by the British frigate "Phoebe" and sloop "Cherub" of the frigate "Essex" whose destruction ended the career of one of the most celebrated ships of war ever in the service of the United States. A little more cheerful news is contained in the account of the capture of Fort Erie.

The character of the stores is indicated by the advertisement of Samuel Lowry who had his store on Main street next door to the Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank; it offers a supply of foreign and domestic merchandise which given in detail seems to include everything found in a modern department store from clothes, groceries and hardware to musical instruments and liquors of all sorts. A celebrated name and a sad story of government injustice is recalled by the advertisement of John H. Piatt, contractor for the Eighth Military District, who "wanted immediately a number of Pack Horses and Ox Teams delivered in Cincinnati."

The papers succeeding Independence Day contain columns of accounts of the celebrations of that day.

An advertisement of August 2, 1814, signed by Samuel W. Davies, president of the Select Council, calls attention to the fact that some weeks before a meeting of the electors had been called for the purpose of voting a tax on dogs and hogs but that no attention had been paid to it. At the solicitation of a number of citizens and being desirous to ascertain whether the inhabitants would second the attempts made and intended to be made for their benefit, a meeting was called at General Wingate's. Whether it took place does not appear.

On August 1, 1814, is noted the opening of a school at the house next to Mr. Pancoast's on Main street for the teaching of the French language. A local item of interest reports a meeting of citizens who had determined to support Othniel Looker for Governor and John McLean for Congress and appointed Solomon Langdon, D. C. Wallace and S. N. Leavenworth as the committee on correspondence.

The issue of August 30th contains a call signed by Governor Looker asking for volunteers in a campaign against the Indians to be commanded by Gen. Duncan McArthur.

The issues of September 6th and 13th contain the sad news of the capture of Washington by the British. With the latter issue begins the publication of the advertisement of John Mears, coppersmith, which with its rude cut of a still held its place in the papers for many months.

On September 20th is noted the passage through the town of a thousand Kentuckians on their way to the rendezvous at Urbana.

A serious situation is indicated by an advertisement of Davis Embree that the Cincinnati

Brewery for want of store room could not receive any more barley. Another advertisement of September 27th is published by the owners of the papers themselves and is to the effect that an editor was wanted, in other words, that the whole establishment was for sale.

An extra of October 1st contains the President's message to Congress on the state of war as well as the news of McDonough's victory on Lake Champlain which had occurred on September 11th.

The approaching election naturally attracted attention and the paper contains numerous communications with regard to it. An interesting one appeared on October 4th with reference to the candidacy for the State Legislature of Jacob Burnet, who had been opposed by some Jeffersonians by reason of his federalistic sympathies. The writer felt called upon to state that he had positive assurances that Mr. Burnet if elected would support the prosecution of the war.

On October 10, 1814, appears a notice of the meeting of the Cincinnati Harmonical Society at Mr. Burt's tavern at which it was unanimously resolved that the society should meet on Saturday evening of each succeeding week.

On October 18th the information is given that "the Reverend William Gray of Lebanon will preach in the court room this evening at early candle light." The same issue contains an abstract of the election held in Hamilton County. The highest number of votes cast seems to have been for E. Brown for Representative. He received 1,358 votes. Peter Bell received 1,337 for the same office. Jacob Burnet ran far behind, receiving but 562 which however was enough to elect him as well as Brown and Bell. John McLean for Congress received 1,355 votes which seem to have been all cast for this office. John Jones was elected Senator, C. Webb, commissioner, Daniel Cosbrook, sheriff and I. Spinning, coroner. The vote for Governor was pretty well divided, Othniel Looker receiving 727 and Thomas Worthington 607 votes.

On October 25th, the editors notified the subscribers that "we must have money." This announcement does not seem unwarranted in view of the further statement that many of the subscribers were in arrears for five years or more. Anxious inquirers were notified that Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" was in press. An advertisement offers wood cutters 75 cents a day. On November 8th appears the notice that the steamboat "Enterprise" would depart on Monday, the 14th instant, for Pittsburg. A new and afterwards well known store is announced in the advertisement of Jeremiah Neave & Son. Another firm, West, Stanley & Grant, who occupied the "Yellow House" on the corner of Main and Front streets well known by the name of "Stanley's Store," notified all persons "who had but little of the ready which they may wish to dispose of to advantage" that they were suffering from a case of conscience which they found greatly at variance with their interest and which they were resolved to put at rest by offering their goods at prices for which they can afford them. Another new advertising firm is that of Sayre, Avery & Sayre on Main street who include in their stock dry goods, groceries, hardware and queensware. On November 15th appears the information that the French evening school had been removed to the house of Samuel Best at the corner of Front and Cider streets, where also an afternoon school for young ladies was announced.

The recurring plea of the editors that they must have money was varied on the 22nd with the statement that wheat would be recived for subscriptions. On December 20th the Cincinnati Steam Mill through William Greene acting agent offers 75 cents a bushel for wheat. The wheat must be full 60 pounds to the bushel and clean. Farmers are informed that if they will bring the wheat they intend to plant it will be cleaned in the best manner gratis. "The life of farming is to sow clean seed." The same number contains the advertisements of James Reynolds & Company on Main street on the Hill; Ruffin & Oliver on Main street, fourth door north of Columbian Inn, at the frame house lately occupied by William Burke, Esq. for the Post Office; Alexander McCaine's book and stationery store in the house lately occupied by Dr. Crissey on Main street where also was kept a general assortment of dry goods; Samuel Newell, D. Drake & Company, druggists (to the effect that they returned to their old and improved stand on the west side of Main street nearly opposite the Lower Market house); J. W. Sturm, jeweler, in Columbia street next door east of Major Halley's; Alexander Gibson, brush manufactory; the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company and A. Dunseth. Other advertisements are those of the Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge No. 2, as to an anniversary meeting of St. John the Evangelist and of the Cincinnati Miami Bible Society.

Mrs. Lee's Female Academy on Main street, Cincinnati, next door to the Farmers' & Mechan-

ics' Bank announces, on January 11th, the commencement of its second session. In addition to the usual branches Mrs. Lee taught needle work including "Filigree Print Work, Ribbon do. and Embroidery in sheneals."

A new lumber yard (of J. Wood and W. Lambdin) was announced at the southeast corner of Fourth and Broadway.

The issues of the papers which contain various reports of the success of General Jackson at New Orleans contain also a reference to a report that several citizens of the place had been detected in supplying the enemy near New Orleans with provisions for which they had been confined by order of General Jackson.

In the issue of February 25th, which by the politeness of Mr. Baum and General Gano who had favored the editor with Eastern newspapers was able to make the announcement of PEACE, the editor states that these calumnies were totally unfounded. A more complete statement appears in the issue of Tuesday, March the 7th, where it is stated that the reports referred to David C. Wallace. Mr. Wallace on his arrival at New Orleans had raised a company of volunteer boatmen of which he was placed in command by General Jackson. He was afterwards placed in command at the fort in New Orleans in which were a number of British prisoners. A fellow officer who had been ordered to convey the prisoners to Natchez and who was an enemy to Wallace made some charges of misconduct which resulted in the arrest of Wallace to await trial. No charge of treason to his own country was made. Wallace was subsequently acquitted and eventually his accuser gave him a written retraction.

On January 5, 1815, announcement is made in the head of fine arts that "the naval Panorama and American Museum of wax figures is still exhibiting at Gen. Wingate's. This collection contains likenesses of a number of our Naval Heroes who have nobly distinguished themselves in the present contest with G. Britain. Also a representation of the five Naval Victories achieved by the gallant Hull, Jones, Decatur, Bainbridge and Lawrence in five large transparent scenes each containing ninety feet square."

On January 11, 1815, announcement is made of the arrival of Major-General Gaines, the hero of Fort Erie, who was on his way to New Orleans. A public dinner was tendered to him by the citizens but the invitation was declined on account of the critical condition of affairs at New Orleans whither he was to proceed with all possible despatch. The same paper contains a number of orders with regard to the defense of New Orleans. Victory had however been achieved although the news of it had not yet been received. A most extraordinary advertisement, a column and a half in length, is contained in this issue,—that of "Father Smith's Pulvis Excitaria or Life Invigorating Powder," a remedy for almost every possible ailment. The advertisement is signed by Peter Smith of the Gospel and concludes with a certificate of William Burke to the effect that his hoarseness had been relieved by the use of this drug and that he hoped by the blessing of God to be entirely restored. The drug was put up in "small square papers signed on one square with my name corresponding to the like assignment on the bill attending it, without which the medicine is not to be esteemed genuine." To use it the powder must be dissolved in vinegar and of the mixture a teaspoonful was put in a half glass of sage tea which could be sweetened. The dose was to be repeated in double quantity every ten minutes "until the stomach becomes full warm and easy." Then the patient must drink a cup of hot toddy with hot toast crumbled into it and finally he must drink plentifully of some herb or root tea such as herb-balm, pennyroyal, horseradish root, square stock root or blueberry root, any of them alone or all mixed together. After this final dose the patient is supposed to eat and drink and sleep freely. In two hours the patient if still alive "will likely know if the point aimed at will succeed." This advertisement is accompanied by an elaborate system of notes and a series of observations together with references to the author's medical book called the "Indian Doctor's Dispensatory." Despite the use of this extraordinary remedy, Father Burke's hoarseness continued until the day of his death. Dr. Smith was not to have a monopoly for the following issue contains a notice of Dr. Thomas Hill from Boston to the effect that he had taken a house on Walnut street near the Academy where he intended to practice physics and surgery. The fact that he had practiced 13 years in a warm climate where the diseases were similar to this place was urged as of special importance.

The glorious victory of New Orleans was not announced in Cincinnati until Saturday, February 4, 1815, at which time a full account of the proceedings of the historic January 8th was published. Even the doctors seem to have been troubled in collecting their accounts. Dr. J. Farrington in this issue threatens to place his

accounts in the hands of an attorney. Another professional notice is that of Seth M. Leavenworth in the "Yellow Building" nearly opposite the west end of the market house on the Hill where the court sat. On January 26th, Daniel Gano and John S. Gano offered for sale a number of building lots on the square on which the clerk's office stands, also the building. On February 18th, we are informed that the Columbian Inn has passed into the hands of Luther Gere.

John Wells on January 23rd advertises that his wife Rachel had left him. There appears on February 18th "Rachel's answer to John" reciting that John had the impudence to advertise Rachel in the newspaper wherefore Rachel thought it her duty to make known to the public that John was a notorious liar. "He left me; and I expect on the account of his being a hog merchant." This same issue contains an announcement of a new town to be laid out at the mouth of the Licking River on the farm lately owned by Thomas Kennedy. The proprietors of this town were R. M. Gano, T. D. Carneal and John S. Gano. Its name was Covington. The first sale of lots was had on March 20, 1815.

A remarkable advertisement which appears in the issue of February 18th reads as follows:

"To Druggists and other venders of medicine in Ohio and Kentucky: An attempt has recently been made by the colored domestics of a family in this town, to destroy their Mistress, by infusing POISON into her coffee. As either Arsenic or Sugar of Lead, or both, were employed—and which will shortly be ascertained by analyzation—the Husband of the Lady earnestly entreats all persons who vend either of those deleterious articles, to give information by note addressed to either of the printers here, whether any people of color (describing them) have, for a few months past, purchased either or both of the poisons mentioned, or any other strong poison. In doing so, it will serve the cause of humanity. Cincinnati, February 11."

From time to time other familiar names appear among the advertisers, for instance those of Jacob Baymiller, dry goods, hardware and queensware; Henry D. Wheeler, black and whitesmith; Simeon Churchill, sign and house painter; Aaron Drake & Company, glue; Jesse Hunt, building lots on Broadway between Fourth and Fifth; Robert Boal, Jr., & Company, dry goods, etc.; Jesse Reeder, powder; Philip P. Price, clock maker; Sullivan & Locklin, tailors; Robert Best & Company "having removed their shop to the center one of three big brick houses lately erected on Main between Columbia and Market streets," jewelers; and Walsh & Matthews, dry goods, and Sam Newell and James Cobb, saddlers. Another advertisement is of John Piatt offering for sale "that elegant stand for entertainment the Cincinnati Hotel at present occupied by General Wingate, situated on the bank of the Ohio, near the Steam Mill, corner of Broadway and Front streets." Another advertisement continued for many months is that of a pamphlet entitled the "Accuser of the Brethren Exposed, by Truth supported by Facts, in a letter to Joshua L. Wilson, minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati. By John Goadfoot Smith, cabinet maker." Another of similar character relates to "The Western Harmonist" by John McCormick, cited elsewhere.

On April 15, 1815, a communication relates to the result of an experiment with steam lately tried in the Cincinnati steam mills by which on one pair of burr stones six feet in diameter, 19½ bushels of wheat were ground in 59 minutes and on another pair of the same diameter 17 bushels were ground in one hour.

A familiar locality is called to mind in an advertisement of David Loring, offering for sale a number of lots on the bank of the river, one of the pleasantest parts in Cincinnati, known by the name of Hobson's Choice, this side of the steam sawmill.

That the publishers did not find the printing of the paper sufficient to occupy all their time is shown by the advertisement of Messrs. Looker and Wallace on May 2, 1815, to the effect that they had opened a store on the west side of Main two doors above Samuel Kidd's where they offer a "handsome assortment of Spring and Summer goods." A communication of May 8th calls for a meeting of the "Friends of Humanity" to be held at the office of Seth M. Leavenworth at early candle light for the purpose of forming a society for the freeing of such poor Africans as were held in bondage contrary to the laws of the State. This communication, signed by a "friend to the oppressed Africans," excited the ire of "a hater of duplicity" who accuses the judges with construing the laws relating to persons of color in a way which would threaten them with the loss of privilege, whatever that may mean. It states that the town was overrun with persons of color and that such a society would invite scores of negroes to run away from Kentucky and that the zealots of African freedom in other places have been guilty of forgery, perjury and violence. For this reason he

thought that as long as the magistrates, judges and prepossessions of the people were all engaged for the protection of these people it was not necessary to form a phalanx of this kind and thereby encourage an influx of negroes innumerable as the locusts and frogs which infested Egypt.

The *Liberty Hall* of May 9, 1815, contains the extraordinary news from Europe of the return of Napoleon Bonaparte as the Emperor of France on the 20th of March and the departure of King Louis and the princes of his family for England on the 19th of March. This extraordinary series of events filled practically the whole paper of May 5, 1815. On June 5th, D. Drake & Company published a card notifying the inhabitants that they had commenced the manufacturing of artificial mineral waters in a retired department of their drug store where ladies who were desirous of attending at the fountain could find it sufficiently detached from the bustle and confusion of business as to render their visits tranquil as they were salutary and refreshing. The ship news at the port of Cincinnati of that day announces the arrival on June 1st of the barge "Nonsuch," Capt. M. Baum of New Orleans, cargo,—cotton and sugar. On June 19th is chronicled the fact that the steamboat "Enterprise" had arrived at Louisville on the 1st instant in 25 days from New Orleans; left Louisville on the 10th and arrived at this place on the 13th. She departed on the 15th for Pittsburg. On the same day J. B. Robinson claims that three gentlemen whom he denominates as thieves and robbers had broken into his enclosure to steal the dimension of his horse wheel in order to obtain a patent right for their invention. He offers six cents for the disclosure of their names.

That the publisher's lot is not always a happy one is shown by the advertisement of M. S. Petit to the patrons of the *Spirit of the West* to the effect that circumstances of an uncontrollable nature had compelled him to dispose of his printing establishment and he therefore called upon his patrons for arrearages. His embarrassments were too well known to require a minutia of explanation. He was confined in the prison cell for debt.

Other extras were called for on August 17th and August 21st by reason of the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. The first extra contains Wellington's account (dated June 19) of his success and the second gives the news of the abdication of Napoleon and the proclamation of his son as Emperor under the title of Napoleon II.

The first issue of the combined paper, *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, was that of December 11, 1815. The explanation of the addition to the title is given by the publishers in a statement to the effect that it was from a desire not only to designate the place of publication but the object,—"that of an ardent zeal for the welfare of this flourishing city and State." The new paper continued to be of the same size, four pages of five columns each. The first page of the first number was entirely taken up by advertisements but this was soon changed and a large part of the advertisements was moved to the last page. The local news was as before of very slight consequence, the first number in fact not containing any local item.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE TOWN OF CINCINNATI (1802-1819)—IV.

RELIGION, EDUCATION, MEDICINE, INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND WAR OF 1812.

THE CHURCHES—THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS—THE MEDICAL PROFESSION—THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS—STEAMBOATS—PHYSICAL DISTURBANCES—THE GROWTH OF THE POPULATION—THE MARKETS—THE BRIDGES—THE WAR OF 1812.

THE CHURCHES.

A number of changes took place in the religious community during the town life of Cincinnati. After the termination of the pastorate of Rev. Mr. Wallace in April, 1804, the First Presbyterian Church was without any minister for a few years. The New Light doctrines seem to have produced dissensions and it was impossible to agree upon a permanent pastor. Three ministers, Revs. Dunlevy, McNemar and Thompson, had seceded from the Presbytery and the first two finally joined the Shakers. In fact the Cincinnati church was refused representation in that body because of allowing New Light preachers in its pulpit. Rev. Peter Davis officiated for a short time and at his death Rev. John Davies also acted on occasion. Interest in the church was revived in the fall and winter of 1806 and in January, 1807, the church was regularly incorporated at the First Presbyterian Society. Its first trustees, elected July 1st of that year, were James Ewin, Joseph Van Horn, David E. Wade, Thomas McFarland and Robert Merrie. Jacob Burnet was the treasurer. Its membership had increased to about eighty and the church longed "for a man of God who would take charge of it and stay." The man was found in the person of Rev. Joshua Lacy Wilson, who accepted the charge of the church on May 28, 1808, coming to this city from Bardstown, Kentucky. Wilson was a man of great ability, at that time 34 years of age and of four years service in the ministry. He remained for 38 years "a powerful and positive force in the community. * * * He had the ruggedness and severity of doctrinal conviction that impress while they dismay us in Hawthorne's pictures of Puritan New England. He prosecuted the trial of Lyman Beecher his brother pastor and pressed it to the conclusion, animated by the same spirit that was in Prym and Prynne, in Mather and Eliot. The voice of Nicaea was not more binding upon Athanasius and Leo, than was the truth as he had been taught it upon Dr. Wilson, and no man ever spoke with less uncertain sound upon the principles of the faith." (Dudley Ward Rhodes.)

Wilson was a native of Bedford County, Virginia, where he was born on September 22, 1774. His parents subsequently moved to Kentucky at the time he was seven years of age and it was there he made his preparation for the ministry for which he was ordained by the Presbytery of Transylvania. He entered upon his work when he was 30 years of age at Bardstown where he remained until he removed to

Cincinnati in 1808. His ministry here was terminated by his death March 14, 1846. His body rests in Spring Grove Cemetery.

Mansfield comments on him as follows: "The city he found a village of one thousand inhabitants, and left it, at his death, with one hundred thousand. In this period Dr. Wilson maintained throughout the same uniform character and the same inflexible firmness in principle. He was a man of ardent temperament, with great energy and decision of character. The principles he once adopted he held with indomitable courage and unyielding tenacity. He was not only a Presbyterian, but one of the strictest sect. It is not strange, therefore, that he contended with earnestness for what he thought the faith once delivered to the saints, and that in this he sometimes appeared as much of the soldier as the saint. In consequence of these characteristics, many persons supposed him a harsh or bigoted man. But this was a mistake, unless to be in earnest is harshness, and to maintain one's principles bigotry. On the contrary, Dr. Wilson was kind, charitable, and in those things he thought right, liberal. Among these was the great cause of popular education. Of this he was a most zealous advocate, but demanded that education should be founded on religion, and the Bible should be a primary element in all public education."

The same writer in his "Memories" says of him that after making due allowance for generals, lawyers and merchants there was no man in the Cincinnati of that day (1825) more noted, more respected or more remarkable. "Personally I knew little of him, but his name and acts in society were known to everybody. He was a man amiable in character, just in life, of great authority and scarcely less pugnacity. So though no Ishmaelite his hand was uplifted against the Ishmaelites when they came in his way. * * * * Wilson took the Bible in the simplicity of faith and its terms literally. It is said he never would have a portrait or picture in his house because it was an image. He was a strict Calvinist and thought he should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the Saints." (Memories, p. 150.)

The pastorate of Dr. Wilson was so successful that in 1812 it became necessary to arrange for a larger building. For this purpose another subscription paper was circulated. By its terms the money was to erect an edifice for public worship in which each subscriber should have the right to purchase a pew at public auction, which pews were to be subject to an annual tax for the support of the minister. The subscriptions given aggregated $16,745, and some of the sums given were quite large. William Lytle gave in land $1,000 and Jacob Burnet and Martin Baum gave $500 each. Daniel Symmes, David E. Wade, Jesse Hunt, Lucy Ziegler, James Ferguson and Joel Williams gave $400 each, the last named subscription being in land. Joseph Ruffner, William Woodward, Elmore Williams, William Stanley and Thomas Graham gave $300 each. John Riddle and James Riddle gave $250 each. Nicholas Longworth subscribed the same sum, of which $200 was to be in cash. His subscription was conditional upon the raising of $12,000. Others subscribed sums varying from $200 down as low as $25. Among the prominent names of these subscribers are those of Culbertson Park, Samuel Stitt, Francis Carr, Casper Hopple, Griffin Yeatman, Samuel Lowry, William Barr, John Kidd, David Kilgour, William Irwin, Jacob Williams, Nathaniel Reeder, Jesse Reeder, William Betts, John S. Wallace, Jacob Baymiller and John Armstrong. Each one subscribed two hundred dollars. George P. Torrence, O. M. Spencer, Isaac Bates, Clark Bates, Charles L'Hommedieu, Daniel Drake, Robert Allison, Jonah Martin, Samuel W. Davies, and Jeremiah Hunt were also among the subscribers.

The building was begun at once but not completed until the winter of 1814. The structure which was afterwards known as the "two horned" church was situated just in the rear of the old building and faced Main street. It was of brick, 68 by 85 feet with two square towers crowned with cupolas at its corners which gave it its name. It contained a large audience room with one hundred and twelve pews provided by five broad aisles. Around three sides ran a gallery and in the back was an octagonal projection for a vestry. Its height from the ground was but 40 feet except at the corners where the cupolas were 80 feet high. This is what gave it the low and heavy appearance of which Dr. Drake complained.

The old church was sold to Rev. William Burke who conducted an independent Methodist church and who moved it to the west side of Vine street about where the Emery Arcade is now located. As is well known, in 1847 it was broken up and some of its timbers were used for building cottages in Texas at the northwest corner of Clark and Cutter streets.

The women of the congregation took a large part in its work. In the early directories full

lists of various societies connected with the church were given, together with the names of the officers which included many of the most prominent citizens of the day.

The growth of the city was probably the principal cause for the organization of a new church although the exact circumstances are not clearly understood. We are told that at a meeting of the session held September 13, 1814, that a communication was received from Charles Greene and John Kelso looking to the establishment of another church. This met with opposition but it was the beginning of the Second Presbyterian Church. The records of that society begin January 29, 1816, although its organization was not authoritatively settled until 1818. It originated virtually in a small colony from the First Church who worshiped for some two years in such rooms as they could find about the city, in private houses, in school rooms and the like. In an application to the Presbytery for a minister to supply them, they offered the sum of $550 per annum. In 1817 or 1818 they erected a small building on the east side of Walnut street a little north of Fifth, where they continued to worship for about 12 years. "The erection of this humble building cost them not a little of trouble and anxiety. One of those mothers in Israel used to relate that at one time they were stopped in the work for want of lumber; they had not been able to lay it in beforehand, and there was none in the city, and none expected.

"They had a prayer-meeting at her house, and, among other things, prayed earnestly that God would help them along with the work. Next morning some of the members happening to be at the river, saw a raft of lumber afloat which the men aboard could not land for want of help. So they hurried out, helped them ashore, and in return got a supply of lumber very cheap, and thanked God for it. The architect of the Court House had a lot of window-sash, which, through some mistake, would not fit, and gave them to the church at half price. Thus it was that little church was built.

"The salary of Mr. Root, the first settled pastor, was nominally one thousand dollars; but it was fixed at a time when the circulating medium here was greatly depreciated, and ultimately contracts of that period were generally settled at one-third discount for specie; so that Mr. Root received only six hundred and sixty-six dollars in coin. I presume his salary was ultimately raised above that sum, though I find no record of it." (Nathaniel Wright's Memorial Address, p. 9.)

The membership of this church included some of the most prominent of the early citizens, among them such men as Judge Burnet, Martin Baum, John H. Groesbeck, Nathaniel Wright and Henry Starr. Of the first 11 members, however, but four were men. The church prospered and grew until it found it necessary to move once more, which it did in 1830. In this year it took charge of the building on the south side of Fourth street between Vine and Race, the site of the present McAlpin store where it remained for 43 years, to remove at the end of that time to its present location at Eighth and Elm streets.

Rev. William Burke had preached several times, as already stated, in the dwellings of the Methodists and once in the Court House but the actual birth of Methodism in Cincinnati is said to be due to Rev. John Collins who was a farmer living on the east fork of the Little Miami. In New Jersey, his old home, he had been licensed as a local preacher and had preached in his own neighborhood beyond the Miami on several occasions. One day he came to town to buy salt and to his great joy he found that the storekeper Mr. Carter was a Methodist. Such an opportunity could not be neglected and in the evening the young New Jersey exhorter preached to 12 people in an upper room in Mr. Carter's house on Front street between Walnut and Vine. The text of the sermon was: "And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall de damned." Mark XVI, 15, 16.

The assemblage is described by the writer of the life of Collins as follows: "Will the reader linger a moment on that remarkable congregation of twelve—not remarkable for their positions in society, but as the first assemblage of Methodists, to hear a sermon by a Methodist preacher, in a town which, in a few years, was to become noted for Methodism? In the small apartment, lighted with one or two flickering candles, sat the twelve. The preacher performed his duty most faithfully and affectionately. Many tears were shed. Some wept under a conviction of their sins, others from a joyful hope of the future. The speaker had a word for each hearer, and it took effect. There were no dry eyes nor unfeeling hearts in the congregation. How small and how feeble was this

beginning; and yet who can limit the consequences which followed it?"

Shortly afterwards, Rev. John Sale, from the Scioto circuit, preached in a house on Main street between Front and Second streets to a congregation of 35 people and organized the first society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati.

"After preaching, a proposition was made to organize a society in the usual way, and according to the discipline of the church. Accordingly, a chapter was read from the Bible; then followed singing, prayer, and the reading of the General Rules of the society. All then who felt desirous of becoming members of the society, and were willing to abide by the General Rules as they had been read, came forward and gave in their names. The number who presented themselves on that occasion was only eight, consisting of the following, namely: Mr. and Mrs. Carter, their son and daughter (the latter afterwards Mrs. Dennison, mother of Governor Dennison, and long a resident of Cincinnati), Mr. and Mrs. Gibson, and Mr. and Mrs. St. Clair. Mr. Gibson was appointed the reader.

"A regular church being organized, arrangements were made to have preaching regularly every two weeks by the circuit preachers. The society received an accession in the ensuing spring by the arrival in town of two Methodist families, namely, those of Messrs. Nelson and Hall, and their families. * * * * Meetings were held in the little log school house below the Hill, and not far from the old fort. The location of this school house was such as to accommodate the villagers; and as its site was somewhere not far from the intersection of Lawrence and Congress streets, it is presumed that this portion of the town was the most thickly inhabited. Sometimes the rowdies would stone the house; and on one occasion Ezekiel Hall, a zealous Methodist, and one who was always present to lead the singing, was taken by the rowdies after the meeting, and carried to his home on Main street, where, after giving him three hearty cheers for his zeal and fortitude, they left him. The rioters were followed by two very strong young men, who were members of the church, and had determined at all hazards to protect their feeble brother. The young men were Benjamin Stewart, now (1854) living near Carthage, in this county, and Robert Richardson, now living on Broadway, in this city." (Finley's Western Methodism.)

During the following year the Methodist minister was Rev. John Meek. In this year too was held under the direction of Rev. William Burke, the presiding elder, the first revival meeting. Enthusiasm by this time had reached the point of erecting a church. A lot for the building and for the cemetery was purchased on the north side of Fifth street between Sycamore and Broadway and here on the site of the present Wesley Chapel was erected the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church so long known as the "Old Stone Church," which was finished and dedicated in 1806. This building was about 20 feet wide and 40 feet long and was soon found of insufficient capacity. The rear end was taken out and a brick structure 20 feet deep was added to it. In course of time the sides of the brick part were taken out and the building extended 20 feet in three directions giving the church the form of a cross. This church was the scene of many interesting episodes. Elder William Burke was regularly assigned to it in 1811 and preached there three times every Sunday and on Wednesday nights. As the Methodists were too poor to buy a stove to warm the house in winter and crowded the church to its full capacity every Sunday morning, the breath of the listeners would condense on the walls, causing the water to run down and across the floor. Father Burke as he was called finally lost his voice and Mansfield says that he "always spoke low and in guttural tones. He was always chewing tobacco, and being a postmaster was always a Democrat. He was a strong Methodist and seemed an amiable man." (Memories, p. 152.)

Another incident of early Methodist days is told concerning the Conference in 1813. The crowds were so large that no church was able to hold them and the meeting was adjourned to Lower Market street between Sycamore and Broadway. Here at eleven o'clock the services began, being participated in by Rev. Learner Blackman and several other ministers. Among the latter was the John Collins of the earlier days, "who, from the same butcher's block whereon the preachers had stood, commenced, with a soft and silvery voice, to sell the shambles, as only John Collins could, in the market. These he made emblematic of a full salvation, without money and without price. It was not long till the vast assembly were in tears at the melting, moving strains of the eloquent preacher."

The first named minister, Rev. Learner Blackman, was one of the most brilliant of the earlier Methodist preachers. He was a brother-in-law of Collins and in the fall of 1815 was crossing the river with his newly married young wife

to Covington on the way to his new station in Kentucky. The ferry boat was a crazy craft with sails and paddles. The hoisting of the sails frightened Mr. Blackman's horses and they plunged overboard dragging him with them. Although a good swimmer, he was entangled in the harness and was struck by the heels of the animals and sank at once.

Other churches established during this period were those of the New Jerusalem Society founded in 1811 by Rev. Adam Hurdus, and the Friends whose meeting house was west of Western row between Fourth and Fifth streets on a site part of which is still owned by that organization. The first meeting house was built by Peyton Short of Kentucky in the year 1800 (this date is disputed). The people are said to have wondered "why he built those two nice hewn log houses away out in the woods there." After a time one John Arnot rented the one toward the west and "cut wood on the lot and with a cart and two oxen hauled the wood away down town." This house was bought by the Friends in 1813. A frame structure was put on the east and with a few changes the building served its purpose until 1859 when it was replaced by the brick building so familiar to our contemporaries. Before this time the Friends had held their gatherings in private houses, particularly that of the late Oliver M. Spencer, and a public meeting had been held in the Court House on Main street south of Fifth street in the year 1812, which was attended by the celebrated English Quaker, Elizabeth Robson.

The first Baptist Church was a log house on Front, street, where, in 1813, 11 members worshiped for a time. By 1815 it had increased to a membership of 30 and the congregation augmented in a corresponding degree. The first baptism by immersion was performed in the summer of 1814. The church soon moved to its brick building at Sixth street and Lodge alley, where it had been presented with a lot by Gen. John S. Gano. The church divided in 1816 and the minority party for a time existed as the Enon Baptist Church.

The German Christian Church was started in 1814 by Rev. Joseph Zesline who died in 1818. Father Burke's church known as the Wesleyan Methodist Church was incorporated in 1817. It worshiped for a long time on Vine between Fourth and Fifth streets.

The first Protestant Episcopal Church known as Christ Church was formed at Dr. Drake's house on East Third street on May 18, 1817. Among the original members were General Harrison, Griffin Yeatman, Jacob Baymiller and Arthur St. Clair, Jr. The congregation met about from place to place at first, at times in a large cotton factory in Lodge alley between Fifth and Sixth streets, then in the old Presbyterian Church and finally in the Baptist building on West Sixth street which was bought by this church. Rev. Samuel Johnson was the rector at this time. In 1818 the society purchased a burial lot for $3,000, which was afterwards sold to the city in 1860 for $35,000 and now forms a part of Washington Park.

The Catholic Church continued to increase in numbers, but seems to have had no fixed place of abode. A frame church had been built for it in the so-called "Northern Liberties" but as yet no priest had been assigned to it.

Several of the churches had cemeteries attached to them. The only public cemetery was that of the First Presbyterian Church, which by 1810 had become so nearly filled as to make necessary the purchase of one of the out-lots on the site of Washington Park. The Methodist Church had a small cemetery attached to it but the Baptist Church by reason of the smallness of its lot was without any special burying place. The same is true of the Society of Friends.

THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

An act passed February 3, 1807 (5 O. L., 120), appointed John Riddle, Joseph Van Horn, William Stratton, Ethan Stone, Stephen Wood, Samuel Hildritch, Luke Foster, Matthew Nimmo and Daniel Symmes, commissioners to raise by way of a lottery a sum not to exceed $6,000 for the benefit of the Cincinnati University. At least $1,500 of this sum was to be expended for books and astronomical apparatus. The commissioners were to be sworn before the clerk of the court and to publish their scheme of the lottery in three or more newspapers and enter into a bond for the sum of $50,000 each. The result of the drawing was to be published in the newspapers of Cincinnati and Chillicothe and filed with the clerk of the Court of Common Pleas of Hamilton County. The commissioners were not permitted to retain more than 15 per cent of the whole prizes obtained in said lottery.

By a subsequent act passed February 17, 1807 (7 O. L. 195), the commissioners were given greater powers with regard to the details of the scheme and William Ruffin, William Ramsey, Martin Baum and Jacob Burnet were appointed commissioners in place of Ethan Stone, Samuel

Hildritch, Matthew Nimmo and Daniel Symmes who had refused to act.

In the year 1806 an association under the name of the Cincinnati University had been formed which was incorporated in the following year by special act of the Legislature. Unfortunately it was without endowment and permission was obtained from the Legislature to obtain money by this lottery. A large number of tickets were sold, but the lottery for some reason never took place nor was the money refunded. The school house which had been erected was blown down on Sunday, May 28, 1809, and the Cincinnati University slumbered for some time longer. (Drake's Picture of Cincinnati, p. 157.)

A more successful attempt to establish an institution for the instruction of the youth of the city was made a little later. In 1814 Dr. Daniel Drake and Rev. Joshua L. Wilson became interested in the system of education which passed under the name of Joseph Lancaster, an Englishman, although really the suggestion of Andrew Bell, a Scotchman. The fundamental principle of this system was the use of the elder pupils as monitors and to some extent teachers, in whose charge were placed the younger scholars. It had been for a time very successful in England and seemed particularly adapted to a new community where there was a great scarcity of properly qualified teachers.

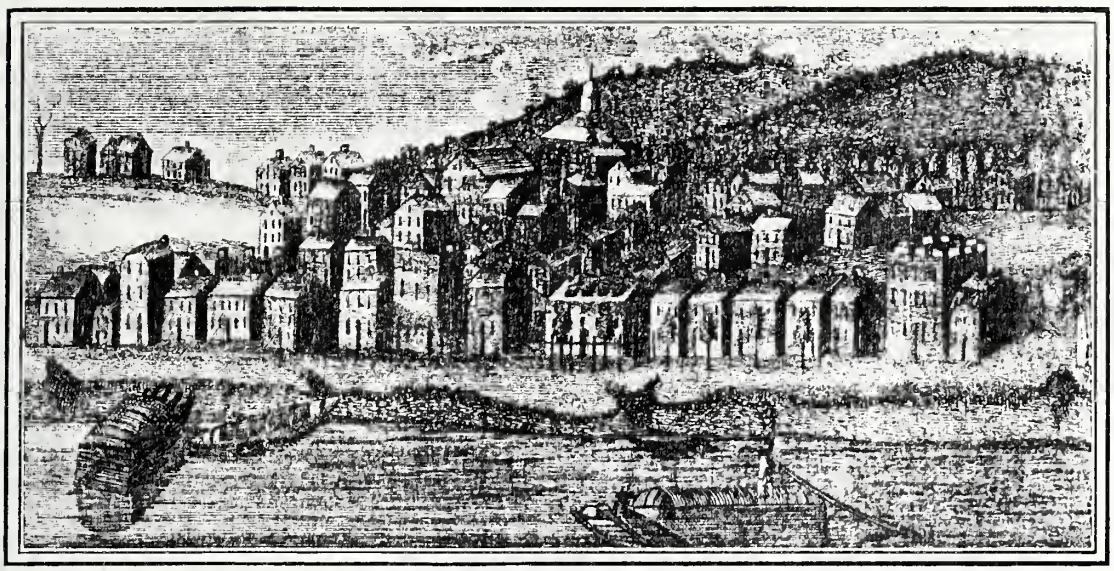
In 1814 one Edmond Harrison from Tennessee who had received instruction in the system from a pupil of Lancaster came to Cincinnati for the purpose of undertaking a school on this plan. He first made a proposition to the Methodist Church of which he was a member to establish a denominational school on the Lancasterian plan. The proposition was at once accepted and Rev. Oliver M. Spencer drew up the articles for the government of the association but made no provision for the so-called higher instruction. To this omission and also to a requirement that a majority of the trustees should be members of the Methodist Church, exception was taken by a number of citizens and a rival institution was organized to which was given the name of the Cincinnati Lancaster Seminary.

The two institutions were very soon united into one and on February 4, 1815, an act was passed incorporating Oliver M. Spencer, William Lytle, Martin Baum, John Kidd, and others under the name of the Lancaster Seminary. By this act power to acquire property to the extent of $10,000 was given as well as authority to employ teachers. No political, religious, moral or literary association was to have an ascendency in the directory nor were the tenets of any particular sect to be taught. The first trustees named were Jacob Burnet, Nicholas Longworth, Davis Embree, William Corry, Charles Marsh and Daniel Drake.

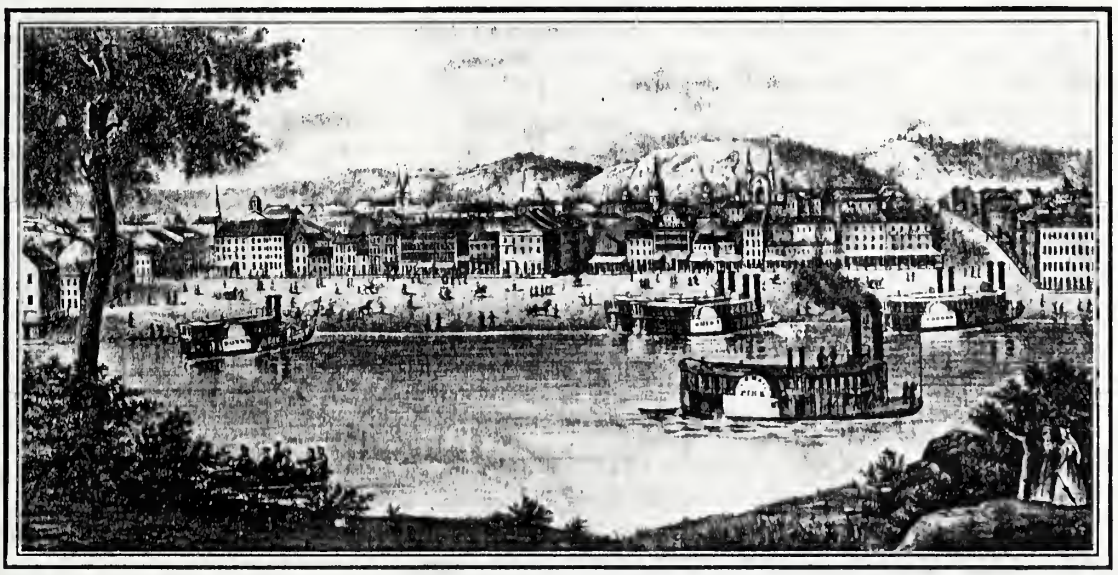
The Presbyterian Church executed a 99-year lease of the school lots at Fourth and Walnut as a site for the building, reserving the privilege of selecting 28 poor children each year who should be instructed without compensation. The seminary was to consist of a junior and a senior department, each in turn to have separate provision for the education of males and females. The junior department was to be organized on the Lancasterian plan and its surplus revenues were to be applied to the purchase of books and philosophical apparatus for the senior department. The price of schooling in this department and junior department was $8 a year and the children of a shareholder who died without leaving provision for their education were entitled to the regular course of instruction in the lower department. Jacob Burnet became the president from the outset.

The erection of a building upon a plan prepared by Isaac Stagge had been begun in 1814 and by April 17, 1815, one of the lower rooms was completed and a school composed of children of both sexes was opened. Within a fortnight 420 were admitted which was the limit of the capacity of the institution and subsequent applications had to be rejected. "By the indefatigable exertions of the teacher, order and method were at length introduced, and the proficiency of the scholars has equalled all reasonable expectation. A second school on the same plan for females only has just been commenced and promises to be well filled. The Board of Directors by a late resolution have decreed the establishment of a school for children of color, in a separate house; but no teacher has yet been procured." (Picture of Cincinnati, p. 157.)

Liberty Hall on Tuesday, March 7, 1815, contains the following notice: "Opening of the Lancaster Seminary. The directors of this institution are happy to inform the inhabitants of Cincinnati and its vicinity that they will commence a school on Monday the 27th instant. The terms of tuition are, to freeholders resident in the town who are not shareholders in the Seminary and to those shareholders who are in arrears $2.50 per quarter for each scholar—to all others $2.00. Those persons who wish to



CINCINNATI IN 1810.
(From Cutler's "Topographical Description," 1812.)



CINCINNATI IN 1840.
(From Shaffer's Directory of 1840.)

enter as scholars will please to apply at an early period to Jacob Burnet, Charles Marsh, William Corry, Nicholas Longworth, Davis Embree, and Daniel Drake and procure a certificate of admission which must be immediately presented to the teacher, Mr. Edmond Harrison, who may be found in the Seminary or at his dwelling near the Methodist meeting house. By order of the Board of Directors, D. Drake secretary.

A few weeks later it became necessary to announce that the opening of the school had been postponed by reason of the illness of the teacher. Coupled with this announcement is also the announcement of the annual meeting for the election of directors. This called forth a number of communications to the newspaper complaining of the delay in starting the school and other grievances.

There had been subscribed for the benefit of the seminary about $12,000 in shares of $25 each and provision was made by which the banks loaned sufficient money to erect the building. The building itself was described in the Directory of 1819 (p. 34) as "a capacious brick building, two stories in height, consisting of two parallel wings 90 feet in length and connecting by an intermediate apartment 18 by 30 feet, in which is a staircase leading into the rooms of the second story of each wing. This connecting apartment supports a handsome dome designed for an observatory and a bell and is placed between the wings 12 feet back of the front in order to admit of a gallery and rows of Tuscan pillars which the proprietors intend to erect. The wings are divided into convenient apartments for the different branches of science." (See also Drake's Picture of Cincinnati, pp. 136 and 155.)

As finally completed, the lower rooms had accommodations for about 900 children and the whole for 1,400. In the upper story was a large room which was used for apparatus and the general purposes of a philosophical hall. The building was considered the finest public edifice west of the Alleghanies.

An Englishman, Henry Bradshaw Fearon, who visited the city in 1817 described the condition of education in the village at that time as follows:

"The school house, when the whole plan is completed, will be a fine and extensive structure. In the first apartment, on the ground floor, the Lancasterian plan is already in successful operation. I counted one hundred and fifty scholars, among whom were children of the most respectable persons in the town, or, to use an American phrase, 'of the first standing.' This school house is, like most establishments in this country, a joint-stock concern. The terms for education, in the Lancasterian department, are to shareholders eleven shillings and threepence per quarter, others thirteen shillings and sixpence. There are in the same building three other departments (not Lancasterian); two for instruction in history, geography, and the classics, and the superior department for teaching languages. Males and females are taught in the same room, but sit on opposite sides. The terms for the historical, etc., department are, to shareholders, twenty-two shillings and sixpence per quarter; others twenty-seven shillings. There were present twenty-one males and nineteen females. In the department of languages the charge is, to shareholders, thirty-six shillings per quarter; others, forty-five shillings. Teachers are paid a yearly salary by the company. These men are, I believe, New Englanders, as are the schoolmasters in the Western country generally.

"I also visited a poor, half-starved, civil schoolmaster. He has two miserable rooms, for which he pays twenty-two shillings and sixpence per month; the number of scholars, both male and female, is twenty-eight; terms for all branches thirteen shillings and sixpence per quarter. He complains of great difficulty in getting paid, and also of the untameable insubordination of his scholars. The superintendent of the Lancasterian school informs me that they could not attempt to put in practice the greater part of the punishments as directed by the founder of that system."

One of the incorporators, Capt. John Kidd, died February 16, 1810. By his will executed the year before he directed his executors, Joshua L. Wilson and Oliver M. Spencer, to apply and expend for the education of poor children and youth in the town of Cincinnati the rents and proceeds from a perpetual lease of the lot at the corner of Front and Main streets to John Smith and David Loring. This was the first of the gifts of citizens to the cause of education. This fund amounting to $1,000 a year was paid for six years to the Cincinnati College that succeeded the Lancaster Seminary and upon its proceeds during this time from 75 to 100 were educated upon the Lancasterian plan. Afterwards when the tuition was reduced, some 325 children received its benefit. In 1825 an adverse claim was made against the property and finally the city lost the bequest.

An interesting adjunct to the cause of education was the School of Literature and the Arts, an association for literary and scientific improvement composed chiefly of young men organized in 1813 with Joshua Meigs as its first president. The exercises of the meeting included an address from the president, an essay from one of the members and a poetical recitation from another. The first anniversary was held on November 23, 1814, at which an oration was delivered by appointment from which says Dr. Drake it appeared that many interesting lectures and essays had been delivered and that infant institution was probably the germ of a permanent and respectable society. This organization is not mentioned in the first directory. Speaking of it, Judge Charles D. Drake, in the admirable biography of his father prefixed to the latter's letters to his children, says:

"That there should have been a School of Literature and the Arts organized in Cincinnati in 1813, when its population could not probably have exceeded four thousand, and it was still in the Far West, will be regarded as a fact of interest by those who have known that place only as a central object in a region inhabited by millions, among whom knowledge and intelligence are well nigh universally diffused.

"It is curious to know what, in that early period, the School of Literature and the Arts did. It appears from this address that during the first year of its existence it had assembled more than twenty times for literary exercises. He (Dr. Drake) says:

"'The essays of the members equalled all reasonable expectation. Some of them consisted chiefly of original matter, while others manifested a degree of research which is honorable to their authors and auspicious to the school. It would be amusing to review their contents; but, being restricted to limits too narrow for the undertaking, I will substitute a catalogue of their titles, that by a single glance we can see the number and diversity of the subjects to which our attention has been directed. I shall enumerate them in the order of their delivery:

"'1, An Essay on Education; 2, On the Earthquakes of 1811, 1812, 1813; 3, On Light; 4, On Carbon; 5, On Air; 6, On the Mind; 7, On Agriculture; 8, On Caloric; 9, On Gravitation; 10, On Instinct; 11, Notices of the Aurora Borealis of the 17th of April and 11th of September, 1814; 12, An Essay on Water, considered chemically and hydrostatically; 13, On Common Sense; 14, On Heat; 15, On the Mechanical Powers; 16, On the Theory of Earthquakes; 17, On Enthusiasm; 18, On the Geology of Cincinnati and its vicinity, illustrated with mineral specimens and a vertical map; 19, On the Internal Commerce of the United States; 20, On Hydrogen; 21, On Rural Economy; 22, On the Geology of some parts of New York; 23, On General Commerce.

"'The third and subordinate portion of our exercises, poetical recitations, has been strictly performed, and our album of poetry already exhibits specimens indicative of a cultivated taste. The proposition to connect with the pieces recited such critical remarks as they may suggest, has received some attention, and promises to give to this branch an interest and dignity which were not originally anticipated.'" (Pioneer Life in Kentucky, p. XVIII.)

Mr. Mansfield, who lived at the place of Col. Isaac Bates, attended a school in 1811 at a log school house which was located nearly opposite the present House of Refuge. At the close of the quarter in July there was a spelling battle and he came off at the head of the school. The pupils were then formed in a column and marched to a tavern near the present House of Refuge where the schoolmaster treated them to cherry bounce which was very strong and made Mansfield's head reel.

Mrs. Williams' school for young ladies at the house of Mr. Newman, saddler, was opened in the spring of 1802.

Another academy was that of Edward B. Hannegan opened on October 10, 1805. Hannegan's school is said to have been kept in Fort Washington. Maj. Daniel Gano was one of the pupils.

Another teacher of the early days was Oliver C. B. Stewart, who kept a Latin and English school in the first years of the century.

A boarding school some distance west of the city on the present site of Sedamsville was kept in a single room log cabin about 15 feet square by a couple named Carpenter in the year 1805. Major Gano also attended this school.

A number of other schools are referred to in advertisements in the papers of the day, but they were in the main quite short lived.

In the *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette* of October 23, 1805, appears an advertisement of books, largely school books, offered for sale by Thomas Dugan, nearly opposite the Court House. Among those mentioned are "Marshall on Sanctification, Guthrie's Arithmetic, Pike's do. Sheridan's Dictionary, Entick's do. Gibson's

Surveying, Clerk's Magazine, Scott's Lessons, Lyle's Grammar, Kentucky & Other Hymn Books, David's Psalms, American Preceptor, Bibles, Testaments, Music Books, Blank do. and a variety of chap books, &c. &c."

S. S. L'Hommedieu tells us that in the years 1810, 1811 and 1812 there were but three or four small schools. One of these was kept in the second story of a frame building on the southwest corner of Sixth and Main by Thomas H. Wright. The stairs to the school room were on the outside of the house on Sixth street. John Hilton had a school over a cabinet-maker's shop on the east side of Main between Fifth and Sixth and David Cathcart held forth on the west side of Walnut near Fourth. Each school had about 40 scholars. "There was a custom in those early days, when the boys wanted a holiday, to join in 'barring out' the schoolmaster. Providing themselves with some provisions, they would take the opportunity, when the schoolmaster was out at noon, to fasten the windows, and bolt and doubly secure the door, so as to prevent Mr. Schoolmaster from obtaining entrance.

"In the years 1811 and 1812, my father lived nearly opposite the school of Mr. Wright, and I remember, on one occasion, to have seen him on his stairs, fretting, scolding, threatening the boys, and demanding entrance; but to no purpose, except on their terms; namely a day's holiday and a treat to apples, cider and gingercakes. There are, probably, those present who attended this school.

"There was still another custom among Western schoolboys in the early days of Cincinnati. At that time every one who came from east of the mountains was called a Yankee, whether from Maryland or New England. The first appearance of the Yankee boy at school, and during intermission, was the time for the Yankee to be whipped out of him. When I first witnessed the operation, I was too small to be whipped; but my elder brothers caught it. Not long afterward, I helped to whip the Yankee out of the Hon. Caleb B. Smith and his brothers, who came from Boston." (Cincinnati Pioneer, No. III, p. 30.)

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

The medical fraternity is treated in a separate chapter of this work but no account of the life of Cincinnati during its existence as a town would be complete without special reference to Dr. Daniel Drake whose name has appeared many times in these pages. The bare outline in the facts of his life gives no adequate impression of the influence he exerted.

Arriving at Cincinnati December 18, 1800, a boy of 15 years of age, he very shortly obtained prominence in the young community and for a half century until the time of his death, November 5, 1852, he was one of the few men who could dispute the claim to the title of the most prominent man of the place. He was born at Plainfield, New Jersey, October 20, 1785 and came with his parents to Kentucky when he was but two and one-half years of age so that his life in the West began with that of the West itself.

In his letters to his children published nine years after his death is given the best account we have of the pioneer life of Kentucky and the West during those days. His father was a poor man and in fact affluence never fell to the lot of Drake for any considerable period of his life. The family's first residence was a sheep pen and from Drake's earliest boyhood he was obliged to perform the severest labor of the farm as his father was not able to hire any assistance. The so-called strenuous life of modern days fades into insignificance and the term becomes one of ridicule as compared with the labor that fell to the lot of the early pioneer.

Drake tells of his mother, tired out with the diet of bread and meat, making a call in a neighboring cabin where a woman was churning. She had fixed her heart on a drink of buttermilk and as the butter was ladled out and the churn set aside with the delicious beverage for which she was too proud to ask and which the other perhaps did not think of giving, she hastily left the house and took a good crying spell. (Pioneer Life in Kentucky, page 11.)

His early education was obtained in a log cabin school house and from the few books in his father's library. In his 15th year on the morning of December 16, 1800, he set out on horseback for Fort Washington and on the 19th the first student of medicine in Cincinnati entered that village. He entered the office of Dr. Goforth where he was medical student, apothecary's boy and lad of all work. Two years later Dr. John Stites who had studied medicine at Philadelphia became the partner of Goforth and for a time the instructor of Drake. In May, 1804, Goforth took the 18-year old boy into partnership. In the following year he conceived the idea of studying in Philadelphia and although the receipts of the partnership had been very small he set forth with what has been called the

first medical diploma ever granted in the interior valley of North America. This was given him by Dr. Goforth himself and was an "autographed diploma setting forth his ample attainments in all the branches of the profession and subscribing himself as he really was Surgeon General of the First Division of Ohio Militia." By this authority he practiced medicine for 11 years until he received a diploma from the Pennsylvania University, "the first ever conferred by that or any other school on a Cincinnati student."

In 1806 he came West and practiced medicine for a time in his Kentucky home. In the spring of 1807 Dr. Goforth made his pilgrimage to New Orleans and Drake on April 10th returned to Cincinnati to take Goforth's place, bringing with him his brother Benjamin. He succeeded in retaining Dr. Goforth's practice and became prominent both in professional and social circles. He plunged eagerly into the life of the community and took part in its varied activities. He was a member of the debating society to which most of the prominent professional men belonged, being elsewhere referred to. He also took part in the private theatricals in which there appeared also Joseph G. Totten (afterwards general of engineers), Sill (subsequently member of Congress from Pennsylvania) and John F. Mansfield, as well as other young men. "The corps being entirely deficient in females, the young men had to assume both the parts and dress of the female characters. The performance took place in a large barn and is said to have gone off with great eclat." He became a frequent visitor to the house of Jared Mansfield who then lived in the Ludlow place and there in the fall of 1807 he married Harriet Sisson the 19-year old niece of Mansfield. The young couple went to housekeeping on the east side of Sycamore street between Third and Fourth in a two-story frame building and the married life which began here continued for 18 years. There is nothing more touching than the account given by Drake himself in the manuscript found after his death in which he pays a tribute to the memory of his wife. She was a companion to him in every sense of the word, shared in his reading, criticised his writing and traveled with him in his journeys more than five thousand miles by land and water and accompanied him in his doctor's gig each day on his round of visits to his patients.

In 1810 he published the pamphlet of 64 pages entitled "Notices Concerning Cincinnati," the first and rarest publication about the city. This was printed at the office of Rev. John Browne and was set we are told by an apprentice, Sacket Reynolds. In the year 1814 he delivered the anniversary address before the School of Literature and the Arts at Cincinnati.

In the following year he published the most important of the early books about the city, the "Picture of Cincinnati," a work which had occupied the leisure moments snatched from the practice of his profession during the preceding five years. He was also engaged in running a drug store on Main street between Second and Third and finally added to the sale of drugs the sale of groceries. In this undertaking his brother Benjamin joined him. He was active also in the business of the Lancaster Seminary of which he was secretary and of the Library Society of which he was president. Drake felt at all times the need of study concerning the latest methods and theories of his profession and in 1815 after he had acquired a large practice and had engaged in numerous business enterprises and published two works about his city which had given him a wide-spread reputation, he returned with his wife to Philadelphia there to attend the lectures of the Pennsylvania University. He spent the winter in that city where he became acquainted with the leading men of his own and other professions and where he made a very strong impression upon all who met him and returned in May, 1816, with a degree, the first conferred by that institution upon a citizen of Cincinnati. Upon his return to Cincinnati, he took up immediately an active and profitable practice and once more became occupied in every phase of the community's life.

The drug stock on Main street opposite Lower Market he seems to have sold out upon his departure to Philadelphia to Dr. John Woolley but the store itself he retained and in March, 1816, it was reopened under the name of Isaac Drake & Company to do a general business of dry goods, hardware and groceries. Isaac Drake was his father.

We are told that at that time there was no specialization of business. Dealers in hardware sold groceries and dry goods men sold books. But one firm of the day, Yeatman & Anderson, had groceries only. The times were supposed to be prosperous. The war with Great Britain had a tendency to foster unnaturally American manufactures. Its conclusion not only opened up the markets to foreign goods but brought with it the evils that always follow a war,—those of extravagance. Drake however did not make

a success in his business venture. He sold out his shares in the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company, sold some of his real estate, borrowed considerable money and engaged somewhat extensively in new branches of business. In May, 1816, his firm announced that they furnished artificial mineral water, certainly a novelty for those days.

In the following year he became a member of the first faculty of the pioneer medical school of the West at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky. Lexington at that time was a town of an importance about equal to that of Cincinnati. This appointment however did not take him at once from the city and his practice increased constantly until it reached a point at this time of $7,000 a year, certainly a very large practice for those days. After a winter at Lexington he returned to Cincinnati in the spring of 1818 and began his work in connection with the public institutions of his own town. He notes considerable change in Cincinnati in the few years since he published his second volume about it. Two steamboats had been completed at the place within eight months and seven more were on stocks. The engines for them and all the iron machinery were made at an extensive iron foundry between his old residence and the river. The principal streets were about to be paved. A horse ferry boat had been built. The two newspapers had been enlarged and the third was about commenced.

Drake's business house was still in active operation and had established a branch at Miami town. He himself was delivering subscription lectures on botany and together with his partners, Dr. Coleman Rogers and Dr. Black of the Lancaster Seminary, he commenced medical lectures to a class of about 12. At this time he lived at "Mount Poverty," a log cabin 16 feet square lined with pine boards with a kitchen and a bed room in the wings and all of one story and covered with planks. This was on the Hill towards the northern part of the city between Sycamore and Broadway. It was surrounded by woods and almost a mile from the town. He lived here while finishing his new house at the corner of Third and Ludlow which he entered in the month of October, 1818. About this time he issued five pamphlets some of them more or less of controversial character and one an introduction to his lectures on botany. His medical lectures developed into a medical college and in December, 1818, he secured the passage of acts incorporating Cincinnati College to be formed out of the Lancaster Seminary, the Medical College of Ohio and the Commercial Hospital, the last named to be connected with the medical school but managed by the township trustees of Cincinnati. This last was endowed with one-fourth of the auction dues of the town, which in time became a large amount and it was also selected as the Marine Hospital of the United States, for sick seamen.

The opening of the school was delayed and did not take place until November, 1820, the year following that in which Cincinnati became a city and its history and that of Dr. Drake is connected with the history of the city rather than with that of the town. He was a leading citizen until his death in 1852.

Among other physicians during the town life was Dr. John Stites already mentioned. He came in 1802 from Philadelphia but staid less that a year. Dr. John Blackburn came in 1805 from Pensylvania and moved away in 1809. Blackburn acted as assistant surgeon in Col. John S. Wallace's regiment in the projected campaign against the Prophet. Dr. Samuel Ramsay came in 1808 and formed a partnership with Dr. Allison which continued until the latter's death. He continued in practice in Cincinnati until 1831 when he died at the age of 50.

THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

An important event in the city's history was the establishment in 1803 of the Miami Exporting Company. One of the greatest difficulties under which the people labored at that time was that of conveying their products to market and procuring in turn such articles as they needed. Roads had not yet been built, canals hardly thought of and the rivers were so impeded by obstructions of different sorts as to make their navigation difficult and hazardous. Even when the water was at its most favorable stage the distance of the market and the imperfect means of transportation together with the low price consumed a large proportion of a cargo in expenses. The boats used were the well known pirogues, flat-boats and keel-boats which occupied six months in making the trip to New Orleans and back. Flat-boats of course which floated down the river could not be taken back and had to be abandoned at the end of the trip. This made it necessary for the river men to return by land frequently on foot through the wilderness, a distance of seven hundred or eight hundred miles much of which was through an Indian country. Pirogues and keel-boats could

return, although at the expense of much labor, with such articles as could be obtained in the Southern markets. As a result commerce languished a little and no encouragement to engage in it or to a farmer to increase his products beyond his mere necessities was given. We are told by Judge Burnet that corn and oats rarely commanded more than ten or twelve cents a bushel and were frequently purchased at eight cents while wheat was from thirty to forty cents. The average price of good beef was one dollar and fifty cents a hundred and pork one to two dollars. The farmers were able to live independently in a simple and comfortable way without luxury but were unable to accomplish anything more. Under these circumstances, Jesse Hunt a merchant of experience suggested the plan and project of the Miami Exporting Company. He first proposed the question to the merchants of the city and the farmers as to whether it was not possible to devise a plan by which a corporation could be forwarded that would reduce the difficulty and expense of transportation. The suggestion met with a favorable response and as a result a charter was asked in the Legislature. There was some doubt as to the ultimate success of the scheme. As a result of this the company asked that its charter should include banking powers so that if the business of shipping should not succeed the capital invested could be used in banking. No concealment was made of this purpose. There was at the time no bank in the country and no prejudice against one. The first purpose of the organization was undoubtedly shipping but unfortunately both agriculture and commerce were at that time at a very low point. The first improvement in navigation had been effected by the introduction of barges moved by sails when there was a wind and by oars and poles when there was not. These vessels were able to carry more than fifty to eighty tons. This enabled them to reduce the freight from New Orleans to Cincinnati to about five or six dollars a hundred which was below the average charge of carriage across the mountains. These boats were operated by two houses in Cincinnati,—Baum & Perry and Riddle, Bechtle & Company,—until the introduction of steamboats about the year 1817. (Burnet's Notes, p. 397.)

The Miami Exporting Company it is claimed is entitled to the credit of being the first steamboat company organized in the West. The date of its temporary organization was February 21, 1803, and on the 4th of March of that year a general citizens' meeting was held at Grummon's Tavern at which Major Ruffin presided and Samuel C. Vance acted as secretary. The name was selected for the company at this meeting and on June 16th Martin Baum, Daniel Symmes, Samuel C. Vance, Christian Waldsmith, William C. Schenck, Matthew Hueston, Jesse Hunt, Daniel Mayo, William Lytle, John Bigger and Israel Ludlow were elected as directors. The company soon afterwards bought the unfinished boat which had been built by Samuel Highway and John Pool in accordance with the circular of March 25, 1801, concerning the construction of boats to be propelled by the power of steam or elastic vapor already quoted. Unfortunately the financial crisis which came on about that time made it impossible to complete this boat as a steamboat and it was fitted as a broadhorn and sent to New Orleans. Thus although the company was the first organized for the purpose of operating a steamboat, for the best of reasons—the lack of funds—it never carried out this particular purpose of its organization and the first steamboat launched on the Western waters, the "New Orleans," came from Pittsburg in the year 1811.

By 1807 it became apparent that the shipping business did not pay under the conditions of that date and the company concluded to abandon this department of the business and take up that of banking exclusively. The capital stock was made $500,000. This was divided into shares of $100, of which $450,000 had been paid in by 1815 by 190 persons. Martin Baum was president and Oliver M. Spencer, cashier. The notes issued by this company were much smaller in size than the bank notes of the present day and were printed on plain linen paper. A number of these have been preserved and from one the following copy is taken.

One Dollar No. 2086 One Dollar

The President and Directors of the Miami Exporting Company promise to pay to bearer, on demand, ONE DOLLAR.

Cincinnati April 14, 1815.

O. M. Spencer, Cashier. M. Baum, President.

The engraving which was done by Looker & Wallace is as yet quite distinct and clear and the signatures of the officers apparently imperishable.

In 1815 Mr. Spencer had become the president and Samuel C. Vance, cashier. Vance was afterwards succeeded by Maj. William Oliver. The most prominent citizens of the town were among the stockholders, including Jesse Hunt, Martin

Baum, William Barr, David Kilgour and General Findlay. The directors in 1819 were David Kilgour, Francis Carr, Griffin Yeatman, Samuel Perry, William Barr, David E. Wade, Isaac G. Burnet, William Ruffin and William Ramsey. (Directory of 1819, p. 46.)

The banking house was located on Front street on the wharf about one hundred feet west of Sycamore.

The Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank was founded in the gloomy year 1812 and received a charter in the year following. This charter was for but five years, at the expiration of which time the charters of all the banks in the State except that of the Miami Exporting Company which was for forty years would expire. Its capital stock was $200,000, divided into shares of $50 each. A third of its directors were required to be practical farmers and the same proportion practical mechanics. At the time of the organization of this company, business was depressed all over the country because of the approach of war but it apparently succeeded for a time and Dr. Drake in 1815 gives its rate of dividend as from eight to fourteen percent while that of the Miami Exporting Company fluctuated between ten and fifteen percent. At this time the president of the bank was William Irwin and the cashier, Samuel W. Davies. It issued a large number of notes which were somewhat similar to those of the other bank and engraved by W. Harrison. Its charter was subsequently extended and its capital increased to half a million dollars and in 1819 it became the depository of public moneys. At this time its directors were William Irwin, Thomas D. Carneal, James C. Morris, Stephen McFarland, John Cranmer, Nicholas Longworth, Cave Johnson, Richard Williams, Jacob Baymiller, Jacob Wheeler and William Woodward.

The Bank of Cincinnati was organized in June, 1814, in the midst of the war. Money was much more easily obtained at this time and the bank did a prosperous business. By 1815 $140,000 had been paid in, although the bank did not receive its charter until the following year and Dr. Drake tells us that the notes were in excellent credit and its dividends for a new institution very good, having advanced during the first year from six to eight percent. Its president was Ethan Stone and Lot Pugh was cashier. In 1819 the same officers still had charge and the other directors were Joshua Reynolds, James Glenn, Hezekiah Saunder, Nathaniel Reeder, Oliver Martin, Joshua Gibson, Jr., Levi James, John S. Wallace and Thomas Graham.

Liberty Hall of December 26, 1814, contains a notice signed by O. M. Spencer, William Irwin and Ethan Stone, presidents of the three banks, reciting that large importations of British goods into Eastern ports which during the war must be paid for in specie had raised the price of specie in the Eastern States from five to ten percent, which resulted in drawing specie from the West where it had been paid out by banks at par to the East and that therefore to guard against this withdrawal payments in specie for the present would be suspended.

This naturally resulted in dissatisfaction and eventually a meeting at the Columbian Inn was called for the purpose of inquiring into the cause of the different banks of this place who had ceased to pay specie for their notes. This meeting was held January 27, 1815, and was presided over by Maj.-Gen. John S. Gano with Daniel Drake acting as secretary. A committee consisting of Rev. J. L. Wilson, Gen. William Lytle, Majors W. Ruffin and W. C. Anderson, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., and William Corry, Esquires, and Messrs. W. S. Keys, Davis Embree, Solomon Langdon, William Greene, Jeremiah Reeder, Levi James and Daniel Drake made an exhaustive report. This report recited that, several months before, the banks of the Southern and Middle States had perceived that large quantities of gold and silver were passing into the hands of enemies and had therefore discontinued specie payments. The Western banks continuing to pay specie soon found that many persons from the Atlantic States were transporting gold and silver from the West to the East where they could get a premium for it. As a result of this there was danger of the Western banks having their vaults drained of specie. The suspension of specie payments therefore arose not from the deficiency in the vaults of the banks but because it was necessary to retain the coins in this part of the country. The report further recited that the banks had contracted their circulating notes and increased their quantity of specie. The meeting commended by resolution the action of the banks and denominated as an enemy to the prosperity of the Western country every man who should attempt to depreciate the notes of the banks or should be detected in purchasing silver or gold with a view to its exportation. This report called for a communication from a country subscriber who desired to know how many of the committee were interested in the banks, which

enabled the editor to announce that not one of them was a bank director.

It will be remembered that Dr. Drake in his "Picture" of the city in the year 1815 speaks in very confident tones of the condition of Cincinnati banks and of business generally. This confidence was not justified. The speculative tendencies that seem always to accompany war times and the inflation which goes with it produced the same result it always produces. As just stated, a note of warning came at the end of the year 1815, when on the day after Christmas the three banks were compelled to suspend specie payments. It was doubtful whether there was coin enough in the West to redeem one-fourth of the bank issues. The causes which led up to this are not hard to understand and were general throughout the United States. The banks carried away by the enthusiasm about prosperity had issued an unprecedented number of bank notes which naturally were at a discount as metallic money had been driven out of the country. This depreciation in the value of money raised the price of all articles of consumption which to the unthinking was an increase in the value of property generally. Credits were extended and stores even in the small village settlements were filled with the highest priced goods. Speculation ran high and no one hesitated to incur debt feeling that in such an era of prosperity the time would be short within which he could relieve himself of the burden if indeed it was felt to be a burden. With the close of the war, importations began to be renewed. Specie payments had been suspended generally in the East as early as September, 1814, and the public were beginning to realize that a settlement was bound to come. The extravagances of the banks stimulated the demand for a national bank which would pay specie itself and have a tendency to require others to do the same.

In the meantime John H. Piatt & Company organized a private bank, which added its paper to the overwhelming tide of bank notes. A silent partner was Philip Grandin and John Armstrong was the cashier. Their office at first was on the south side of Lower Market street east of Main and afterwards it was removed to the southeast corner of Second and Broadway where the Broadway Hotel afterwards stood. Both these buildings were built by Mr. Piatt. The cashier of this bank in 1819 was Richard Dement.

But most important in its influence upon all these banks was the Cincinnati Branch of the United States Bank. The bill chartering this bank was passed April 10, 1816, and on the 28th of January of the following year the Branch was established in Cincinnati and opened for discount and deposit in April.

The older banks apparently recovered for the time from their difficulties and a period of inflation began which gave the appearance of prosperity. The termination of the war, the constantly increasing population and the building operations brought about by this increase, together with the accommodating tendency of the banks and particularly the Branch Bank, kept up the delusion of prosperity. Judge Burnet was the president and Gorham A. Worth cashier of the new institution. Other directors were Martin Baum, James Findlay, John H. Piatt, Hugh Glenn, James Keys, Thomas Sloo, Jr., William M. Worthington, Andrew Mack, William Piatt, Joseph Perry, Daniel Drake and William H. Harrison. Small wonder that with such lists of directors as those given the public felt confidence in the stability of their financial institutions. George Warren in an article contributed to "Cincinnati Past and Present" published in 1872 gives a picture of the apparently prosperous conditions. The terrible crash which opened the next period of Cincinnati's history was unforeseen by all and Cincinnati as a town looked forward to its new life as a city with hopefulness and confidence that its financial troubles had passed.

"Cincinnati, in the year 1817, was a bright, beautiful, and flourishing little city. It extended from the river to Sixth street, and from Broadway to Walnut street, and not much beyond those limits. The Court House, which stood upon the same ground as the present one, was considered to be in the country, and its location an outrage on the citizens. The houses were beautifully interspersed with vacant lots, not yet sold, which were covered with grass. The city contained about nine thousand inhabitants. These were then called girls and boys, and men and women. The fuel was wood, except in factories. The people generally had clean faces; for the men shaved, and did not allow their countenances to be covered with hair and dirt. There was an air of comfort pervading everything. In summer the women dressed as they pleased; but the men usually went to church in summer dresses. Sometimes they wore linen roundabouts and vests and woollen pants. The people were enterprising and industrious; a pedestrian could hardly walk a square without encountering a brick

wagon or stone wagon, or seeing a new cellar being dug. Industrious mechanics would be met hurrying to and fro, and in their working dress. A brick-layer would not hide his trowel, nor a carpenter his hatchet, under his coat. Everything gave promise of the city's continued prosperity, but a desire to become suddenly rich had led too many into wild speculations, on borrowed money, from the United States and other banks. They were willing to lend to almost anyone who could get two indorsers. This was no difficult matter, for it had got to be a maxim, 'You indorse for me, and I indorse for you.' Some persons not worth a dollar bought lots and built houses on speculation. Others bought wild lands, built steamboats, etc. Some, who had become rich in imagination, began to live in a style ill suited to their real condition." (Cincinnati Past and Present.)

The reaction came in a very short time,—just after the incorporation of the city.

STEAMBOATS.

The first steamboat seen in Cincinnati, the "New Orleans," arrived in the city on October 27, 1811. *Liberty Hall,* the newspaper of the day, in its issue of October 30th gives this interesting item: "The steamboat, lately built at Pittsburgh, passed this town at five o'clock in the afternoon, in fine stile, going at the rate of about ten or twelve miles an hour." This is certainly a very brief account of one of the most important events in the history of a city which owed its greatness more to the steamboats than any other cause and whose wonderful relative advancement did not cease until steamboats had given way to railroads. This boat the "New Orleans" in charge of Nicholas J. Roosevelt created great excitement at all points along the river. At Cincinnati which it reached two days after leaving Pittsburg, she rounded to opposite the city and cast anchor in the stream. "Levees and wharf boats were things unknown in 1811. Here, as at Pittsburg, the whole town seemed to have assembled on the bank, and many of the acquaintances of the former visit came off in small boats. 'Well, you are as good as your word; you have visited us in a steamboat,' they said; 'but we see you for the last time. Your boat may go down the river; but, as to coming up it, the very idea is an absurd one.' This was one of those occasions on which seeing was not believing. The keel-boatmen, whose shoulders had hardened as they pressed their poles for many a weary mile against the current, shook their heads, as they crowded around the strange visitor, and bandied river wit with the crew that had been selected from their own calling for the first voyage. Some flat-boatmen, whose ungainly arks the steamboat had passed a short distance above the town, and who now floated by with the current, seemed to have a better opinion of the new comer and proposed a tow in case they were again overtaken. But as to the boat's returning, all agreed that that could never be.

"The stay at Cincinnati was brief, only long enough to take in a supply of wood for the voyage to Louisville, which was reached on the night of the fourth day after leaving Pittsburg."

On the return trip the vessel was greeted "with an enthusiasm that exceeded, even, what was displayed on her descent from Pittsburg. No one doubted now." (Latrobe's First Steamboat Voyage on the Western Waters, pp. 15-18.)

A comet was visible at this time and the pioneers who heard the hissing sounds of the engines thought that the comet had fallen into the river. The earthquakes too which occurred during this trip were by some attributed to the unusual disturbance of the waters of the great rivers by this unusual form of vessel.

The next steam vessel on the Ohio after the "New Orleans" (which sank at Baton Rouge in 1814) was the "Comet" built at Pittsburg sometime before 1813. This was a 145-ton sternwheeler. This was followed by the "Vesuvius," 390 tons, which Robert Fulton built at Pittsburg in November, 1813. It subsequently made an attempt to come up the river and pass the falls at Louisville but long before she came to that point she grounded and finally returned to the Lower Mississippi. A little later came the "Enterprise," built at Brownsville in 1814, the "Aetna," the "Despatch," the "Buffalo," the "James Monroe," and the "Washington." The "Eagle" has been called Cincinnati's first steamer. This was a small vessel of but 70 tons built in 1818. A little later came the "Hecla," the "Henderson" and the "Cincinnati." The last named, a vessel of 120 tons, was owned partly in this city. The first steamer owned entirely in the city was the "Experiment," constructed in 1818 and a 40-ton boat. Despite the fact that some 32 steamboats had been built by this time, steam transportation had by no means taken the place of the other methods of conveyance. The old Kentucky boats and flat-boats were much in use during this period. A notice in the first number of the *Cincinnati Ga-*

zette published July 15, 1815, speaks of the arrival at this port of the "elegant barge Cincinnati, Captain Jonathan Horton from New Orleans; passage eighty-seven days. Cargo sugars, molasses, rum, lignum vite, Spanish hides, etc., to Jacob Baymiller." Other notices appear in the quotations from the newspapers. The traveler Burnet says that in 1817 a number of arks with emigrants and their families bound to various parts of the Western country were generally near the landing. He counted seven Kentucky boats with coal, iron and dry goods from Pittsburg. There were four barges or keelboats, one of at least 150 tons with two masts, which traded up and down the rivers between New Orleans and Pittsburg and four large flats or scows with stones for building and salt from the "Kenhawa" works. Six arks were laden with emigrants and their furniture. The emigrants going down the Ohio usually stopped at Cincinnati to purchase provisions and collect information. Shortly after this, however, steamboat building became quite active and Cincinnati became a prominent ship building place. In the two seasons between 1817 and 1819 nearly a fourth of the vessels built on the Western waters were launched here and by the time that the town came to be a city the old broadhorn for business of any magnitude had been replaced by steam vessels. Cincinnati's great era of development was in the next 20 years, which were the years when the river navigation was of the utmost importance.

PHYSICAL DISTURBANCES.

During the year 1809 there occurred a most unusual autumnal frost on the 9th of August. This was probably the earliest one on record. On the last day of August in the year 1789 the Indian corn in the northern part of Kentucky had been destroyed by frost.

Another interesting physical disturbance was the hurricane of Sunday, May 28, 1809, which is described by Dr. Drake as follows: "For two or three days previous to that time, the wind was various, with a turbid atmosphere. On the morning of the 28th it veered to the south, and blew with violence. During the forenoon, while the lower clouds were passing rapidly to the north, the upper were moving with equal velocity to the east; indicating a superior current, which traversed the course of the south wind at right angles. Before twelve o'clock both strata of clouds were propelled eastwardly, and soon after the west wind was perceptible at the earth's surface. By three-quarters past one o'clock, the sky was very much obscured, and a narrow whirlwind or tornado of great force, swept impetuously across the eastern part of the town. It demolished a few old buildings, threw down the tops of several chimneys, and overturned many fruit and shade trees. The people in the centre of the town had scarcely time to view this alarming operation, before their own houses were shaken to the foundations by another gale of equal violence; this was immediately succeeded by a third, which traversed the western part of the town with augmented fury. By this last, a handsome brick edifice, designed for tuition [Cincinnati University] was blown down, in consequence of having a cupola disproportionate to its area; and various minor injuries of property were sustained—but the inhabitants escaped unhurt. A copious shower of rain and hail, with thunder and lightning, increased the terrific grandeur of the scene. Each of these tornadoes ascended the hill to the northeast of the town, forming a track through the forest, which remained visible for more than a year."

Five years later on May 4, 1814, there was experienced another hurricane not so violent which came from the same quarter. This was accompanied by a fall of hail which at Cincinnati was of the usual size but in the western part of the county the stones were of surprising magnitude and many angular forms. Several weighed from eight to ten ounces each and measured from 15 to 16 inches in circumference. The hail storm was followed by a rain shower and a powerful blast from the southwest in which were felt currents of air heated to an unusual degree. "On the next day the foliage of various plants was found to be destroyed. It was chiefly the leaves which grew to the windward, and were consequently most exposed, that suffered. They were neither lacerated nor wilted, but sustained an injury, which upon exposure to the sun the ensuing day, caused them to wither. In some cases, only the tip of the leaf perished; in others, the whole was destroyed. Whether this extraordinary effect should be ascribed to heat, or to a noxious quality of the wind, is uncertain. I could not perceive that one species of plant was more affected than another; and of individuals growing near the same spot, it was common to find only a part affected."

In Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" is contained an extended account of the earthquakes of 1811, 1812 and 1813. The first shock occurred

at 24 minutes past two o'clock in the morning of December 16, 1811. The motion was a quick oscillation or rocking, lasting some six or seven minutes. It was so violent as to agitate the loose furniture of the rooms and open doors that were fastened with falling latches and throw off the tops of some of the chimneys. It was stronger in the valley than in the adjoining uplands. Forty-five minutes later another slight vibration was felt and a little after seven o'clock in the morning there came a moderate rocking of a minute's duration, terminating in a strong throe of a few seconds. This was followed ten minutes later by another slight oscillation and about three hours later by another. One quarter of an hour before midnight of the next day a slightly stronger vibration was felt. On the morning of the 18th there was a moderate agitation and again in the early morning of the 31st of January, 1812, between two and three o'clock in the morning there was again a slight vibration. From this time until the 22nd no vibration of any consequence occurred although many thought that they felt slight agitation. During that period shocks were felt every day along the Mississippi. On the 23rd about nine o'clock in the morning a great number of strong undulations occurred and continued for four or five minutes having two or three distinct exacerbations in that time. This earthquake was nearly equal to that which commenced the series on December 16th. Again on January 27th there was a strong solitary heave which was repeated on February 24th. On the 5th and 6th many slight jars and tremors were received. On the 7th at about a quarter before four in the morning several alarming shocks came in rapid succession, the last greatly surpassing any other undulation known at this place. It threw down tops of more chimneys, made wider fissures in the brick walls and produced vertigo and nausea in a greater number of people than the earthquakes of December 16th or January 23rd. It was said by some that the earthquake was preceded by a light and a noise, but this was denied by others. During the greater part of the 8th the earth was in a state of ebullition with more decided agitations at eight o'clock and again at eight-thirty; the last continued for about a minute. At ten-forty there came a shock which was much stronger which produced a sensible degree of trembling but no oscillation, indicating perhaps a vertical instead of horizontal motion of the previous shocks. Immediately before this, was heard a noise of peculiar faint, dull, rumbling or rushing sound, near the horizon, to the southwest. It seemed to approach but did not arrive at the place of observation and after continuing five or six seconds was succeeded by a shake. During the remainder of this day and for the next and almost every day until the 17th there were gentle vibrations. On the last named date again in the morning a much stronger shock was felt. There were shocks on the 20th, 21st, 22nd, on March 3, 5, 10, 11, April 30, May 4, 10, June 25, 26, September 15, December 22, March 6, 1813, and again two on December 12th of the last named year. The principal shocks were those of December 16, 1811, January 23, 1812, and February 7, 1812. Dr. Drake discusses at length the features of these earthquakes and the electrical and other phenomena which attended them as well as the state of the atmosphere at the time.

A somewhat less scientific but certainly most interesting account of this same occurrence is given by Mansfield in his life of Drake:

"In the morning of the sixteenth of December, 1811, the inhabitants of the Miami country, and especially of Cincinnati and its neighborhood, were awoke from a sound sleep, at about three o'clock by a shaking of their houses, and by rumbling noises which seemed like distant thunder. To each one the phenomenon was alike unknown and awful. In the country the animals soon began to shriek, and all nature seemed to feel the shock of a common evil and the dread of a common danger. The most intelligent persons soon discovered it to be an earthquake; but this discovery by no means allayed the alarm. On the contrary, as earthquakes were never known before in this region, there was nothing to reason upon, and full scope for the imagination. Pictures of the earth opening to devour its inhabitants, of burning lava bursting forth, of yawning gulfs, and to many of a general destruction and a general doom, rose to the visions of the affrighted people, filling them with fears and anxieties.

"The shock of the sixteenth of December was so violent that it shook the chimneys of several houses. In the midst of the general alarm there was some amusement; and the buoyant spirits of young and happy people will often extract something pleasant, even from the most fearful circumstances. Mrs. Willis's Columbian Inn was a sort of fashionable hotel, where many of the gay people of the town boarded. I remember to have heard a great deal of laughter at the odd and curious appearance and grouping of maids

and madams, bachelors and husbands, as they rushed into the street, tumultuous, in midnight drapery. But this cheerfulness did not last long; for the earthquakes continued during the winter, and although they were better understood, they were not the less dreaded. This common fear, and indeed the common necessity of being prepared for any event, had a great influence in destroying the artificiality of society and bringing friends and neighbors together. Many families had their valuables carefully packed up, that they might take a rapid flight, in case of the destruction of their houses or chasms in the earth, which would render their departure necessary. As the shocks of an earthquake were generally preceded by signs of their approach, such as rumbling sounds and a peculiar atmosphere, families would often sit up late at night, in dread of a night shock, and neighbors and friends would assemble together to make the time pass more pleasantly, especially to the young, by cheerful conversation. In this manner social intercourse and friendly feeling was promoted, and as in other afflictions of Providence, good was still educed from evil. * * * *

"Most careful notes of the duration and deviation of the shocks were made by Colonel Mansfield at Bates' place. A carefully prepared pendulum hung in the parlor window of his house never ceased its vibration from December to the following May and several shocks occurred during the remainder of the year 1812.

"The original seat of this shaking of the earth seems to have been near New Madrid, on the Mississippi, a point four hundred miles, in a direct line, from Cincinnati. There the convulsion was terrific. Boats on the river were thrown into a boiling whirlpool, and seemed for a time to be engulfed in an endless vortex. The banks of the river were rent, the earth was opened, and the waters, rushing in, formed lakes for miles, where the land was dry before. Explosions from beneath took place, and fossils buried in the alluvium of ages were forced to the surface. The power of the original cause may be estimated by the fact of such violent effects at Cincinnati, four hundred miles distant, and that the movements, as of a lever, of this central force, were felt almost throughout North America, diminishing in intensity in the inverse ratio of the distance." (Mansfield's Drake, p. 85.)

Another interesting physical manifestation recorded by Dr. Drake is the aurora borealis of Sunday, April 17, 1814. This appeared soon after dark directly in the north and extended for 50 or 60 degrees along the horizon rising from 10 to 15 degrees above it. The upper part was most luminous and now and then faint obtuse flashes of light were sent upwards several degrees higher. At length an arch was formed over the bank of light, mounting upwards about 40 degrees and sending dim and slow coruscations to near the zenith. The ends of the arch were about 140 degrees asunder. It was composed of luminous spots, which appeared and disappeared alternately, in different parts, for more than half an hour and finally the whole manifestation ceased. The greatest illumination was from about half-past eight to half-past nine o'clock. The light was white, with a slight tinge of red and through it others were visible. On September 11, 1814, there was an aurora borealis which continued visible in Cincinnati from dark until midnight. It was accompanied by an unusual display of shooting stars.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION.

The matter of population during the early years is a little difficult of ascertainment. In 1800 the population had been estimated as 750. In 1805 it is said to have increased to 960. There were at that time 25 merchants and grocers, 15 joiners and cabinet-makers, 12 bricklayers, 11 innkeepers, nine attorneys, eight physicians, eight blacksmiths, seven shoemakers, five saddlers, seven tailors, five bakers, four hatters, three tanners, three silversmiths, three tobacconists, two printers, two brewers, two tinners, two coppersmiths and one bookbinder. In 1807 the vote of the city was 298, which would indicate a population of less than 1,500. In 1810 the census showed that the population was 2,320, of whom 1,051 were under 16, and 184 over 45. The town vote was 388, 90 more than three years previous, a rather light vote for the population. The population in 1813 was estimated as 4,000. This was based on a census made by the Select Council. Dr. Drake estimates the population in 1815 as 6,000, nearly ten to a dwelling house. In no town of the State was there so great a proportion of blacks who in 1810 amounted to 80 and in 1815 to 200. At the close of the town life the figures given in the first directory, showing the first population in the summer of 1818 to be 9,120 and in July, 1819, 10,283, are probably fairly accurate. The census of 1820 gives the population as 9,642, about 600 less than the figure given in the directory, a not uncommon thing with census takers.

In connection with the subject of the blacks, the following is in point:

"The following year, 1810," we are told, "was remarkable for the tide of immigration that set in from the adjoining State, Kentucky. Thousands of the colored inhabitants, black and brown, abandoned their homes, swam the river, and landed on the fertile bottoms of the Ohio. They came unarmed, without sword or spear, musket or ammunition, or other munitions of war than those bestowed upon them by nature. Immediately on landing they dispersed among the woods, prepared themselves log cabins or built more temporary structures, and set up housekeeping. Nothing could be more peaceable than their intentions. No class of citizens could have been more active, industrious, frugal, or cleanly in their habits. But, though as a class they were conceded to be productive, in political economy they were ranked as non-producers, and accordingly were doomed to suffer persecution. Then every white man was a Granger. Middlemen had not yet found their way out West; so war was immediately declared against the intruders, and every man, woman, and child arrayed themselves against these unarmed and inoffensive immigrants. War to the knife, bitter, relentless, exterminating war was waged, and speedily raged. From the township the war sentiment extended to the county; from the county to the State; until the Legislature actually passed a law for the extinction of the races, black and brown, indiscriminately. Every atrocity was then practiced and encouraged; and scalping commanded a high premium." (Nelson's Suburban Homes, p. 62.)

Although this remarkable and somewhat exaggerated story is told of Columbia township, it discloses a somewhat similar condition of affairs that affected the town for several years. The negro population and negroes from the South were for years a source of irritation and eventually resulted in the sad race riots described later.

Among the important additions to the community during its existence as a town are given the following, many of whom have been mentioned in various connections: 1802.—Ethan Stone, Samuel Perry and William Pierson. 1803.—Christopher and Robert Cary, grandfather and father of the celebrated Cary sisters, Thomas and Thankful Carter, grandparents of A. G. W. Carter. 1804.—Col. Stephen McFarland, General Findlay, Zachariah Ernst and his sons H. M., Jacob and Andrew Ernst. It is from this family that Ernst Station was named. Other arrivals of this year were Peyton S. Symmes, Benjamin Smith, P. A. Sprigman, George P. Torrence, Jonathan Pancoast, Robert Richardson, James Perry, Peter M. Nicoll, Adam Moore, William Moody, Benjamin Mason, Casper Hopple, Andrew Johnston, Ephraim Carter, James Crawford, William Crippen and Henry Craven. Of course the most distinguished arrivals of the following year were General Mansfield and his son E. D. Mansfield, the latter of whom survived until October 27, 1880. Another well known pioneer who arrived this year was Joseph Coppin, subsequently the president of the Cincinnati Pioneer Association and known to so many citizens now living. After 1806 which is generally regarded as the beginning of the real growth of Cincinnati, the arrivals were so numerous as to make it impossible to give them in detail. (Ford's Cincinnati *passim,* and Cincinnati Pioneer, No. VI, p. 18.)

One prominent man who came this year was Rev. Adam Hurdus, the founder of the Swedenborgian Church in the West who came on April 4th. He was also the grandfather of Judge Carter. In 1807 came Evans Price with his wife and four children and also $10,000 worth of goods with which he began a successful business career which continued for a long time. Gen. W. H. Lytle came to Cincinnati in 1810 as well as the L'Hommedieu, Fosdick and Roger families. James W. Gazlay arrived in 1813 and opened a law office in the outskirts of the village on Main between Sixth and Seventh. Another arrival of this year was Thomas Pierce, the anonymous author of "Horace in Cincinnati." In the year 1814 came David K. Este. The next year marked the first arrival of Timothy Flint. Bellamy Storer reached Cincinnati May 31, 1817. This was also the year of the arrival of Joseph Jonas, sometimes called the first Israelite in Cincinnati. He was a watchmaker at Third and Main streets and achieved the title of the "Father of Cincinnati Democracy." William Robson, a ship carpenter by trade who had worked on Fulton's first steamboat the "Clermont" and was afterwards at the head of the copper and brass business of the city, came in June, 1818.

The historic Lytle house on Lawrence street above Third, probably the oldest house in the city, was built by Gen. William Lytle in 1809 or 1810. It was two stories high and built of brick with a gable roof, dormer windows and tall chimneys. The original entrance was on Third street and opened into a hall 50 feet long and 12 feet wide. This has been closed and the present en-

trance is from Lawrence street. At the time the house was erected the grounds reached from Third to Fifth street. The property is in the possession of the Fosters, descendants of General Lytle.

William Barr who removed to Cincinnati in 1809 settled first on Main street where he remained until about 1815. At the sale of the estate of Israel Ludlow, Major Barr bought 60 acres of land lying between Fifth and Eighth streets and west of Western row, then occupied by a solitary small brick house and principally covered with a dense original forest growth. Included in this purchase was the large and beautiful mound, situated near what is now the corner of Mound and Fifth streets, which has since been entirely removed. Major Barr proposed to convey this mound, then covered with trees, with a surrounding lot, to the corporation of Cincinnati, on condition that they should enclose with a permanent fence and preserve it. But the offer was not accepted and the mound has passed away, and nothing remains of it, but the small hieroglyphic stone found in its center, and some remains of human bones which are still preserved.

In 1816 Major Barr commenced the erection of his mansion house afterwards known as No. 61 Mound street, which was a front adjoined to the house they previously occupied. This house was finished in 1817 and remained unchanged for a half century. (Memoir of Mrs. Mary Barr, p. 5.)

A serious loss was suffered by the infant town in the death of William McMillan, to whom as much as to any one man it owes its existence. This occurred in 1804. Major Ziegler's death which came in 1811 was made the occasion of a military funeral. In 1813 came the drowning of the editor of *Liberty Hall*, Rev. John W. Browne.

An event of the year 1814 was the death of the pioneer, John Cleves Symmes, which occurred February 26th at Cincinnati. A large number of citizens attended the funeral which occurred at the dwelling house of General Harrison on Front street. The procession moved to the landing of Joel Williams where the body was embarked for North Bend.

THE MARKETS.

Dr. Drake has told us of the little market house in the cove in front of Yeatman's, which continued in use well down into the first decade of the century. An advertisement in the *Spy* in the year 1801 is to the effect that the building of a market house would be offered for sale at Yeatman's Tavern. The under story was to be of stone and lime and the upper story of wood. This structure is supposed to be the old market house on Lower Market (Pearl) street between Main and Sycamore. In 1815 there were three market houses including the first one built in 1801 and another in what is now Government square.. The two were each supported by a double row of brick pillars. A third one with a triple row of brick pillars extended nearly the whole distance from Broadway to Sycamore on Lower Market (Pearl) street and was upwards of 300 feet in length. This structure was in process of erection at the time of the appearance of Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati" and was not yet attended. It was in fact completed in 1816 and the building erected at that time was used (with many alterations) until recent years.

There were also certain other spaces left vacant for market purposes which appear upon the first map. These were however never used for the markets but their location can still be traced by the divergence of street lines. One embraced the front of Sycamore on both sides from a short distance north of Seventh to the corner of Wayne (Ninth) street and the other ran from Elm to Plum just south of Fourth (McFarland) street.

There were four market days in each week, two mornings at Lower Market and two afternoons at Upper Market. These markets were regulated by a most elaborate series of ordinances which apparently were little observed. Still the markets were considered good. Dr. Drake's description is quoted in the extracts from his book. Brackenridge visiting the town in 1805 found the market "equal in goodness to that of Philadelphia but much cheaper. A turkey may be had for sixteen cents and if thought too high, a goose will be offered into the bargain."

An early *Cincinnati Price Current*, sometimes inaccurately called the first, gives the prices in May, 1804, as follows:

Bacon, per cwt	$18.75
Beeswax, per lb	.18
Coffee	.50
Cordage, per cwt	12.00
Cotton, clean	15.00
Corn, per bu	.75
Cotton bagging, per yd	.50
Flour, per bbl	10.00
Gunpowder, "K" per lb	.75
Gin, per gal	1.75
Iron, per cwt	10.00

Lime, per bu	.75
Pork, per bbl	14.00
Potatoes, sweet, per bu	.50
Rum, fourth proof, per gal	2.00
Sugar, per cwt	16.00
Salt, per bbl	7.00
Whisky, per gal	1.50
WINES.	
Madeira, per gal	4.50
Amalga, per gal	2.50
Red Port, per gal	2.50
Teneriffe, per gal	2.50
Sherry, per gal	3.00
Claret (for gentlemen), per gal	8.00

A number of items are marked "none in market." They include beef, butter, candles, candles (molded and dipped), corn meal, cider, hemp, lard, Irish potatoes, rum (first, second and third proof), and tobacco.

Schultz in 1807 found the market "well furnished both as to abundance and variety." Timothy Flint's description of the market in 1816 with its "exuberant supplies of every article for consumption in the finest order and of the best quality," has already been given. Birkbeck, too, in 1817 mentions the markets as spacious and busy and thronged by five o'clock in the morning. By this time, as indicated by the comments of John Palmer, the three market houses were in full use. Mr. Palmer gives the price of provisions at Cincinnati in July, 1817, as follows:

	Dol.	Cents.	
Beef	0	6¼	per pound
Pork	0	6¼	ditto
Mutton	0	5	ditto
Veal	0	6¼	ditto
Hams	0	9	ditto
Fresh Venison	0	2	ditto
Butter	0	18¾	ditto
Cheese	0	12½	ditto
Wheat, fine Flour	3	0	per cwt
Corn Flour	0	50	per bushel
Salt	1	0	ditto
Potatoes	0	31¼	ditto
Coals	0	12½	ditto
Venison Hams	0	37½	each
Turkeys and Geese	0	80	per pair
Pullets	1	0	per dozen
Partridges	0	25	ditto
Eggs	0	9	ditto
Milk	0	25	gallon
Honey	1	0	ditto
Whiskey	0	50	ditto
Peach Brandy	1	0	ditto
Porter, Mead, and Spruce Beer	0	12½	per quart

"A cord of wood, two dollars, fifty cents. Preserved, or dried fruit, as apples, peaches, etc., about one dollar per bushel. Vegetables dear. French and port wine, sugar, tea and coffee, dearer than in England. Woollen, cotton and European goods very dear, Cherries, raspberries, strawberries, peaches and apples, very reasonable. River fish of various sorts, plentiful and cheap. The general price of a barrel of flour (196 pounds) is three dollars and fifty cents or four dollars; it has never been dearer than when we were here." (Journal of Travels in the United States, p. 83.)

THE BRIDGES.

In December, 1808, a rise in the Ohio unmoored one of Jefferson's gun-boats which had been built at the mouth of Crawfish creek just above Fulton and was moored by a grape-vine cable. As the vessel went floating by the village, every canoe in town followed her and finally she was caught and towed into Mill creek and secured under White's bridge. The river continuing to rise however so backed up Mill creek as to cause the boat to shove the bridge from its moorings. The string pieces and all above gave way and the bridge was about to float away in detached parts. To prevent this, White stripped the planks from the bridge and these he was able to save; the bridge itself went down the river. These planks are said to have formed the floor of the first warehouse built in Cincinnati. This bridge we are told by Judge Matson was not the original floating bridge of Francis White but a bridge built in 1806 of yellow poplar at a cost of about $700. A man named Parker was the architect and the money was raised by subscription. White was suspected of having secured the boat under the bridge with a design of carrying it away so that he could make more money by his ferry.

In 1811 a new bridge was put up by Ethan Stone which remained for 11 years, to be carried away by the great freshet of 1822. This structure was but 120 feet in length and shows how much narrower the ravine at Mill creek was at that time.

The date 1811 is that given by Judge Matson. It must be incorrect. Dr. Drake says in 1815 that "there was once a wooden bridge over Mill creek near its confluence with the Ohio but in consequence of a high flood in that river it was destroyed."

The toll-bridge authorized by the Legislature he thought would be commenced in the ensuing spring. The Directory of 1819 tells us that within two or three years a toll-bridge, one of the finest in the State, had been erected over the mouth of Mill creek by Ethan Stone. Drake speaks of the need of a new bridge across Deer creek and we learn that a year or so later two bridges were built, one at the confluence of Deer creek with

the Ohio and the other a few squares north. The first bridge was 340 feet in length. As early as 1815 the subject of a bridge across the Ohio was mooted by enthusiasts and the want of a steam ferry boat commented upon. At this time and for some years later a Mr. Bliss conducted a horse ferry boat whose qualities of "safety, comfort, dispatch and capacity for heavy burthen" commended themselves to the public.

THE WAR OF 1812.

The war with Great Britain of 1812 excited intense interest in Cincinnati as well as throughout the State. To the grievances felt by the country at large there were added the special complaints known only to those who remembered the long border wars with the Indians. In these wars the settlers had felt that at all times they had opposed to them not only the savages but the people of their own blood who were violating the treaty of peace which had been extorted at the end of the War for Independence. The names of the Girtys, McKee, Elliott and others who had been most active in stirring up atrocities were household words in the West and this locality had been a center of barbarity and cruelty. The particular subjects which brought about the war may not have interested them so seriously but the frame of mind was present and nowhere was there a more patriotic support of the government. There seems to have been no real difference of opinion in the city. Every act of aggression on the part of Great Britain and every movement of the Indians were carefully noted. The diplomatic features of the matter were discussed at great length in the press and at the fireside and in the taverns.

On May 19, 1812, "the Cincinnati Troop commanded by Capt. James W. Sloan with a great concourse of people assembled at the stone meeting house and listened to an eloquent discourse by Rev. W. Burke from the text: 'Prepare for war; wake up the mighty men; let them come up; beat your ploughshares into swords and your pruning hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am strong.'"

The army had been increased by an addition of 25,000 men and of the new officers Ohio was allowed one lieutenant-colonel, one major, seven captains, seventy lieutenants, seven 2nd lieutenants, six ensigns and one surgeon. The President too was authorized to accept militia, not to exceed 50,000 in number. A requisition was made upon the State for 1,200 men. To stimulate recruiting, the recruits were offered a bounty of $16 with three months additional pay and 160 acres of land upon honorable discharge. A recruiting office was opened in Cincinnati and the pomp and panoply of war became once more a feature of the city's life. The two Cincinnati companies,—the Light Dragoons under Captain Sloan and the Light Guards under Capt. John F. Mansfield,—drilled regularly. General Findlay accepted a major's commission to be with his own people.

Washington's birthday was celebrated with enthusiasm and solemnity. At the banquet at the Wheat Sheaf Inn many patriotic sentiments were toasted and great enthusiasm prevailed. In the early part of April, Gen. John Stites Gano had been ordered by Governor Meigs to raise eight companies for service in the field. The rendezvous for the State troops was fixed at a camp three miles above Dayton on Mad River. The first division of Ohio militia met at Hutchinson's Tavern (Jacob Hoffner's) on the Colerain road near Ludlow's Station. Mr. Mansfield tells us that the division presented as motley an appearance as has ever been seen. Some of the men had rifles but the greater part only sticks and cornstalks while the uniforms included hunting shirts and butternut jackets.

In addition to the companies of Captain Sloan and Captain Mansfield, other companies under Captains Carpenter, McFarland and Hugh Glenn are said to have had Hamilton County men on their rolls. The entire regiment commanded by General Findlay was from the Miami country.

Captain Carpenter was the publisher of the *Western Spy* and served throughout the campaign of 1813 and 1814, dying on his way from Fort Meigs to Urbana before he was discharged from the service. He was afterwards buried in Cincinnati with high military honors.

On March 30th the Governor fixed the 15th of April as a day of fasting and prayer. The subject of the prayer was supposed to be the advisability of peace but it is doubtful if any prayers to that effect came from the heart.

Volunteers began to collect in the city about the 25th of March and went into camp on the outskirts of the town on the top of the bluff along Fourth street. Governor Meigs reviewed the troops and delivered a patriotic address. Shortly afterwards he was constrained to deliver a proclamation as follows:

"A CALL ON THE PATRIOTISM OF CINCINNATI."

"The situation of our country has compelled the Government to resort to precautionary measures of defence. In obedience to its call, 400 men have abandoned the comforts of domestic life and are here assembled in camp, at the distance of some hundred miles from home, prepared to protect our frontier from the awful effects of savage and of civilized warfare. But the unprecedented celerity with which they have moved precluded the possibility of properly equipping them. Many, very many of them, are destitute of blankets, and without those indispensable articles it will be impossible for them to move to their point of destination. Citizens of Cincinnati! This appeal is made to you. Let each family furnish one or more blankets, and the requisite number will be easily completed. It is not requested as a boon: the moment your blankets are delivered you shall receive the full value in money—they are not to be had at the stores. The season of the year is approaching when each family may, without inconvenience, part with one. Mothers! Sisters! Wives!—Recollect that the men in whose favor this appeal is made, have connections as near and dear as any which can bind you to life. These they have voluntarily abandoned, trusting that the integrity and patriotism of their fellow-citizens will supply every requisite for themselves and their families, and trusting that the same spirit which enabled their fathers to achieve their independence will enable their sons to defend it. To-morrow arrangements will be made for their reception, and the price paid.

"R. J. MEIGS, Governor of Ohio."

"CINCINNATI, April 30, 1812."

The two Cincinnati companies under command of Mansfield and Sloan convened at the First Presbyterian Church on May 14th to hear the distinguished minister, Joshua Lacy Wilson, deliver a sermon entitled "War the Work of the Lord and the Coward Cursed." His text on this occasion was "cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully; and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood."

Another episode of the campaign was the passage through the city of the Fourth Regiment of regulars. This regiment which had taken part in the battle of Tippecanoe arrived at Newport Barracks on June 1, 1812, and almost immediately crossed the Ohio for the frontiers. "While crossing, they were saluted with discharges from an artillery company stationed on the river bank, which were acknowledged by the music of the regiment, and when they ascended the bank, a general shout and three cheers expressed the sense entertained by our citizens of their soldierly behavior in that battle, when their cool collected conduct saved the body of the American troops, by giving them time to form in efficient order for defence, against the tremendous onset of their savage assailants. On Main street near 5th a triumphal arch had been erected, decorated with floral ornaments, and enscribed, 'To the heroes of Tippecanoe.' Here they were again saluted by artillery, and having marched about five miles out to encamp, they were supplied with bread, beef and whiskey, as a contribution from the citizens, and the next morning proceeded on their march to the lines."

The following address was delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, commanding the Fourth Regiment of the U. S. Army:

"Sir: The citizens of Cincinnati, impressed with a sense of the important service performed by the brave regiment (under the command of Col. Boyd at the battle of Tippecanoe) since their departure from us the last summer; sensible too of the great fatigues and privations which must have been experienced, most cordially salute you and each of the officers and soldiers under your command, on your return with your regiment, covered with glory. We cannot suffer you to pass us without presenting this tribute of our respect to the BRAVE. Your memories will live so long as we live, and will never be effaced from the annals of the Western world.

"As you pass to the northward at the call of your country, we are confident it will be but to gather fresh laurels. Our sons! will be by your side, composing the Militia of this State, destined on that service, and now encamped at the general rendezvous. Teach them the art to conquer—we will vouch for their spirit. On your tried and brave troops, much reliance is placed, and we confidently expect to hear a good account of the expedition.

"Accept for yourself, and for the officers and soldiers under your command, this small tribute of respect, from the inhabitants of Cincinnati, and their warmest wishes for your personal welfare, as well as for that of every individual, of the heroes whom you lead.

"Cincinnati, June 3, 1812."

—(Cist's Miscellany, Vol. 1, p. 204.)

This demonstration had been prepared by a military company of the older men under Gen. William Lytle calling themselves the Cincinnati. The regiment was accompanied by the son of Captain Spencer who was but 12 years of age. The father had been killed at the battle of Tippecanoe while his boy was at his side. The commanding colonel became famous by his response at Lundy's Lane: "I will try Sir."

On May 25th the Ohio militia had been turned over to the command of General Hull. The sad story of his surrender need not be told here.

War was declared on June 18th but the news was not heard until the 29th in Cincinnati, where it was received with a hearty welcome. On the Fourth of July the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of War were read to the assembled citizens by David Wade and an oration delivered by William Hendricks. The ceremonies were enlivened by music and discharges of artillery. At these ceremonies which were "in an orchard on the south side of Columbia street" General Gano presided assisted by Gen. William Henry Harrison and Hon. John Cleves Symmes. One of the toasts proposed by General Harrison was as follows: "General Hull and his Army—They have passed that scene immortalized by the victory of Wayne; the spirit of that hero will animate them to deeds like his, and teach them the lesson of victory or death." Another toast was as follows: "The Northwestern Army: Our brethren and fellow-citizens now on the frontier—

Nor do they sigh ingloriously to return,
But breathe revenge, and for the battle burn,

May they have pleasant paths and unclouded spirit."

Strangely enough there seems to be no record of the War of 1812, which makes it impossible to give any complete account of the part taken in it by Cincinnati and her sons. The history of the war itself is a part of the history of the country. Among its victims was Captain Mansfield who has been so frequently spoken of. Prominent in the service were of course General Harrison, a citizen of Cincinnati, Col. W. S. Hatch, Stephen McFarland, Thomas Heckewelder and James Chambers.

In an address delivered at the 45th anniversary of the settlement on December 26, 1833, General Harrison refers to some of the exploits of Cincinnatians during the war. The young orator of that occasion was the lawyer Joseph Longworth and his mention of Cincinnati's soldiers called forth comment from Harrison. He described an episode at the siege of Fort Meigs in which Major Gwynne distinguished himself. Another citizen whose praises he sounded was Major Oliver. Of course Gen. John S. Gano and General Findlay too were mentioned. As to the latter, Harrison says that if his advice had been adopted the campaign would have had a different result and the honor of our armies would not have been tarnished by an inglorious surrender.

The jollifications after the victory at New Orleans and after the news of peace are described elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CITY TO THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL—I.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

THE CITY CHARTER OF 1819—THE FIRST CITY MAYOR—THE CITY CHARTER OF 1827—THE CITY CHARTER OF 1834—THE COURTS—THE "OLD COURT HOUSE"—THE FIRE DEPARTMENT—THE POLICE—THE WATER SUPPLY—THE POST OFFICE.

THE CITY CHARTER OF 1819.

With the year of 1819 begins Cincinnati's life as a city. The act of the General Assembly of 1819 incorporating the city, vested the legislative power in a Council, composed of a president, recorder and nine trustees. To the Council was given the power to make such ordinances and laws as they should think proper for the health, safety, cleanliness, convenience and good government of the city and to impose and collect reasonable fines for breaches of the ordinances. They were empowered particularly to secure the city against injuries from fire, to establish a night watch, to purchase fire engines, establish fire companies, keep the streets and commons open and in repair and free from nuisances. To them also was given power specifically to establish and regulate markets, to fix the assize of bread, to establish wharves, to regulate the landing of rafts and other water craft and to prevent every description of animals from running at large. They had the power to license and regulate taverns and public houses and on proper cause shown to suspend such licenses; to regulate and prohibit all puppet shows and all other exhibitions in the city; and to levy taxes on hogs and dogs. The tax on real property was limited to one per cent of its value, unless the voters should authorize them to lay a larger tax, and could be levied for street improvements only.

The judicial power was vested in a City Court which, consisting of the mayor and three aldermen, was appointed by the Council from among the citizens. This court held sessions once in every two months and had original jurisdiction over all crimes and misdemeanors committed within the city, the punishment of which did not involve confinement in the penitentiary, as well as appellate jurisdiction from the decisions of the mayor (who was *ex officio* a justice of the peace) and concurrent jurisdiction with the Court of Common Pleas in all civil causes where the defendant resided within the corporation and the title to real property was not involved.

Appeals lay from this court direct to the Supreme Court of the county of Hamilton. The marshal was the ministerial officer of the court, which also was empowered to appoint a clerk and prosecutor. The mayor was forbidden from exercising any legislative functions and the recorder from exercising any judicial functions. In other respects the act with proper substitutions repeated the terms of the act of 1815. It provided for the same boundaries as those of the town and gave to the settlement the name of "The City of Cincinnati."

This act was passed February 5, 1819, and by virtue of a curative act passed three days later

took effect on March 1, of the same year. (17 O. L. L. 175-202.)

This the original charter of the city continued in force until March 1, 1827. During that time the city had but one mayor, Isaac G. Burnet. The first aldermen were David E. Wade, William Burke and Francis Carr and the City Council consisted of Samuel W. Davies, Jacob Wheeler and David Wade from the First Ward; Oliver Lovell, John Tuttle and Richard L. Coleman from the Second Ward; John Armstrong, Nicholas Longworth and Jesse Hunt from the Third Ward, and Peter A. Sprigman, William Oliver and Isaac Hough from the Fourth Ward. Of these, Hunt was president; Oliver, recorder; Wheeler, treasurer and Coleman, clerk.

The successive presiding officers of the Council during this time were: Jesse Hunt (1819-20), William Oliver (1821), Samuel Perry (1822-23), Calvin Fletcher (1824-25), and Lewis Howell (1826-28). The Council met in the brick Town House on the common until 1824, at which time quarters were rented in Francis Carr's brick building at the northwest corner of Third and Hammond streets. Here were the city offices, including the mayor's office, until 1828. (Henderson's Council, p. 33; City Hall, p. 6.) Previous to that time the mayor's office had been at Mayor Burnet's private office on Water street between Walnut and Vine, although he also as indicated by the Directory of 1819 had an office in the City Hall.

THE FIRST CITY MAYOR.

The mayor, Isaac G. Burnet, a son of Dr. William Burnet and brother of Jacob Burnet, was born in New Jersey, July 7, 1784. He moved to Cincinnati about the year 1804 where he studied law with his brother. In 1807 he married the daughter of Capt. George Gordon and moved to Dayton where for a time he practiced law. Nine years later he returned to Cincinnati and entered into partnership with Nicholas Longworth. He for a time edited *Liberty Hall,* retiring at the end of 1822. In 1819 he was elected the first mayor of the city of Cincinnati and re-elected until the spring of 1831, when he declined to be a candidate. During a part of his term, in addition to the ordinary executive duties, he with certain aldermen constituted the City Court and he was obliged to act in his judicial capacity in most of the minor litigations of the community. In 1833 he was appointed clerk of the Supreme Court of Hamilton County and held this office until the adoption of the constitution in 1851. He died March 11, 1856.

Mayor Burnet was for many years a cripple as a result of which he was obliged to use crutches. Although physically weak, he was possessed of great force of character, and did not hesitate to display the firmness required by the duties of his position. It was his presence of mind and great courage that saved the city from serious riots on more than one occasion.

By an act passed February 25, 1820 (18 O. L. L. 96), it was made unlawful for the Council to emit or authorize any notes or bills of credit and the members were made personally responsible for any notes so issued. Certain alterations were made in the jurisdiction of the City Court.

Another act providing for the election of members of the City Council and the appointment of treasurer and clerk and prescribing the duties of the marshal in certain cases providing for the selection of grand and petit jurors was passed January 29, 1821. (19 O. L. 106.)

An act of December 27, 1824 (23 O. L. L. 14), divided the city and township into four election districts corresponding to the four wards and made provision for the holding of elections.

By an act of January 31, 1826, all previous acts of incorporation were repealed and a new scheme of government was devised to be submitted to the voters on the 1st of March of that year. (24 O. L. 25.) The voters however rejected the charter, whereupon it was passed by the Legislature of the following year and as such constituted the second charter of the city.

The writer of the "Americans As They Are," who was in Cincinnati in 1827, describes the voting on a matter of public interest: "During my stay, on the twenty-fifth of October, a question of some importance for the inhabitants of Cincinnati was to be decided. It was concerning a stricter police and its necessary regulations. The City Council, with the wealthier class of inhabitants, had been for some time, previous to the decision, engaged in preparing and gaining over the multitude. I went to the Court House in company with Mr. Brama, a wholesale merchant, and several gentlemen, to hear the speeches delivered on both sides, and the result of the motion. It was four o'clock when we arrived, and about 600 persons were assembled in and outside of the Court House. The noise, however, was such, that it was impossible to hear more than detached periods. At eight o'clock, when almost dark, they had gone through the business, and the poll was about to commence.

The party for abridging public liberty was ordered to go out on the left:—those who insisted on the preservation of the present order of things, were to draw off to the right. On arriving before the Court House, they ranged themselves in two separate ranks, each of which was counted by the presiding judge. There was a majority of 72 votes in favour of the party which upheld the present system, and the question was, therefore, decided in favour of popular liberty. I found here, as well as everywhere else, that the freedom of a community is nowhere more exposed to encroachments than in large towns, where dissipation and occupations of every kind are likely to engross the attention of the people, who leave the magistrates to do what they please. The City Council were on the point of obtaining the majority, had it not been for the farmers whom the market-day had drawn to town. These, of course, did not fail to open the eyes of the honest burghers; and the question was accordingly negatived." (Americans As They Are, p. 7.)

THE CITY CHARTER OF 1827.

The second act incorporating the city of Cincinnati, passed January 26, 1827, repealed the previous acts. By this the limits of the corporation were as follows: Beginning on the Ohio River, at the east corner of fractional section No. 12, and running west with the township line of Cincinnati, to Mill creek, thence down Mill creek with its meanders to the Ohio River, thence eastwardly up said river with the southern boundary of the State of Ohio to the place of beginning.

The administrative officers designated were a mayor and a board of trustees consisting of three members from each ward to be known as the City Council, all to be elected by the people. The city consisted of four wards divided by Third and Main streets, the First Ward being the northeastern, the Second the northwestern, the Third the southeastern and the Fourth the southwestern one. Provision was also made for the election of a city marshal, treasurer and three city aldermen for terms of two years, and for the establishment of the City Court, having original concurrent jurisdiction with the Court of Common Pleas of crimes, misdemeanors and offenses, the punishment of which was not capital or penitentiary confinement when committed within the city and of civil causes where both parties were residents of the city, and appellate jurisdiction of all judgments of the mayor. This court was composed of the mayor and the three aldermen, and was empowered to appoint its own clerk and the public prosecutor for the city.

The mayor was to be elected biennially by the people. In addition to the ordinary executive duties of such an officer in his judicial capacity, he had exclusive original jurisdiction of violations of the ordinances and such other jurisdiction as was given to justices of the peace; the right of appeal to the Court of Common Pleas and to the City Court was of course reserved. The trustees were to be elected three from each ward and must have been residents of the city three years and freeholders or householders for one year. They constituted the City Council and selected from their number a president and a recorder. They were given the custody and control of the city property with the power to purchase and sell, except in the case of the Public Landing which could not be sold without a vote of the majority of the citizens. They were given power to pass ordinances to secure the city against fire, thieves, robbery, burglars and persons violating the public peace and also to establish a board of health, a city watch under the general superintendence of the city marshal, to establish fire companies and to regulate the erection of wooden buildings, to license taverns, ale houses and the like, to abate nuisances and appropriate lands for streets, alleys, market places, etc., and appoint supervisors of the highways and regulate cattle running at large, license public shows, auctions and vehicles and inspect articles of produce or manufacture. The limit of the tax levy in any one year was one-fifth of one per cent of the aggregate value of the taxable property of the city. Each and every white male inhabitant above the age of 21 years having the qualification of an elector for members of the General Assembly, who had resided in the city for one year prior to the election, was entitled to vote under this act. This was the first act which gave manhood suffrage to the people without restriction as to property qualifications. There was no referendum clause in this charter and the act took effect by its terms March 1, 1827. (25 O. L. 40.)

Under the provisions of this charter, Isaac G. Burnet was again elected mayor and served four years (two terms) until Elisha Hotchkiss, who had been repeatedly a candidate for the office of mayor, finally succeeded in attaining that position in the election of 1831. Mr. Hotchkiss was an Englishman by birth and a lawyer by profession and was regarded as a genial, kind-hearted man of fine personal appearance. He served but one term, being succeeded in 1833 by the well

known citizen, Samuel W. Davies, whose service lasted 10 years. In the city's first quarter century there were but three mayors.

Davies it will be remembered was the last president of the Council under the charter of 1802. The presiding officers of the Council up to the end of Cincinnati's first half century were Daniel Stone, who succeeded Lewis Howell in 1829, succeeded in turn by E. S. Haines (1831), Nathaniel G. Pendleton (1832-33), E. S. Haines (1834-35), and George W. Neff (1836-38).

On June 18, 1828, the city offices with the exception of those of the mayor and marshal, were moved from Carr's Building to a new City Building erected on the north side of Fourth street between Main and Walnut on a lot owned by the First Presbyterian Society. Here they remained for 18 years. The office of the mayor remained in Carr's Building for more than 10 years longer.

In accordance with the authority given by the charter, the Council on March 7, 1827, passed an ordinance dividing the Second Ward by an east and west line beginning at Main street and running through Sixth street westwardly to the corporation line. The part north of Sixth street and west of Main street became the Fifth Ward and the part of the old Second Ward south of Sixth street remained the Second Ward. Two weeks later, on March 21, 1827, an alteration was made in the boundaries of the First and Third wards by which that part of the First Ward lying south of Symmes street and of the range of hills east of Deer creek bridge was attached to the Third Ward. As a result, the east and west dividing line between the First and Third wards began on Main street at the intersection of Third and ran eastwardly along the center of Third to Ludlow street, thence eastwardly along the center of Symmes street to High street and along the center of High street eastwardly to a point on the street bearing north 16 degrees east from the center of the cupola of David Kilgour's house near the reservoir and by said line north 19 degrees east to the northern boundary of the city. The part north of this line composed the First Ward and that south, the Third. What would have happened if David Kilgour's cupola had been destroyed can only be left to conjecture; fortunately no such disaster happened during the time this cupola was called upon to serve this important purpose. This division of wards continued until 1839.

On February 12, 1829, was passed another act (27 O. L. 33), which authorized the City Council to provide for the support of the common schools and for such purpose to divide the city into 10 school districts (two for each ward), to purchase suitable lots and erect a school house in each district and for that purpose to levy a tax of one mill on a dollar. Black or mulatto persons were not permitted to attend these schools but all taxes assessed on their property were expended alone for the education of black and mulattoes. The voters were directed to elect from each ward a trustee and visitor of the common schools who were to have general superintendence of the common schools of the city and who were in turn to select six persons as examiners and inspectors who should examine and inspect the schools. Other provisions of the act abolished the City Court and transferred its business to the Court of Common Pleas. (See Act of January 3, 1828.)

THE CITY CHARTER OF 1834.

On March 1, 1834, was passed "an act to incorporate and establish the city of Cincinnati, and for revising and repealing all laws and parts of laws heretofore enacted on that subject." The government was vested in a mayor, and a board of trustees consisting of three members of each ward to be denominated as the City Council. The mayor was to be elected by the people every two years and trustees every three years, the latter from the freeholders or householders. The Council was given the usual powers with very much the same limitations as those contained in former acts. One limitation however provided that no person confined at hard labor in the city prison should be fed on bread and water only nor fined and kept on bread and water only, nor should any person be punished by confinement to hard labor or kept on bread and water only, for any offense not evil in itself. Other officers provided for were marshal and treasurer. The election of constables for Cincinnati township, in the county of Hamilton, was abandoned as the township and city were coextensive and the selection of these officers and justices of the peace was left to be provided for by the City Council. The act also incorporated the school law passed a few years before. The mayor in his judicial capacity had exclusive original jurisdiction in cases of violations of ordinances and the criminal jurisdiction of a justice of the peace. The Council selected from their own body a president and a recorder, and a city clerk was also provided for.

This act superseding as it did the charter of 1827, although amended quite frequently, remained the fundamental law of the city, until the adoption of the new State constitution in 1851.

By an act passed March 19, 1838 (36 O. L. L. 219), provision was made for the addition of a tract north of Liberty street to the corporate limits of the city. The territory added is that contained within the following limits: "Beginning at Mill creek where the section line crosses the same about one mile north of the present north boundary line of the city of Cincinnati; running thence east parallel with the said north boundary line of Cincinnati to the west boundary line of Fulton township in said county; thence southwestwardly along said west boundary line of Fulton township to the said north boundary line of Cincinnati; thence westwardly along said north boundary line of Cincinnati to Mill creek; thence up said Mill creek with its meanders to the place of beginning." This constituted the Eighth Ward of the city. The annexation was passed by a vote of both the city and the district to be annexed.

THE COURTS.

At the election in 1818 Judge Ethan Allen Brown was more successful in his candidacy for the governorship than two years before and defeated his antagonist, James Dunlap, by a plurality of 22,000 out of 38,000 votes. He resigned his position on the Supreme bench just before he was inaugurated Governor and Peter Hitchcock, one of the most distinguished of Ohio's judges who had been a member of the House of Representatives and of the Senate and a member of Congress, was elected from Geauga County, beginning his service of 28 years on the bench, 21 of which he was chief justice. As a result the four judges of the Supreme Court at the time Cincinnati became a city were Couch, McLean, Pease and Hitchcock. Judge Couch died in 1821 and on December 24th Jacob Burnet who had been appointed by the Governor to fill the vacancy was elected for the full term. During the following year John McLean resigned to accept the commissionership of the General Land Office and begin the career in the national service which ended with a Supreme Court justiceship. Charles R. Sherman of Fairfield County, the father of General and Senator Sherman, was elected to succeed him on January 11, 1823, at which time also was reelected Calvin Pease. For seven years the court remained unchanged. Judge Burnet resigned in December, 1828, to accept the United States senatorship to which he was elected without opposition as a successor of William H. Harrison and Joshua Collett of Warren County was elected to succeed him. Sherman died at Lebanon just before the expiration of his term and Gustavus Swan was appointed by the Governor to fill the unexpired term. In 1830, as the terms of Judges Pease and Sherman had expired, Elijah Hayward of Cincinnati and John M. Goodenow were elected to succeed them. The court during this summer was divided into two sections; that in which was located Hamilton County was assigned to Judges Goodenow and Hayward. Ill health however prevented either of these judges from acting and as a result no court was held for that year. Both judges resigned in 1830 and Henry Brush was appointed by the Governor to succeed Goodenow. As Hayward's resignation was received just prior to the meeting of the General Assembly, the vacancy was not filled until December, 1830, when the Legislature elected Ebenezer Lane of Huron County to succeed Hayward and John C. Wright of Jefferson County to succeed Brush who refused to be a candidate. Hitchcock's term expired in 1832 and the election of a successor resulted in a lively contest which lasted two days and through 19 ballots at the end of which Reuben Wood of Cleveland was elected over Judge Hitchcock and Benjamin Tappin. Two years later Judge Wright resigned and on February 28, 1835, Judge Hitchcock at that time President of the Senate was elected to succeed him. Judge Collett's term expired in 1836 and on January 30th of that year Frederick Grimke was elected to succeed him. Two years later Judge Lane was reelected so that the court from 1836 to 1842 consisted of Hitchcock, Lane, Wood and Grimke.

The records of the Legislature show the election on February 6, 1819, of George P. Torrence as president judge of the Ninth Circuit in which at that time was included Hamilton County. Judge Torrence was reelected for a full term on January 27, 1826, and served out his term. He was succeeded in 1833 by John M. Goodenow, who had been a member of Congress and a judge of the Supreme Court. Upon his resignation as stated hereafter, David K. Este was chosen in 1835. Judge Este served until the organization of the Superior Court of Cincinnati by act of March 15, 1838. He was elected by the Legislature as the first judge of this court for a term of seven years. The jurisdiction of this court which lasted down to the time of the adoption of the constitution of 1851 was largely concurrent with that of the Common Pleas Court. It is

usually referred to as the "Old Superior Court" to distinguish it from the present court of that name. Este was succeeded as president judge by Oliver M. Spencer, appointed by the Governor to act until the following session of the Legislature at which time Nathaniel C. Read was elected. The Directory of 1819, which appeared in October of that year, gives the associate judges as Othniel Looker, James Silvers and John C. Short. Short does not appear to have been elected by the Legislature. That body during the period from 1820 to 1838 selected the following associate judges: Peter Bell (1820), Samuel R. Miller (1823), Patrick Smith (1824), Benjamin M. Piatt (1825), Enos Woodruff (1827), Peter Bell (1828), John Burgoyne (1834) and Henry Moore (1838). Another name, that of John Jolley, is given in the Directory of 1825 as associated with Bell and Smith. In 1829 Enos Woodruff was associated with Bell and Smith. In 1831 appeared two names not given in the list of those elected by the General Assembly,—Samuel Rees and Thomas Henderson sitting with Enos Woodruff. Three years later the court is almost altogether a new one. John M. Goodenow presided and the associate judges were Thomas Henderson, Jonathan Cilley and John Burgoyne. Two years later (1836) the only change in the court is in the president judge, Este having succeeded Goodenow.

Among the judges of these days, which were the early days of the "Old Court House," were included many whose names still stand among those considered at the head of the profession. The president judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1819 to 1832 was a man of great distinction in the community, although his appointment aroused much controversy. At the time that he was appointed to the office by the Legislature he was a member of that body which had just created the Ninth Circuit, that of Hamilton County. It is claimed that his appointment was in violation of the constitutional provision forbidding the appointment of a Senator or Representative during the term for which he was elected to any office created during the term. The matter was taken to the Supreme Court without any conclusive result. The Legislature was called upon to abolish the circuit and the Senate passed a bill for that purpose but the House refused to concur. During the controversy Judge Torrence, in the language of Judge Thew Wright, held on to his office with an aggravating persistency and a serene indifference to fate that was a discomfiture to the evil minded. Judge Torrence was a man of dignity and of great personal charm and many interesting stories are told with relation to practice before him. Judge Carter's book the "Old Court House" has several fine anecdotes concerning the period and Judge Torrence plays his part in the stories recited.

The court in those days consisted of four members, a president and three associates. The president was supposed to be a lawyer but no such requirement was made as to the associates. As a natural result of this peculiar arrangement, there was at times considerable confusion. An anecdote of James W. Gazlay, a prominent member of the bar who attained celebrity by defeating William Henry Harrison for Congress in 1824, explains the origin of the term "Demarara team" which was applied for so many years to the old court.

Torrence was succeeded by John M. Goodenow who held the position for three years. An episode of his incumbency grew out of the appointment of a clerk of the court to succeed Daniel Gano. The judges failed to agree and for about a year no appointment was made. Finally in December, 1833, the bar as a body took up the matter and insisted upon the appointment being made, whereupon Goodenow and two of his associates, John Burgoyne and Jonathan Cilley, agreed upon an appointment which was regarded as an improper one by the bar who held a meeting and protested against it. The objection made was on the ground of bribery and corruption. The fourth judge, Enos Woodruff, stated publicly that the brother of the appointee had offered him $1,000 to vote for the appointment. As a result the vacancy was not filled for some time longer. Finally two of the judges made an entry in the journal of the court, appointing Gen. William H. Harrison as clerk, which appointment although apparently not made with the consent of the court was satisfactory to the community and held good. As a result of this, Judge Goodenow resigned his position, feeling that he had been affronted by his associates. He was succeeded by Judge David K. Este who retained the position until the time of the organization of the Superior Court of Cincinnati in 1838.

The City Court, which was made up of the mayor and three aldermen, was presided over by some distinguished men. Isaac G. Burnet was mayor during the life of this court. The first three aldermen were David E. Wade, William Burke and Francis Carr, all able men. Carr

was succeeded in 1822 by James W. Gazlay, a leading citizen of his time. In 1825 the aldermen were Philander Allen, Benjamin Basset and Benjamin M. Piatt, who soon went on the Common Pleas bench. William Greene, Samuel F. Hunt and Morgan Neville were elected in 1827.

David K. Este was a prominent figure in Cincinnati life from the date of his arrival in the town about 1809 until his death almost 70 years later. He was born in New Jersey in 1785 and was educated at Nassau Hall (Princeton) of which he was at the time of his death the oldest living graduate. After his arrival in Cincinnati he lived for a time at Hamilton but in 1814 permanently established himself here with an office at the corner of Fifth and Main. From 1817 to 1821 he was in partnership with Bellamy Storer and from 1830 to 1835 with Ezekiel Haines. In the latter year he was appointed president judge of Hamilton County and subsequently upon the organization of the Superior Court he became its first judge in 1838, serving until 1845. Upon the expiration of his term in 1845, he retired from professional life although he remained a prominent citizen of the city until his death more than 30 years later in his 91st year. His career at the bar and on the bench was a distinguished one. He was regarded as a good lawyer and was especially "distinguished for courtesy of manners, propriety of conduct and success in business. Like Burnet he was one of those cool and careful temperaments, who are incapable of being excited beyond a certain point and who never commit themselves out of the way." (Mansfield's Memories, p. 161.) He had great faith in the value of Cincinnati real estate and at various times owned considerable property in different parts of the city. His residence at the corner of Ninth and Main was for many years among the most palatial in the city and a center of social life. He subsequently erected 18 buildings on Main, Ninth, Sycamore and Fourth streets. In 1858 he built the fine stone residence on West Fourth street which he occupied until the time of his death. It subsequently was known as the Shoemaker residence and is now owned by Michael M. Shoemaker. Judge Este married a daughter of General Harrison in 1819, who died in 1826. One daughter the result of this marriage lived to womanhood, dying some years before her father. In 1829 he married a daughter of Judge William Miller by whom he had seven children, four of whom reached maturity. The Judge is one of those members of the bar who figure in Judge Carter's reminiscences.

THE "OLD COURT HOUSE,"

The second in the history of Hamilton County, finished in 1819, was the seat of justice from that time until July 9, 1849, when it like its predecessor and successor was destroyed by fire. It stood on Main street about where the present temple of Justice stands, on a circular plat of ground about 200 feet in diameter. Its length east and west was about 62 feet and its breadth 56 feet. The height to the cornice was 50 feet, to the top of the cupola which stood in the center of the sloping roof rising from all four sides, 120 feet. From the cupola rose a spire 40 feet higher. It was very substantially built and contained fireproof rooms for the offices of the clerks of the Supreme and Common Pleas courts and the recorder. Three large outside doors pierced its eastern, western and southern sides and these with its 50 Venetian-blinded windows, cream colored paint, imposing dome, and gilded vane gave it an important appearance. The large yard about it was well sodded and filled with shrubs and trees and surrounded by a white rail fence containing four ornamental gates. The principal court room was on the first floor above the basement and, 30 feet in width, extended the whole length of the building. The elevated bench for the four judges was at the north. In front was the lawyers' table and at the sides the desks of the sheriff and clerk.

The spectators stood to the south, separated by a balustrade, or sat in the enclosed gallery overhead which extended across the southern side of the room. There was also a jury box and a prisoners' dock capable of accommodating a number of prisoners. The floor was covered with a striped rag carpet and a number of huge spittoons. A huge fireplace and a large stove served to heat this great room. Another court room much smaller was constructed in the floor above, when in 1838 the old Superior Court with Judge Este presiding was installed. Other offices in the building were those of the sheriff and county commissioners and there were a number of jury rooms. At a later time two buildings erected on Main street, one north and the other south of the Court House, served for the various county offices. The jail was a dingy brick building over the canal on Sycamore street. (Carter's "Old Court House," pp. 7-14.)

THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The Directory of 1819 contains the following with reference to the fire department at the time of the incorporation of Cincinnati as a city:

"There are two engines owned by the corporation, but, strange as it may appear, neither of them are kept in proper repair. A most unpardonable apathy on this subject pervades our citizens generally. Almost destitute of ladders, fire-hooks, buckets (or even water in most parts of the city), should the fiery element assail us in a dry and windy season, the denouement of the awful tragedy would be a general devastation of our now flourishing city. The most practicable means ought immediately to be taken for creating a supply of water, the number of engines increased and put in working condition, and every other apparatus procured which can be of service in restricting the ravages of this powerful destroyer. Otherwise the 'good easy man,' who retires to his couch meditating on the competency of his fortune, may stalk forth a beggar in the morning."

The engines referred to were in the service of the Washington Fire Company (No. 1) and the Relief Fire Company (No. 2).

The Cincinnati Fire Wardens' Association was organized shortly afterwards as a result of the fire ordinance of October 2, 1819, reestablishing the department. The presidents of this association from the date of its organization, October 30, 1819, to the introduction of the paid department in 1853 were Benjamin Mason (1819-21), Davis Embree (1821-25), R. L. Coleman (1825-29), J. L. Avery (1829-31), Oliver Lovell (1831-36), George W. Jones (1836-38), Archibald Irwin (1839-43), William Stephenson (1843-46), Aaron Valentine (1846-47), S. Hogan (1847-48), and D. H. Horne (1848-52). The secretaries were Moses Brooks and Fred H. Oehlmann.

The Independence Fire Company (No. 3) was organized at the store of Thomas Tucker, bookseller and tailor on Main street, November 15, 1819. Mr. Tucker was chosen foreman and Thomas Conley, secretary, by the 18 members present. The meeting resolved that the painted hat provided by the fire ordinance was heavy and uncomfortable and appointed a committee to ask the Council to rescind the portion of the ordinance relating thereto. This committee was successful and reported back a little later that the Council had repealed that part of the ordinance. This company was first located on the north side of Fourth street between Walnut and Main streets on the lot of the old Presbyterian Church adjoining the Cincinnati Fire Bucket Company. Its first engine was called the "Constitution" and was supplied with water by the bucket company who formed a line from the river or nearest cistern along which buckets were passed to the engine box. Subsequently the "Liberty" engine and the hose-reel "Veteran" were added to the equipment of the company. The church authorities finally desired to obtain possession of the ground upon which the engine house was located but the fire boys refused to give way; thereupon the church employed men to pull down the building and push the engine into Fourth street. The fire boys learning of this filled the box of the engine full of lampblack and water and as the men began their work the firemen began playing the hose upon them. As a result the church concluded to pay the company $500 for vacating the premises. In 1820 a new engine named the "Independence" was substituted for the old. This company subsequently purchased property on the south side of Fourth street between Vine and Walnut on the spot where the book store of The Robert Clarke Company stood for so many years and here erected the handsomest engine house in Cincinnati. On one occasion in 1822 when the chief engineer, who was their own former foreman, Thomas Tucker, ordered the company to appear with its engines at the river they refused to comply on the ground that they were not subject to the orders of city officials. On the Council sustaining the chief, the company returned the Council's report with a declaration of their independence. Among the early foremen of this company were Thomas Tucker, J. Seymour, S. Ankeny, S. L. Fosdick, Isaac Stevens and Benjamin Chase. Distinguished members during the life of the company were Miles Greenwood, Erasmus Gest, C. H. Paddock and W. B. Smith.

In November, 1819, Thomas Tucker was chosen chief engineer of the department.

The Franklin Fire Engine and Hose Company formed in 1819 as Fire Engine Company No. 4, was placed in regular service in May, 1820. Its engine was the "Nereide," which was supplied with fire buckets. The company's headquarters were on the west side of Sycamore street near Lower Market in a frame 12 by 18 structure. In 1824 they removed to the corner of Sycamore and Third and afterwards to Third and Hammond. This company's name was subsequently changed to that of the Eagle Fire Company (No. 4).

The Protection Company (No. 1) was organized in 1820 and continued to do duties similar to those of a salvage corps for many years. Its membership was limited to 100 and it was con-

ducted as an independent organization with the object of preserving lives and property and preventing theft during fires.

In 1821 the fire wardens were authorized by ordinance to act in any of the wards and the fire marshal was directed to examine buildings and dwellings for the purpose of seeing that fire buckets were kept. Delinquents were required to pay the sum of $3.50. A new fire ordinance was passed on July 5, 1821, which made a substantial change in the organization of the department. By this at least three persons were appointed annually by the City Council in each ward as fire wardens who should carry speaking trumpets and distinguishing badges and were given authority to order fences, lumber or other combustibles to be removed and when three were acting together to order any house or building to be pulled down. They were empowered to order able bodied men into the ranks to convey water or to perform other necessary duties during the fire not attendant with immedate personal danger. The head of the department was called the chief engineer. Authority was given for the organization of volunteer companies who could select a foreman and secretary. The foreman appointed one man to convey all the fire buckets to fires and to see that they were returned after they had been used, properly washed and cleaned. Provisions were made requiring householders to provide leather fire buckets in numbers proportioned to the size of their houses. Very strict provisions were made with regard to the conduct of householders. If a chimney took fire as a result of improper cleaning, the owner was fined. It was forbidden to put fire into chimneys for cleaning purposes except in the daytime and then only during rain or when there was snow on the roofs. The burning of shavings in streets or the keeping of wheat or other grain in stacks within 100 yards of any building within lots of the city, including the lots laid out by Jesse Hunt and others on the north, and Nicholas Longworth and others on the west and Main and Columbia streets to the corporation lines, was forbidden. The amount of gunpowder permitted to citizens was also limited by ordinance. The marshals and fire wardens were permitted to enter houses to examine as to the violation of this part of the ordinance. Citizens were also prohibited from using a lighted candle or other light in a stable, unless it was secured in a tin, horn or glass lantern. Despite all these precautions a number of fires of some magnitude occurred, the principal of which was that of the immense stone mill on the river front at the foot of Broadway which was burned November 23, 1823.

By 1825 the directory is able to state that the fire department consisted of four engine companies, a hose company, a hook and ladder company, a bucket company and Protection Society, including 155 firemen and 16 fire wardens, with Thomas Tucker, chief engineer and Jeremiah Kiersted his assistant. The Protection Society at that time consisted of 50 members of which William Burke was president, William Mills, vice-president; Noble S. Johnson, secretary; Samuel Borden, chief director; and Elam P. Langdon, Joseph Gest, William Schillinger and Charles Tatem, directors. The utensils of the fire department we are told were in first rate repair and the companies well organized and ready on the first notice to do their duty. (Directory for 1825, p. 121; Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 67.)

The care that was exercised by the citizens in the matter of fires was shown at the time of the reception to General Lafayette as described elsewhere. He was received most enthusiastically and everything that could be suggested to do him honor was cheerfully agreed upon. One suggestion however was overruled by reason of the fear of danger to the community; this was the suggestion of having a street illumination. The fire wardens on September 29, 1825, reported to the City Council that in their opinion an illumination of the city would be attended with danger and suggested that a committee be appointed to confer with the committee for the reception of General Lafayette to request that the illumination be waived. This request was conformed to and as a result the citizens passed the night without any fear of fire. (Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 67.)

In 1826 the department is described practically as it was in the directory preceding. Special note is made of the fact that five substantial brick cisterns each containing upwards of 5,000 gallons of water had been erected in different parts of the city. These were kept constantly filled and afforded the chief and only certain supply of water. (Cincinnati in 1826, p. 32.)

In 1826 the Eagle Fire Company (No. 4) was added to the department with Moses Lyon as foreman. Jeremiah Kiersted became chief engineer. Another company was organized in 1829 under the name of Fire Company No. 5. Its headquarters were located over the canal at the northeast corner of Vine and Canal streets. It was soon found however that most of the fires

were south of the canal and as a result the city purchased a lot on the east side of Vine between Court and Canal where was erected a much more commodious building. The engines of the company were named "Fame" and "Jefferson" and were made by Jeffrey Seymour in Pleasant court between Fourth and Fifth streets in the rear of the subsequent site of the Indiana House. A large figure of Jefferson about 10 feet in height was placed in a niche over the doorway on Vine street. This company at various times claimed as members such prominent men as Nicholas W. Thomas (many years later mayor of the city), David T. Snelbaker (also mayor), James F. Torrence (subsequently mayor), Meigs Robinson, Samuel H. Dunning, Robert Hedger, George W. Runyan, John S. Gano, Samuel Stephen, John C. Schooly, Godfrey Ludwig and Enoch Schott. Among the survivors of this famous company is our fellow citizen, Henry C. Urner, the present secretary of the Little Miami Railroad Company. Mr. Urner since the day that he ran with the machine has been one of the most prominent of Cincinnati's citizens. He was president of the Chamber of Commerce, one of those commissioned to rebuild the Court House and United States marshal during President Cleveland's first term.

The Directory of 1829 discusses the fire department at some length. It included at that time nine organized companies under the control of the City Council, with Zebulon Byington as chief engineer and Moses Coffin, assistant. At that time John L. Avery was president and Moses Brooks, secretary, of Fire Warden Company No. 1, with 20 members; Hugh Gilbreath, A. G. Dodd,, William Brown, Thomas Barwise and E. D. Williams, foremen of Fire Engine companies Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and Hook and Ladder Company No. 1, respectively. The assistants of these companies were S. R. Teal, J. S. Ross, John Morris and S. Covington, there being a vacancy in Company No. 3. Both posts of Fire Engine Company No. 1 were vacant. Each of these companies contained 35 members. The Protection Society of 50 members was under the control of Joseph Gest as president, assisted by a complete board of officers made up of our most prominent citizens. The foreman of the Cincinnati Fire Bucket Company was A. M. Ferguson and his assistant, Nathaniel Reeder. Two cisterns, one at the intersection of Eighth and Main and the other at Fourth and Sycamore, had been erected during the year. Each of these had a capacity of over 5,000 gallons and were kept filled by the water works. (Directory of 1829, p. 163.)

It is of some interest, throwing light upon the character of these companies, to note the occupations of the officers who were named. For instance Byington kept a tavern at No. 192 Main street, while Coffin was the wharf master; Gilbreath was also a tavern keeper on Water street near Main; Dodd was a wagon maker at the corner of Plum and Canal, while Barwise was a carpenter.

A great fire which occurred on the last day of the year 1829 attracted attention to the inadequacy of the department. This started on the east side of Main just below Third and swept its way eastward and northward as far as Fourth street. The water supply proved deficient despite the wonderful cisterns, and it became necessary to form lines of citizens and pass buckets of water from the river. Among those who stood in the line was Mrs. Alex. Drake, the well known actress, who at that time was performing at the Columbian Theatre. The great danger to which the city had been subjected was the occasion for a meeting of citizens to consider the organization of another company and the building of cisterns and generally better protection against fire. Another company was formed which became well known as the "Silk Stocking Company" or the "Rovers." The official name was the Cincinnati Independent Fire Engine and Hose Company, organized February 22, 1830. Among its incorporators was George W. Neff, George W. Jones and Thomas Sharpless. Mr. Neff became the president of this company; Joseph Pierce, vice-president; Charles D. Dana, secretary, and Kirkbride Yardley, treasurer.

George W. Neff, who was president of the Cincinnati Independent Fire Engine and Hose Company and one of the founders of the organized fire department of Cincinnati, was a man of great prominence in the city's life. He was the first president of the Little Miami Railroad Company; he drew up the charter of the Firemen's Insurance Company and was its president until his death; and was director of the Lafayette Bank for many years, president of the City Council from 1836 to 1838, a trustee of Lane Theological Seminary and largely interested in the establishment of Spring Grove Cemetery. He was born at Frankfort, Pennsylvania, on May 19, 1800, the eldest son of Peter and Rebecca Neff. He received a plain education in a village school and afterwards was fitted for the junior class at Nassau Hall (Princeton), which he entered in 1816.

After graduating with distinguished honor in 1818 he entered into the practice of the law at Philadelphia with Horace Binney in the year 1821. In 1824 he was induced by his brothers to come to Cincinnati where he remained the rest of his life. He was a successful business man and one of the most public spirited of Cincinnati's citizens and as a result he was universally esteemed and beloved. He died after a lingering illness at Yellow Springs, on August 9, 1850. His remains were brought to the city where after the largest funeral that had ever been witnessed in Cincinnati up to that time he was buried in Spring Grove Cemetery. Practically the whole population headed by the firemen took part in the procession, and the fire bells of the city tolled continuously until the body was lowered into the grave.

It was largely due to Mr. Neff's efforts that the funds to purchase apparatus were raised. Two new engines and a hose reel were brought from Philadelphia and named the "Pilot," the "Water Witch" and "Red Rover" respectively. The quarters of the company were on the south side of Fifth, at the corner of the alley between Sycamore and Broadway, the site of the Nevada Building. Subsequently an engine house was built for the company on Fourth street, between Sycamore and Broadway, where the company was installed by 1834. Among the prominent members of this company at various times were such men as Fenton Lawson, Gen. Charles H. Sargent, Henry E. Spencer (afterwards mayor), J. F. Torrence, Pollock Wilson, Ferdinand K. Martin, Calvin W. Thomas and Seth C. Goshorn. The tremendous influence of the fire companies in the life of the city can be judged at a glance at the personality of some of these members. Mr. Neff, already mentioned, was a president of the Council, Spencer and Torrence were both mayors of the city, while the other members named were very active in the public life of the community. Fenton Lawson who was at the head of the company for a decade was a Yorkshireman who came to this country in early childhood and was almost a lifelong resident of Cincinnati. It was Mr. Lawson who contracted for the purchase of the engines, whose arrival created so much excitement in the city. In 1851 he retired from the service of the company and at that time the fire boys presented him at a public meeting in Melodian Hall at the northwest corner of Fourth and Walnut streets with a most elaborate silver tea service embellished with engines, firemen and all the paraphernalia of the department.

An organization formed in the year 1830 was the Cincinnati Fire Association. Its purpose was the regulation of the fire department, the providing for sick and disabled members of the companies and settling disputes. It was composed of members selected from the different companies. Its president was John L. Avery; vice-president, John J. Stratton; secretary, Joseph Landis, and treasurer, William Scudder. A feature of the organization was the annual procession of all the companies composing the association held on the first Thursday of May. During this same year the name of the Eagle Company was changed to that of the Franklin Fire Engine and Hose Company (No. 4) and the company was moved to an engine house especially built for the purpose on Sycamore between Sixth and Seventh streets. One of the many casualties attendant upon fires in the city occurred in 1831 at the burning of Scowden's grocery store at the southwest corner of Front and Elm streets. A quantity of gunpowder was stored in this store and during the conflagration an explosion took place, killing Washington Armstrong, the father of Washington Armstrong, who subsequently was so much interested in the volunteer fire department.

The Cincinnati Fire Guards were instituted in August, 1832, for the purpose of affording quasi police protection at fires. They formed a line around the fire, kept out intruders, protected property and were empowered to press bystanders into the service. The first director of this company was Joseph Gest. The company continued in existence until December, 1854. Later directors were J. C. Avery, D. C. Wallace and J. M. Guiteau.

During the same year (1832) was organized the so-called "Flat Iron" or "Checked Shirt" Company, so called from the fact that a number of its members being mechanics wore checked shirts. At the first meeting of the company Mr. Neff was elected president and a committee was appointed to purchase two engines. The company was incorporated under the name of the Cincinnati Fire Engine and Hose Company (No. 2) on January 15, 1833. In February, at a meeting held at Holman's coffee-house, Bellamy Storer and S. W. Davies reported the organization of the company and the purchase of the apparatus, including two engines, the "Deluge" and the "Cataract" and a hose carriage, the "Pioneer." Subsequently the company purchased a lot on the corner of

Symmes and Lawrence streets where an engine house was soon built. This is the present Deluge No. 10 Company. Among the distinguished members of the "Flat Iron" Company were Robert T. Lytle, James J. Faran, David T. Disney, John Shillito, John Beggs and Jacob Baum. The "Deluge" was the victor in the contest with Louisville in 1848.

The Directory of 1834 tells us that the department owned at that time 15 engines and 10,150 feet of hose. It was divided into seven brigades, each with two engines and a hose reel, buckets and 150 members. Among the officers were such well known citizens as George G. Smith, J. Cochnower, Amasa Higbee, Miles Greenwood, David T. Disney, William Scudder, N. W. Thomas, James Wise, Joseph S. Ross, J. J. Stratton, Samuel Davis, Luther Taylor, David Farmer, Joseph Pierce, A. H. Ewing, George W. Neff, Edmund Dexter, Bellamy Storer, S. H. Davies, Joseph Cartwright, Stephen Wheeler, A. L. Voorheis, Oliver Lovell, Moses Brooks, Casper Hopple, George P. Torrence, John Whetstone, Christopher Smith, John L. Talbott, Elam P. Langdon, William Butler, Joseph Gest, J. C. Avery, David Churchill, William Thoms and Moses Lyon.

A new feature was the enrollment of boys to constitute the Vigilant Fire Engine and Bucket Company. Of this the president was Benjamin Brice. Other officers were Henry Pierce, James Gilbreath, William Coppin, Samuel James and Miller Ayres.

The president of the Protection Society at this time was Judge George P. Torrence. Its chief director was Elam P. Langdon. Another association of somewhat similar character was the Cincinnati Fire Guards, of which Joseph Gest was the chief director. The Cincinnati Fire Association was composed of persons of different fire companies for the mutual benefit of the department. Its president was George W. Neff and secretary, S. S. L'Hommedieu.

The chief engineer over the cisterns and fire plugs was William Hedley. The location of the cisterns gives some idea as to the territory occupied by the city. The northernmost one was at Eighth and Main streets; there was one also on Sixth and Broadway; three on Sycamore,—at the junction of Lower Market, at Fourth and at Seventh streets; two were on Western row,—one at Fourth and the other at Sixth street.

The name of Miles Greenwood, afterwards perhaps the most important figure in the fire department of the city, appears as assistant engineer of the Independence Fire Company No. 3, which had its location on Fourth street under the council chamber. Two years later in 1836 Mr. Greenwood was the vice-president of the Cincinnati Fire Association, and president from 1836 to 1840. The organization was not materially changed during this interval. The names of the companies and their engines as well as the officers are given in full in the directory for the years 1836 and 1837.

Among the prominent names included in the department at this time are those of R. F. L'Hommedieu, R. G. Mitchell, Alexander Lewis, Alexander Neff, Samuel Taft, George H. Hill, A. Trowbridge, A. Baldwin, David Griffin, Cephas Wilder, E. Hinman, D. K. Cady, A. H. Ernst, Platt Evens, William Schillinger, Jeremiah Butler, E. Dodson, William Medary, Fullum Perry, S. Hinkle, J. Jonas, William S. Merrell, Jesse Justice, Harvey Hall and William Stephenson. (Directory of 1836, p. 251.)

A feature connected with the fire department was the Fire Department Insurance Company incorporated in April, 1837, with a capital stock of $50,000. The purpose of this organization was to benefit the department exclusively. Its shares could be held by none but firemen and one individual could hold but 50 of them valued at $10 each. The different companies however could hold in their corporate capacity stock to an unlimited amount. Ten per cent of the dividends was paid to the Cincinnati Fire Association to constitute a fund for the relief of sick or disabled firemen and other benevolent purposes connected with the department. The business of the company was at first confined to fire risks, to which was finally added marine insurance and the usual powers and privileges incident to the insurance business. (Cincinnati Fire Department, p. 86.) A new company, the Buckeye Independent No. 3, appears at this time.

THE POLICE.

Police protection during this period was not much better than that against fire. The increase of the department to two captains and 18 men just prior to 1826 has already been referred to. The first marshal under the city charter was Samuel R. Miller. He was succeeded after a time by William C. Anderson, who in turn gave way to William Doty. At the election of 1827 at which time Isaac G. Burnet, who had been mayor since the organization of the city in 1819, was reelected by a small majority. Zebulon Byington received for the office of marshal a major-

77 01684 67